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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

The rise and progress of the several parties at the time of the REVOLUTION, *in a short review of the reigns of* JAMES I. CHARLES I. CHARLES II. *and* JAMES II.

AS an introduction to the following reign, it will be requisite to premise a short account of the parties in England, at the time of the revolution, and of the principles on which they were severally formed. Without this it will be difficult to discover the true springs of action, and why the progress of a revolution, in which at first all parties had readily joined, came on a sudden to be so clogged, that the true ends could not be fully attained, namely, the redress of present, and prevention of future grievances, by settling the constitution on firm and lasting

State of parties under king James I.

king James I. very different notions of the of government, and the extent of the to be entertained in the nation. It was Monarchy and lineal succession are of consequently sacred and inviolable. the authority of kings are ordained

" by God (a). The king is the ſole fountain of power. " All the liberties and privileges of the people are but ſo " many conceſſions or extortions from the crown (b). The " king is not bound to his people by the coronation-oath, " but only before God, to whom alone he is account- " able (c). The king's violations of the laws are not to " be reſtrained by force, but ſubjects ought either actively " to obey his commands, or paſſively ſubmit to his will (d).

On the other hand, it was more generally maintained, " Though all power may be ſaid to be from God, as go- " vernment is agreeable to his will, made known as well by " nature as revelation, yet no particular form of govern- " ment is of divine appointment, but every nation is left to " ſettle that form which appears moſt ſuitable to their ge- " nius, and moſt conducive to the ſole end of all govern- " ment, the happineſs of the ſociety. Monarchy, very " probably, was firſt choſen; but as the living, by one man's " will, was ſeen to become the cauſe of all men's miſery, " other forms of government were introduced; and laws " founded on reaſon, and tending to the public welfare, " were framed by communities, as rules of conduct to the " governors, and as meaſures of obedience to the people (e).

(a) In his ſpeech to his firſt parliament, king James I, ſpeaking of the Engliſh Throne, ſays, " Which God by my birth-right " and lineal deſcent had in ful- " neſs of time provided for me." He often talked of his undoubted, hereditary, independent right, inherent in himſelf.

(b) King James I, in one of his ſpeeches aſſerts, that the privileges of parliament are derived from the grace and permiſſion of his anceſtors, and liable to be retrenched at the will of the prince. Upon which the commons drew up a proteſtation, declaring, that the liberties, privileges, and juriſdiction of *parliament* are the undoubted birth right and inheritance of the ſubjects of Engla[illegible] This proteſtation the king, in full council, the judges alſo be- ing preſent, declared to be [illegible] and of no effect, and with his own hand took it out of the journal-book.

(c) A book was publiſhed with the royal licence, by Dr Cowel in 1609, wher[illegible] other things, it is ſaid, the [illegible] is not bound by the laws, o[illegible] his coronation-oath.

(d) It was often declared [illegible] the pulpit, eſpecially by court-preachers, " The peo[illegible] " have no other refuge left [illegible] " der the moſt cruel tyranny, [illegible] " prayers and tears." This d[illegible] trine was endeavo[illegible] proved by text[illegible] ſages out of [illegible] the prac[illegible] chriſtian[illegible]

(e) It [illegible] king[illegible]

" Thus in England, coæval with the monarchy, there has " always been a conſtitution, that is, a ſyſtem of laws, in- " ſtitutions, and cuſtoms, according to which the king is " obliged to govern, and the ſubject to obey (f). The king " in his coronation-oath, as much ſwears to the people, as " the people ſwear to the king. When the king acts in " conformity to the laws, he ought not to be reſiſted on any " pretenſe; but if he violates the fundamental laws of the " realm, and endeavours to ſubvert the conſtitution, he may " be not only reſiſted, but even depoſed. Lineal ſucceſſion and " hereditary right have no foundation in nature, nor were " ever appointed by God, but were firſt introduced by com-

Vandals, &c. as Lombardy, Burgundy, Sweden, Denmark, Hungary, Arragon, France, &c. were originally all limited monarchies, and had their ſeveral conſtitutions or fundamental laws, by which the regal power was limited. Amongſt theſe limitations were generally the two great articles, That no laws, could be made, nor any money levelled, without conſent of the ſtates.

(f) To have a clear notion of the Engliſh conſtitution in general, a man need only conſider how the ſovereign power is divided, and in what perſons the ſeveral branches are veſted. The ſovereign power is compounded of theſe ſix parts. I. Legiſlative power, or authority to make laws. II. Executive power, which conſiſts in creating officers to execute the laws and diſcharge all the functions of the government, according to law. III. A power of making war and peace. IV. A power of raiſing money for ſupport of the government. V. The laſt appeal in all caſes of law. VI. The coinage or power over the mint. Now there are but three of theſe ſix parts lodged in the perſon of the king; namely, the executive power, the power of making war and peace, and the coinage. And of theſe branches of royal power, the executive (which is the largeſt) is ſo limited, that the king cannot employ in civil or military office, any man but what is qualified by laws of the people's making. And though the power of war be veſted in the king; yet the commons have reſerved to themſelves the power of raiſing money, without which no war can be waged. As for the coinage, it is rather an honourable truſt than a real power. But as to the legiſlature, the greateſt branch of ſovereign power, it is certain no law can be enacted without the authority of the commons, who have alſo the ſole power of levying money. The laſt appeal, in caſes of law, is uſually made to the houſe of lords. The ſovereign power being thus divided in England, it is eaſy to ſee the extent of the regal power, and the nature of the allegiance due to the king. Hence alſo may be perceived the happineſs of the Engliſh in preſerving their ancient conſtitution while the greateſt part of Europe groans under arbitrary power.

"munities, where kingly government prevailed, to prevent "confuſion and ſtrife. And therefore the ſucceſſion may be "altered and transferred from one branch of a family to "another, or to a new family, when the ſupreme law, the "ſafety of the people, calls for it (g)."

At the ſame time there was alſo ſome, who, far from thinking regal power and hereditary right of divine appointment, preferred in their minds a republican form of government, even to a limited monarchy. But theſe ſentiments were concealed in this reign under an external zeal for the conſtitution and privileges of the people (h).

The firſt ſet of principles was eſpouſed by the king, the court, and great part of the clergy, and by degrees found reception in the univerſities, inns of court, and even among the judges. The king, agreeably to his principles, in his proclamations and ſpeeches, uſed the language of an abſolute

(g) By a ſtatute of the 13th year of queen Elizabeth, it was made high-treaſon for any perſon to affirm, that the reigning prince, with the authority of the parliament, is not able to limit and bind the crown, and the deſcent and inheritance thereof. This plainly ſhows, the legiſlature's opinion of hereditary right in thoſe days. The oppoſers of the divine right of lineal ſucceſſion thought it ſtrange, that king James I. ſhould ſo ſtrenuouſly aſſert that doctrine, ſince the race of the Stewarts, after Robert II, had no other title to the crown of Scotland, but what they derived from an act of parliament, in preclusion of thoſe of the legitimate and right line. For Robert having had three ſons and a daughter by Elizabeth Mure his concubine, marries her afterward to one Gifford, himſelf at the ſame time eſpouſing Euſemia, daughter of the earl of Roſs, by whom he had William and David earls of Athol and Strathern, and a daughter, wife of James Douglaſs, ſon to the earl of Douglaſs. Robert, upon the death of his wife Euſemia and of Gifford, not only marries his former concubine, but obtains an act of parliament to ſettle the crown upon the children begotten upon her in concubinate, and to exclude his legitimate children by his wife Euſemia. State-Tracts vol. I. p. 142, 143. Buchanan, B. IX. Murray's acts of parl.

(h) It muſt be obſerved, that in the reign of queen Mary, great numbers, on account of religion, fled beyond ſea, and were well received by the reformed ſtates of Germany, Switzerland, and Geneva, and allowed churches for their public worſhip. When theſe exiles, upon queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, returned to England, many brought with them not only a diſlike to the worſhip and diſcipline of the eſtabliſhed church, and the deſire of a purer religion, as they termed it, (whence

lute monarch (i), and in his conduct, carried the prerogative to a very great height, while his proceedings were ſupported by the opinions of the judges, and paſſive obedience inculcated on the people from the pulpit and preſs. Whoever diſbelieved the divine, unalienable, hereditary, independent right of kings, or offered to bound the royal prerogative, were branded with the name of puritan (k). By which means the puritans, who before were inconſiderable, became a ſtrong party, as including all the friends to the conſtitution, and the oppoſers of arbitrary power. In a word, by theſe means two parties were formed in the kingdom, one of which embracing the principles of the divine right of kings, exalted the prerogative above meaſure, whilſt the other eſpouſing the oppoſite principles, adhered to the conſtitution, and zealouſly aſſerted the national privileges. Thus were laid in king James the firſt's reign, the foundation, not only of the civil wars, but of all the party-diviſions which have ſince exiſted in the nation.

King Charles I. mounted the throne, poſſeſſed with the ſame principles of government which his father had ſo induſtriouſly propagated, and under the influence of the ſame Under Charles I.

(whence the name puritan) but alſo favourable ſentiments of the governments they had lived under ſo peaceably, which, in the end, were turned, by the arbitrary proceedings of the following reigns, into republican principles, and proved, under Charles I. the occaſion of the downfal of the monarchy, by preventing the breach between the king and commons from being healed.

(i) In the proclamation for calling his firſt parliament, he arbitrarily preſcribed as well to the electors as elected, and ſubjected both to ſevere penalties, in caſe any return ſhould be made contrary to his proclamation. And in a ſpeech to the parliament expreſsly tells them, "As "it is blaſphemy to diſpute what "God may do, ſo is it ſedition "in ſubjects to diſpute what a "king may do in the height of "his power." So poſſeſſed was the king (ſays Burnet) of a divine right in all kings, that he could not bear that even an elective and limited king ſhould be called in queſtion by his ſubjects, and therefore would never give prince Frederic, his ſon-in-law, the title of king, nor lend him any aſſiſtance for the ſupport of his new dignity. It was alſo uſual with him, from the ſame principle, to call the Dutch, rebels, for endeavouring to ſhake off the tyrannical yoke of Spain.

(k) Hence the diſtinction of ſtate and church puritans. The former were the ſame with thoſe ſince called whigs, and the latter came to be included in the general name of diſſenters, whilſt the aſſerters of the divine right of kings, acquired the denomination of tories.

counſels and miniſtry. Accordingly, in the firſt fifteen years of his reign, continual breaches were made in the conſtitution, and the nation's liberties invaded, whilſt perhaps the king imagined he was only defending his prerogative (l) Within the ſpace of a year two parliaments are ſummoned and diſſolved in diſpleaſure, for preſuming to meddle with grievances, and call the king's miniſters to account (m). In the 4th year of this reign another parliament is alſo, for the ſame reaſon, diſmiſſed, with a reproachful and threatning ſpeech (n), and ſuch members as had given offence are impriſoned

(l) This opinion that king Charles I. in the invaſion of the people's rights, imagined, he was only concerned in the defence of his own, ſeems not very improbable; for as a modern writer obſerves, This prince had ſucked in with his milk his father's abſurd principles of government, to his own and the kingdom's misfortune. He found them eſpouſed as true principles both of religion and policy, by a whole party in the nation, whom he eſteemed friends to church and ſtate. He found them oppoſed by a party, whom he looked upon as enemies to the church and monarchy. Can it be wondered that he grew zealous in a cauſe which he underſtood to concern him ſo nearly, and in which he ſaw ſo many men who had not the ſame intereſt, and might therefore be ſuppoſed to act on a principle of conſcience, equally zealous? let any man, who has been deeply and long engaged in the conteſts of party, aſk himſelf, on cool reflection, whether prejudices concerning men and things, have not grown up and ſtrengthened with him, and obtained an incontrolable influence over his conduct. With ſuch an habitual biaſs upon him king Charles came to the throne. By this opinion, many difficulties in that prince's conduct may be accounted for, and his public and private character rendered leſs inconſiſtent.

(m) The lord Clarendon obſerves upon this occaſion, that for the king to interpoſe and ſhelter an accuſed ſervant from anſwering, does not only ſeem an obſtruction of juſtice, and lay an imputation upon the prince of being privy to the offence, but leaves ſo great a ſcandal upon the party himſelf, that he is generally concluded guilty of whatſoever he is charged with — He further obſerves, that theſe unreaſonable, unſkilful, and precipitate (as he calls them) diſſolutions of parliaments, were the moſt probable ſource from whence the civil wars flowed. B. I. p. 4, 5.

(n) In this ſpeech the king declares, "That it was merely the "undutiful and ſeditious carri-"age of the lower-houſe that "hath made the diſſolution of "the parliament." And concludes, "theſe vipers (ſpeaking "of ſome of the members) muſt "look for their reward of pu-"niſhment." See the ſpeech, Rapin, vol. II. p. 279. Such aſperity

priſoned and fined. After this, the king governs without a parliament twelve years. In which interval the bulwark of the national liberties, the power of raiſing money, is not only aſſumed and rigorouſly exerciſed by the crown (o), but the methods uſed to that end are pronounced legal by the judges

aſperity of language (ſays lord Clarendon) had never before been uſed from the throne to the parliament. And he laments the unhappy effects it had upon the nation. In this parliament the king (though with reluctance) gave the royal aſſent to the petition of right, whereby he bound himſelf among other things, not to raiſe any money by way of loan, gift, benevolence, or tax, without conſent of parliament, nor to impriſon any perſon without certifying the cauſe; both which articles he violated immediately after the diſſolution of this parliament, and continued to do ſo for twelve years together. This breach of his parliamentary word, the moſt ſolemn a king can give, was afterwards uſed as a ſtrong argument that he would break through all his conceſſions to the parliament of 1640, as ſoon as it ſhould be in his power, and thereby proved one occaſion of the civil wars. The moſt natural way to account for this proceeding of king Charles I. muſt be on the ſuppoſition before-mentioned, that he imagined he was only purſuing his own rights. Accordingly he ſaid to the parliament, when he paſſed the petition of right, "You neither "mean nor can hurt my prero-"gative." And as his extraordinary methods received the ſanction of the judges opinion, he probably believed them to belong to the prerogative royal.

(o) Five ſubſidies, only mentioned as intended to be granted in the ſecond parliament were exacted with the ſame rigour throughout the kingdom, as if an act had paſſed to that purpoſe; and divers gentlemen of prime quality were, for refuſing to pay the ſame, committed to priſon. Projects for money of all kinds, many ridiculous, many ſcandalous, all very grievous, were ſet on foot. Supplemental acts of ſtate were made to ſupply defects of laws, and ſo tunage and poundage, and other duties were collected by order of council, which had been poſitively refuſed to be ſettled by act of parliament, and new and greater impoſitions laid upon trade. For the better ſupport of theſe extraordinary ways, and to protect the agents and inſtruments, and to diſcountenance and ſuppreſs all bold inquiries and oppoſers, the council-table and ſtar-chamber inlarge their juriſdictions to a vaſt extent, "holding (as Thucydides ſaid "to the Athenians) for honour-"able, that which pleaſed, and "for juſt, that which profited:" and being the ſame perſons in ſeveral rooms, grew both courts of law to determine right, and courts of revenue to bring money into the treaſury; the council-table by proclamations enjoining the people what was not enjoined by the

judges (p), and preached as obligatory to the ſubject's conſcience by ſome of the clergy (q). During theſe incroachments on the

the law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the ſtar-chamber cenſuring the breach and diſobedience to theſe proclamations by very great fines and impriſonment, ſo that any diſrepect to any acts of ſtate, or to the perſons of ſtateſmen, was in no time more penal, and thoſe foundations of right by which men valued their ſecurity, to the apprehenſion and underſtanding of wiſe men, were never more in danger of being deſtroyed. This paragraph is entirely taken from the lord Clarendon's hiſtory, (B. I. p. 67, 68.) who cannot be ſuſpected of aggravating any thing to the diſadvantage of king Charles I. and is with ſome other paſſages a probable argument againſt the charge of omiſſions and interpolations caſt upon the edition of that hiſtory. For notwithſtanding ſome ſoftening expreſſions with regard to the king, the illegal proceeding in the firſt fifteen years of his reign, are in a few pages as ſtrongly repreſented, as in volumes of the republican writers.

(p) The lord Clarendon obſerves, that the damage and miſchief cannot be expreſſed that the crown and ſtate ſuſtained, by the deſerved reproach and infamy that attended the judges, by being made uſe of in ſhip-money and other acts of power. For (ſays he) men ſubmitted to the preſſures as aſſuring themſelves that they might, when they pleaſed, reſort to the law for relief. But when they heard ſhip-money demanded in a court of law as a right, and found it by ſworn judges of the law adjudged ſo, upon ſuch grounds and reaſons as every ſtander-by was able to ſwear was not law, and were required to pay it by a logic that left no man any thing which he might call his own, they thought themſelves bound, in conſcience to the public juſtice, not to ſubmit to the impoſition. Sir John Finch, lord chief juſtice of the common-pleas, and a ſtrenuous aſſerter of ſhip-money, being made lord-keeper, upon a demurrer put into a bill before him, which had no other equity in it than an order of the lords of the council, declared, "Whilſt "he was keeper, no man ſhould "be ſo ſaucy as to diſpute thoſe "orders, but the wiſdom of that "board ſhould be always ground "enough for him to make a de-"cree in chancery." Which, adds the lord Clarendon, was ſo great an aggravation of the exceſs of that table, that it received more prejudice from that act of unreaſonable reſpect, than from all the contempt could poſſibly have been offered to it. Clar. B. I. p. 69, 74.

(q) "It cannot (ſays lord "Clarendon) be denied, but "there was ſometimes preached "at Whitehall matter very unfit "for the place, and very ſcan-"dalous for the perſons, who "preſumed often to determine "things out of the verge of "their own profeſſion." Sibthorp, in a ſermon ſaid, "The "prince is the head, and makes "his court and council, it is his

"duty

the rights of the People, and the king's tacit renunciation of the conſtitution by the diſuſe of parliaments, jealouſy and diſcontent ſpread themſelves in the nation, the puritan party daily increaſes, and all true lovers of their country earneſtly long for an opportunity to reſcue the conſtitution from entire deſtruction. Perhaps this opportunity would have been expected in vain, had it not been accidentally given by the king himſelf. For in the height of his power, he reſolves to accompliſh the project, begun by his father, of introducing the Engliſh church-diſcipline into Scotland. By this attempt ſuch a flame is kindled in the nation, that a war at laſt breaks out between the king and his Scotiſh ſubjects, wherein England is no way concerned. The king tho' the occaſions of the government were, by his extraordinary methods of raiſing money, amply ſupplied, could not long maintain an army without being forced to come to a treaty of pacification, and to apply to the parliament, the very mention of which had by a former proclamation been ſtrictly forbid (r). Accordingly a parliament, after a twelve years intermiſſion, is ſummoned to meet on the 13th of April 1640. The king opens the ſeſſion with deſiring a ſpeedy ſupply; but the commons are reſolved that the grievances ſhall firſt be redreſſed. Whereupon the king, to the ſurprize and concern of the whole nation, haſtily diſſolves the parlia-

"duty to direct and make laws." Dr. Manwaring ſpoke more plainly in one of his ſermons: "The king (ſays he) is not "bound to obſerve the laws of "the realm concerning the ſub- "jects rights and liberties, but "his royal will and command in "impoſing taxes and loans, "without common conſent in "parliament, doth oblige the "ſubjects conſcience upon pain "of eternal damnation." This man, after having been fined and impriſoned by the lords, was pardoned by the king and made a biſhop. And archbiſhop Abbot was ſuſpended, for refuſing to licenſe Sibthorp's ſermon.

(r) The diſſolution of the third parliament was followed with a declaration, that "ſince for ſe- "veral ill ends the calling again "of a parliament was divulged, "however, his majeſty had "ſhowed, by his frequent meet- "ing his people, his love to the "uſe of parliaments, yet the "late abuſe having, for the pre- "ſent, driven his majeſty un- "willingly out of that courſe, "he ſhall account it preſump- "tion for any to preſcribe any "time to his majeſty for parlia- "aments." Which words (ſays lord Clarendon) were generally interpreted, as if no more aſſemblies of that nature were to be expected, and that all men were prohibited, upon the penalty of cenſure, ſo much as to ſpeak of a parliament. Clar. B. 1. p. 4.

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ment (s), but at the ſame time, the convocation, by his ſpecial warrant, is continued, and canons are paſſed, wherein the divine right of kings, and unlimited obedience, are expreſsly aſſerted (t). Immediately after, the war with Scotland is renewed, and by the advice of a junto of ſelect counſellors, all expedients for raiſing men and money are employed (u).

Mean

(s) After a ſeſſion of three weeks. In all probability, if the king had ſuffered this parliament to ſit, the grievances of the nation had been redreſſed in a regular manner, and the civil wars entirely prevented. For it is univerſally agreed, that the houſe of commons conſiſted in general of ſober and diſpaſſionate men, whoſe ſole aim was to reſtrain the prerogative within due bounds, and ſecure the juſt liberties of the people. Accordingly, the lord Clarendon obſerves, that "there could not a greater damp "have ſeized upon the ſpirits of "the whole nation than this diſ- "ſolution cauſed, and men had "much of the miſery in view "which ſhortly after fell out." He was himſelf a member of this parliament. The king was quickly ſenſible of his error, and very deſirous to repair it, and the ſame, or the next day, conſulted whether he might by proclamation recall the commons, to meet together again. Clar. B. I. p. 139, 140.

(t) By the firſt canon all pariſh-prieſts were ordered to read in the church one Sunday in every quarter the following explanation of regal power. "That "the moſt high and ſacred order "of kings is of divine right, "being the ordinance of God "himſelf, founded in the prime "laws of nature and revelation, "by which the ſupreme power "over all perſons, civil and ec- "cleſiaſtical, is given to them. "——And for ſubjects to bear "arms againſt their king, either "offenſive or defenſive, upon "any pretence whatſoever, is "at leaſt to reſiſt the power or- "dained of God; and though "they do not invade but only "reſiſt, St. Paul ſays, they ſhall "receive damnation." See Nel- "ſon, p. 545. This, and the other canons were by the next parliament condemned "as con- "trary to the fundamental laws "of the realm, the king's pre- "rogative, property of the ſub- "ject, and the rights of parlia- "ment." Whit. Mem. p. 37. The proceedings of this convocation (ſays lord Clarendon) drew the ſame prejudice upon the whole body of the clergy, to which before only ſome few clergymen were expoſed. B. II. p. 148. It is obſervable, that the judges Finch, Littleton, &c. gave their opinion, that "The "convocation called by the "king's writ was not to diſſolve "but by the king's writ, not- "withſtanding the diſſolution of "the parliament." Whit. Mem. p. 32.

(u) The king's moſt intimate counſellors at this time were, Laud, Straſford, and Cottington, by whom, it ſeems, he was told, that being refuſed by the commons, he might uſe any methods to raiſe money. Accordingly

Mean while the Scots, by private encouragement from England, advance to their borders (x), and routing a party of Engliſh, become maſters of Newcaſtle. The king is quickly reduced to great ſtraits, and petitioned to call a parliament and treat with the Scots. Want of money, and a manifeſt averſion in the Engliſh, and particularly in the army to fight againſt the Scots, oblige the king to comply. Commiſſioners are appointed on both ſides to treat, firſt at Rippon and afterwards at London, and a parliament ſummoned to ſit the 3d of November 1640. So univerſal was the diſlike of the principles and proceedings of the court, that notwithſtanding all their endeavours, few of that party could obtain a ſeat in this parliament (y). The counties, cities, and boroughs, were almoſt unanimous in chuſing ſtate-puritans, or (in the modern phraſe) whigs, that is, men, who without believing the divine right of kings, were attached to the conſtitution as well in church as ſtate, and enemies only to abuſe of power in both. Of ſuch men the majority of the

ingly, (ſays Whitlock) all the wheels of the prerogative were ſet in motion to provide money, as loans, knighthood, monopolies, &c. Whit. Mem. p. 33, &c. It is remarkable that, the firſt footſteps we have of a cabinet-council in any European government were in the time of Charles IX. king of France, when reſolving to maſſacre the proteſtants he durſt not truſt his council with it, but choſe a few men whom he called his cabinet-council. Formerly, it ſeems, all matters were debated and reſolved in the privy-council, where every man ſubſcribed his opinion, and was anſwerable for it. This part of the conſtitution was broken by king Charles I. but more notoriouſly by king Charles II. who ſettled a cabal or cabinet-council, where all matters of conſequence were reſolved, and then brought to the privy-council to be confirmed. See pref. to the hiſt. of ſtanding armies.

(x) As the king (ſays Whitlock) had his private junto, ſo the agents of the Scots-covenanters and their friends in London had their private meeting and counſels, with thoſe who were diſcontented at the preſent management of affairs at court, and who had ſuffered by the late proceedings; and from hence no ſmall encouragement and promiſe of aſſiſtance was given to the covenanters. Whit. Mem. p. 33.

(y) The court (ſays Whitlock) laboured to bring in their friends; but thoſe who were moſt favoured at court, had leaſt reſpect in the country, and it was not a little ſtrange to ſee what a ſpirit of oppoſition to the court-proceedings, was in the hearts and actions of moſt of the people, ſo that very few of that party had the favour to be choſen members of this parliament. Whit. Mem. p. 35.

commons

commons conſiſted, whoſe ſole intention was to redreſs the civil and eccleſiaſtical grievances, and ſeverely puniſh the authors (z). Had the houſe been entirely filled with theſe and

(z) If the aſſertions of the lord Clarendon and other writers on the king's ſide be impartially conſidered, it can hardly be doubted that the intention of much the greateſt part of the commons, at the time of their aſſembling, was not to alter the conſtitution but reform abuſes. And that even the views of thoſe who were for alterations in church and ſtate, did not extend beyond abridging the temporal power of the biſhops and eccleſiaſtical courts, and bounding the prerogative ſo, as to prevent any future invaſions of the rights of the ſubject. For though there were ſome who privately deſired the abolition of epiſcopacy, and others who ſecretly wiſhed both that and the extirpation of the monarchy, yet it is not poſſible they (eſpecially the republicans) ſhould entertain the leaſt hopes of ſeeing their deſires accompliſhed, contrary to the principles and intentions of both houſes, and the general bent and genius of the nation. The ſubverſion therefore of the civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, which afterwards happened, was not owing to any ſettled deſign at the firſt, but to certain accidents and conjunctures not to be foreſeen by the moſt acute underſtanding. The lord Clarendon, ſpeaking of the temper and conſtitution of both houſes, expreſsly ſays, "In "the houſe of commons were "many perſons of wiſdom and "gravity, who being poſſeſſed "of great and plentiful fortunes, "though they were undevoted "enough to the court, had all "imaginable duty to the king, "and affection to the govern-"ment eſtabliſhed by law or an-"cient cuſtom; and without "doubt, the major part of that "body conſiſted of men who "had no mind to break the "peace of the kingdom, or to "make any conſiderable altera-"tion in the government of "church or ſtate." B. 1. p. 184. Agreeably to this repreſentation was the order of the commons of Novemb. 20, 1640, ſeventeen days after their firſt meeting, That none ſhould ſit in their houſe but ſuch as would receive the communion according to the uſage of the church of England. As for the peers, the lord Clarendon obſerves, that when the bill for taking away the votes of the biſhops in parliament was brought into the houſe, there were only two lords (Say and Brook) that appeared as enemies to the whole fabric of the church, and to deſire a diſſolution of the epiſcopal government. He likewiſe deſcribes the principal members of the houſe of commons to be well-affected, or at leaſt not averſe to the government of the church, as Pym, Hollis, Whitlock, Selden, &c. and of Hamden himſelf he ſays, "Moſt "people believe his diſlike was "rather to ſome churchmen, "than to the eccleſiaſtical go-"vernment of the church." It ſeems therefore unjuſt to charge in general the members of this par-

and the ſmall number of the court-party, the wounds in the conſtitution would doubtleſs have been cloſed, and the liberties of the people ſecured from future invaſion, without the extirpation of the monarchy, or even epiſcopacy. But unhappily there were alſo elected ſome, whoſe views were carried much farther, and who, not content with reforming abuſes, were for removing foundations (a). Theſe men, more conſiderable for their abilities than number, concealed their intentions at firſt, by pretending to confine their

parliament with having from the beginning, deſigns of ſubverting the conſtitution, or to blame their oppoſition to the proceedings of the court, ſince frequency of parliaments, redreſs of grievances, and calling the king's arbitrary miniſters to account, were the ends propoſed by the major part of both houſes, to accompliſh which, it was by ſome judged neceſſary to ſet bounds to the prerogative royal, and diminiſh the power of the biſhops, without the leaſt thought of deſtroying the civil or eccleſiaſtical government. It was not (ſays Welwood) a few of either houſe, but all the great patriots that concurred at firſt to make inquiry into the grievances of this reign. Sir Edward Hide (afterwards lord Clarendon) the lord Digby, the lord Falkland, the lord Capel, Mr. Grimſtone, (ſpeaker of that houſe of commons, that brought in king Charles II.) Mr. Holles, (ſince lord Holles) all which ſuffered afterwards on the king's ſide; and in general moſt of thoſe that took the king's part in the war, were the men that appeared with the greateſt zeal for the redreſs of grievances, and their intentions were certainly noble and juſt, and tended to the equal advantage of king and people. Welw. Mem. p. 43.

(a) It muſt be obſerved, the puritans had ſometime been diſtinguiſhed by the names of doctrinal-puritans, and diſcipline-puritans. The doctrinal-puritans were conformiſts to the church of England, and well pleaſed with epiſcopal government, but underſtood the articles of juſtification, free-will, predeſtination, &c. in the literal or calviniſtical ſenſe, and therefore were very averſe to the perſons of ſuch biſhops, as eſpouſed and propagated the oppoſite or Armenian interpretation of the ſame points. Moſt of the members of the houſe of commons were, as to religion, doctrinal-puritans. The diſcipline-puritans, equally poſſeſſed with the divine inſtitution of preſbytery, as the rigid churchmen with the divine right of epiſcopacy, were enemies to the whole hierarchy, and wiſhed for the eſtabliſhment of the preſbyterian government. Of theſe there were but few at firſt in the parliament, and ſtill fewer republicans, who afterwards, under the name of independents, oppoſed as well the preſbyterian as epiſcopal diſcipline, and by that means proved one occaſion of the reſtoration of king Charles II.

deſires,

deſires, with the friends of the conſtitution, to the redreſs of grievances.

To the parliament, thus compoſed, the king in his firſt ſpeech declares his reſolution "to put himſelf freely upon "the affection of his ſubjects, and heartily to concur in the "redreſs of their juſt grievances." According to this declaration, the king conſents to the abolition of ſhip money (b), knighthood-money, monopolies, the courts of ſtar-chamber (c), and high-commiſſion (d), thoſe great fountains of grievances, and for a future ſecurity of his governing by law, paſſes

(b) By this act, all the proceedings in the buſineſs of ſhip-money were adjudged void, and the judgments, enrolments, and entries thereupon, vacated and cancelled. Beſides, ſome clauſes in the ſtatute aſſert the ſubjects liberty and property beyond what was done by the petition of right, which (ſays lord Clarendon) needed an additional eſtabliſhment.

(c) The exorbitances (ſays lord Clarendon) of this court had been ſuch, that there were very few perſons of quality who had not ſuffered or been perplexed by the weight or fear of thoſe cenſures and judgments. For having extended their juriſdiction from riots, perjury, and the moſt notorious miſdemeanors, to an aſſerting all proclamations and orders of ſtate; to the vindicating illegal commiſſions and grants of monopolies, (all which were the chief ground-works of their late proceedings) no man could hope to be longer free from the inquiſition of that court, than he reſolved to ſubmit to thoſe and the like extraordinary courſes. B. III. p. 284.

(d) The high-commiſſion court was erected by a ſtatute in the firſt year of queen Elizabeth, inſtead of a juriſdiction which had been exerciſed under the pope's authority, then aboliſhed. Of late (ſays the lord Clarendon) it cannot be denied, that by the great power of ſome biſhops at court, it had much over-flowed the banks which ſhould have contained it. Then, it was grown from an eccleſiaſtical court, for reformation of manners, to a court of revenue; and impoſed great fines upon thoſe who were culpable before them; ſometimes above the degree of the offence, had the juriſdiction of fining been unqueſtionable: which it was not. The act for aboliſhing the high commiſſion repeals that branch of the ſtatute of the firſt of queen Elizabeth, upon which this court was founded, and then enacts, "That "no archbiſhops, biſhops, vicars "general, chancellor, or official, "nor their commiſſaries, or any "other eccleſiaſtical officer, ſhall, "by any grant, &c. from the "king, after the firſt of Auguſt "1641, award, impoſe, or in-"flict any pain, penalty, fine, "amerciament, impriſonment, or "other corporal puniſhment, "upon any of the king's ſub-"jects, for any contempt, miſ-"demeanor, crime, matter, or "thing,

paſſes a bill for triennial parliaments (e) He alſo, though with reluctance, ſacrifices one of his moſt intimate counſellors the lord Strafford, to the reſentment of the commons; and as a demonſtration of the ſincerity of his intentions, gives the commons power to ſit till they ſhould diſſolve themſelves.

After receiving the thanks of both houſes for theſe acts, the king takes a journey to Scotland, and the pacification being concluded, the two armies are ordered to be diſbanded.

" thing whatſoever, belonging " to eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; or " ſhall, ex officio, adminiſter " to any perſon, any corporal " oath, to make any preſent- " ment of any crime, or to con- " feſs or accuſe himſelf of any " crime or miſdemeanor, where- " by he or ſhe may be liable to " any puniſhment, under the " penalty of treble charges, and " a hundred pound to him who " ſhall demand the ſame. Nor " ſhall any new court be erected " with like power, as the high- " commiſſion had or pretended " to have, but all ſuch commiſ- " ſions from the king and his " ſucceſſors, and all acts made " by virtue thereof ſhall be ut- " terly void." By this act (as the lord Clarendon obſerves) all coercive power, and in a manner, all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, were taken from the ſpiritual courts. B. III. p. 284.

(e) Whitlock obſerves, that the committee for this bill took a great deal of pains in framing it, p. 39. There are in it many ſtrong clauſes in favour of the ſubjects, in caſe the crown ſhould omit the ſending out the writs; particularly, " the giving the " people authority to aſſemble " together, if the king failed to " call them." However, (ſays the lord Clarendon) ſince it was evident that great inconveniencies had befallen the kingdom by the long intermiſſion of parliaments, and this intermiſſion could not have happened, if there had not been ſome neglect of what had been ſettled by former laws; therefore there was ſome colour of reaſon for theſe clauſes, by which the crown could in no caſe ſuffer, but by its own default. B. III. p. 282. This and the two foregoing notes plainly ſhow, the commons in theſe, as well as in other acts paſſed about the ſame time, againſt monopolies, knighthood-money, incroachments in the ſtannery courts, and for the certainty of bounds of foreſts, (all which had been occaſions of great oppreſſions) had juſt reaſons for their proceedings, by the confeſſion even of lord Clarendon himſelf, who ſays alſo concerning foreſts, That the people had been ſo vexed by the juſtice in Eyre's ſeat, that few men could aſſure themſelves their eſtates and houſes might not be brought within the juriſdiction of ſome foreſt, which if they were, it coſt them great fines. B. III. p. 286. Theſe acts have been the more fully explained here, as they are but juſt mentioned by Rapin, at the time of their being paſſed.

In Scotland the king, who had not long ſince attempted to introduce there the Engliſh church-worſhip and diſcipline, reſolves now, if poſſible, to regain the affection of his countrymen, or at leaſt to keep them quiet, and to this end ratifies in parliament all their late proceedings, and gives his conſent to the acts of the Glaſgow aſſembly; by one of which "the government of the church by archbiſhops and "biſhops is declared to be againſt the word of God and "propagation of religion, and epiſcopacy utterly abo-"liſhed" (f).

The grievances of both nations being thus redreſſed, and the cauſes in great meaſure removed, the king was in hopes he ſhould be no farther preſſed. But he ſoon found he was miſtaken. For during his abſence in Scotland, the leaders in the houſe of commons had found means to infuſe into many members a belief, that the king's conceſſions were no ſufficient ſecurity againſt future encroachments of the crown, and therefore it was neceſſary to obtain a farther limitation of the prerogative, as well as a retrenchment of the epiſcopal power. When they thought they had gained a majority to their opinion, upon news that the king was coming from Scotland, the famous remonſtrance of the ſtate of the kingdom was brought into the houſe and put to the vote. Hitherto the commons had been unanimous in the reformation of abuſes, but in this affair, after a long and violent debate, the houſe was divided, and the remonſtrance carried but by nine voices (g). Eight days after his return, this remonſtrance, with a petition for removing evil counſellors, and for

(f) This condeſcenſion to the Scots (ſays lord Clarendon) gave unſpeakable encouragement to the enemies of the church of England, whoſe number from thenceforth wonderfully encreaſed. They preſumed their work was more than half done, when the king himſelf declared, (as they ſaid, by his aſſent to that act) that epiſcopal government was againſt the word of God, and many concluding the king would at laſt yield to any thing, put themſelves in company of the boldeſt and moſt poſitive aſkers, B. IV. p. 310. The true reaſon, doubtleſs, of theſe condeſcenſions to the Scots, was the king's knowledge how ſubſervient they had been to the deſigns of the Engliſh parliament, and to prevent their interpoſing for the future. But in this he was diſappointed; for when, in the courſe of the war, the parliament was obliged to apply to them for their aſſiſtance, it was readily granted.

(g) When the leading men in the houſe of commons (who ſuſpected the king's ſincerity) ſaw, that many members, and great part of the nation, appeared ſatisfied

for his concurrence in the farther abridging the temporal power of the clergy, was preſented to the king, after which it was printed and publiſhed to the people.

From thenceforward two parties aroſe, as well in the nation as in the houſes of parliament. The one, ſatisfied with the redreſs of the grievances, thought the remonſtrance needleſs, and the people's rights amply ſecured by the king's ſincerity, and the act for triennial parliaments. The other believed theſe fences too weak, and inſiſted upon ſtronger ſecurities in the abridgment of the royal power.

tisfied with the redreſs of grievances and the triennial act, and that the king, now in Scotland, in order to pacify the covenanters, readily aſſented to whatever was deſired by the parliament of that kingdom, they renewed their endeavours to make it believed that the king would break thro' all his conceſſions, as in the caſe of the petition of right, whenever it ſhould be in his power. To this end it was inſinuated, the king ſtill retained his old principles; was under the abſolute influence of the queen; had redreſſed the chief grievances with reluctance, and therefore the triennial act would be but a weak barrier againſt future oppreſſions, if ſtronger bounds were not ſet to the prerogative. Perhaps theſe inſinuations might not ſo eaſily have had the deſired effect, had they not been ſtrengthned by ſeveral accidents during the king's ſtay in Scotland, as the deſign at Edinburgh to murder Hamilton and Argyle, which ſome were perſuaded to believe was intended to reach farther than to thoſe lords; but more eſpecially the Iriſh rebellion and maſſacre, which happened in this interval, ſerved to increaſe the king's enemies in the parliament and nation. "For (ſays lord "Clarendon) all occaſions being "taken to inſinuate that this re- "bellion was contrived and fo- "mented by the king, or at "leaſt by the queen; and that "the rebels declared they had "the king's authority for all "they did; this calumny made "more impreſſion upon the "minds of ſober and moderate "men (who till that time had "much diſliked the paſſionate "proceedings of the parliament) "than could be then imagined, "or can be yet believed. So "great a prejudice was univer- "ſally contracted againſt the "court, eſpecially the queen, "whoſe power and activity was "thought too great." (B. IV. p. 301.) At this juncture the remonſtrance of the ſtate of the kingdom was ordered to be prepared, wherein are deſcribed all the illegalities and faults in government ſince the king's acceſſion to the crown, with an intimation of the neceſſity of a farther reformation. This remonſtrance not being directed to the king but the public, was a ſort of appeal to the people for bounding the prerogative, and may juſtly be conſidered as the firſt ſtep towards the breach between king and parliament. See the remonſtrances and the king's anſwer.

Agreeably to their petition, and purſuant to their deſign of a farther reformation, the commons brought in a bill to take away the biſhops votes in parliament, and to diſable clergymen from having any temporal juriſdiction. As the biſhops had all along promoted the principles and proceedings of the court, and with great ſeverity to the oppoſers introduced innovations into the church, the bill was paſſed in the lower-houſe, even by thoſe who were no enemies to the epiſcopal order (h). But it would have found greater oppoſition in the houſe of lords, had not the biſhops unadviſedly given the commons an opportunity of cauſing twelve of their bench to be confined (i). By this means the bill at length was alſo paſſed by the peers. The royal aſſent would have been ſtill more difficult to obtain, had not the king, while the bill was depending, committed the fatal error of accuſing of high-treaſon the lord Kimbolton, with five commoners, and going in perſon to the houſe with a numerous retinue to de-

(h) The lord Clarendon ſays, one great cauſe of this bill was the contempt the biſhops had ſhown of the common law, in a wrong notion, that the ſtraitning and confining that profeſſion, would naturally extend the juriſdiction of the church. Thence aroſe (ſays he) their bold and unwarrantable oppoſing and proteſting againſt prohibitions and other proceedings at law, on behalf of eccleſiaſtical courts, and procuring ſome privileges from the king on behalf of the civil, even with an excluſion of the common lawyers: as "that half "the maſters of chancery ſhould "be always civil lawyers." And "that no others, of what con-"dition ſoever, ſhould ſerve as "maſters of requeſt." By theſe and many other provocations, the profeſſors of the common law were excited entirely to root up and demoliſh the juriſdiction of the church. Clar. B. III. p. 283, IV. p. 305. This might be one reaſon why the common lawers joined in this bill; but the true ground of it was, becauſe the commons plainly ſaw the biſhops votes in the houſe of lords would greatly retard, if not wholly prevent their deſign of a farther reformation. For twenty-ſix votes, when there was not above a hundred members, could almoſt at any time turn the ſcale which way they pleaſed.

(i) The biſhops, on account of ſome inſult from the populace, having abſented themſelves from the houſe, a proteſtation is raſhly ſigned by twelve of them, againſt all acts and votes in their abſence as null and void. This proteſtation the lord keeper Littleton, by the king's command, read next morning in the houſe of lords. It was immediately communicated to the commons, who, within half an hour, accuſe the twelve biſhops of high-treaſon, for endeavouring to ſubvert the being of parliaments. Whereupon ten are committed to the Tower, and two, by reaſon of their age, to the black-rod.

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mand them (k). This proceeding alarmed not only the parliament but the whole nation. The party which had lately begun to appear in the king's favour were now filled with diſtruſt, and inclined to believe the neceſſity of abridging the prerogative (l). In the midſt of the tumults, fears, and jealouſies raiſed on this occaſion, the king, to his farther diſadvantage, retired from the parliament, firſt to Hampton-court, and from thence to Windſor.

Mean while the leaders in the houſe of commons, convinced by the king's late conduct, that there was no ſafety for them without retrenching his power, fail not in this time of univerſal diſtruſt to puſh their deſign. For their own, therefore, as well as the nation's ſecurity againſt all future attempts of the crown, petitions are ſent to the king, firſt by the commons alone, and then by both houſes, to put the power of the militia, and command of the Tower, and other fortreſſes into the hands of the parliament, as the only means to remove their jealouſies and fears (m). The king being determined to deveſt himſelf of no power he could legally claim

(k) This ſudden action (ſays Whitlock) was the firſt viſible and apparent ground of the following miſeries, p. 51. And therefore (ſays Wellwood) the adviſers of it are juſtly chargeable with all the blood that was afterwards ſpilt, p. 58. It was believed, if the king had found the members in the houſe, and called in his guards to ſeize them, the houſe would endeavoured their defence, which might have proved a very unhappy buſineſs. Whit. p. 51. The Lord Clarendon aſcribes it to lord Digby; others to the queen. However this be, ſo notorious a breach could not but be of infinite diſadvantage to the king in the preſent juncture, being looked upon as equal to a diſſolution of the parliament, ſince he might, (they ſaid) upon the ſame grounds, as well ſeize five hundred as five members. Wherefore it not only produced an union in both houſes, but was a plain indication that the king would aſſuredly be revenged of ſuch members as had given him offence, whenever it ſhould be in his power; which conſideration determined the leading men to tie up his hands for the future, by abridging the prerogative.

(l) The minds of men (ſays lord Clarendon) throughout the kingdom, were now prepared to receive all the dictates of the commons with reverence, to obey all their orders, and to believe all their ſafety depended upon their authority; and there were few in the houſe who had courage to oppoſe and contradict them. B. IV. p. 305.

(m) When this bill (according to lord Clarendon) was firſt brought into the houſe, few imagined it would ever be countenanced beyond the firſt reading:

claim (n), rejects theſe petitions, but by the queen's perſuaſions, paſſes the bill for depriving the biſhops of their votes, and clergymen of all temporal juriſdiction, in hopes of ſoftning the houſes (o).

Not ſatisfied with this, the parliament finding their petitions ineffectual, ſettle the militia by an ordinance, which is offered to the king for the royal aſſent. The king refuſes it, and by degrees retires to York. Here a bill, after paſſing both houſes, is preſented to him for ſettling the militia in the parliament for a limited time, which is alſo rejected (p). Where-

but now (adds he) "there were "few who did not believe it to "be a very neceſſary proviſion "for the peace and ſafety of the "kingdom. So great an im-"preſſion had the late proceed-"ings made upon them." B. IV. p. 388.

(n) The truth is, I ſpeak it knowingly (ſays lord Clarendon) at that time the king's reſolution was to ſhelter himſelf wholly under the law: to grant any thing that by the law he was obliged to grant: and to deny what by the law was in his own power; and which he found inconvenient to aſſent to. B. V. p. 466. This reſolution was doubtleſs the cauſe of his ruin, for by a too long countenance in it, he gave the enemies of the conſtitution an opportunity of ſubverting it, by preventing an accommodation between him and the parliament.

(o) The king was perſuaded to paſs this bill even by ſome cordial friends to the church of England, who told him, that the paſſing this bill was the only way to preſerve the church; for by it many perſons in both houſes would be fully ſatisfied, and not join in any further alteration, who otherwiſe would violently endeavour an extirpation of biſhops; and beſides, by granting this, perhaps he would not be preſſed in the militia bill. However theſe arguments did not prevail with him ſo much as the queen's perſuaſions, who was afraid her voyage to Holland would be croſſed by the parliament. It had been, it ſeems, concerted at Windſor, that the queen ſhould go with the princeſs her daughter (betrothed to the prince of Orange) into Holland, and carry with her the crown-jewels to be pawned for the king's uſe, if there ſhould be occaſion. The lord Clarendon inſinuates here, that in this and ſome other acts of no leſs moment, "an opinion that the "violence and force uſed in pro-"curing them, rendred them "abſolutely void, influenced the "king to confirm them." Clar. B. IV. p. 427, 429. Whit. p. 52. This inſinuation ſeems to to give ſtrength to the ſuſpicions of the leading men in the houſe of commons, that the king, if not prevented, would revoke his conceſſions, whenever it ſhould be in his power.

(p) The King had deſired that the ordinance might be digeſted into an act of parliament, and the powers to be granted not left to an indefinite time. Whereupon the commons prepared a bill, and limited the time

Whereupon the parliament nominate lieutenants for the ſeveral counties, and require them to put the ordinance of the militia

to leſs than two years. The affair of the militia was the immediate cauſe of the rupture between the king and parliament. This point had never before been maturely conſidered, and therefore it is no wonder the lawyers were divided in opinion about it. Palmer, Hyde, Bridgeman, with ſome other eminent lawyers and gentlemen, affirmed, the power of the militia to be wholly in the king, and on the paſſing of the ordinance withdrew from the houſe. Sollicitor St. John, Maynard, Glyn, Selden, with divers gentleman of great parts and intereſt, believed it to be in the parliament, and if the king refuſed to order the ſame according to the advice of both houſes, they by law might do it without him: and purſuant to this opinion, accepted commiſſions of deputy-lieutenancy. Whit. p. 56.

In a debate, it was ſaid by a member (Whitlock) to this effect; "This great power which "commands all men and all "things, is by ſome affirmed to "be in the king, by others in "the parliament: I differ from "theſe opinions, and appre"hend, it is neither in the king "only, nor in the parliament. "This power is not in the king "only, becauſe the power of "money, without which the "other will be of little force, is "not in the king but in the "commons. The king indeed "may require forty days ſervice "in war of his military tenants, "but beyond that they will "not ſtay without pay. The "king can compel no man to "go out of the kingdom, and "therefore foreign wars are "not to be undertaken without "the advice of the parliament; "otherwiſe the king muſt pay "his army himſelf, for no man "can be preſſed by law to ſerve "in war but by act of parlia"ment. The power of the mi"litia is exerciſed againſt in"ſurrections at home, or inva"ſions from abroad. Againſt "inſurrections, the ſheriff has this "power in him; againſt invaſi"ons, every man will be ready "to give his aſſiſtance. It is my "opinion, therefore, that this "power, which the law has not "expreſly ſettled any where, is "in the king and parliament "both conſenting together, and "I think it beſt it ſhould be "there ſtill; and the king "petitioned that the militia "may be ſettled in ſuch hands "as you may truſt." Whit. p. 53.

The many debates and papers publiſhed on this occaſion, ſeem to have been deſigned for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who were for laying only legal reſtraints on the king. For the main point was, not where this power was placed by the law, but whether it was neceſſary for the public welfare in the preſent juncture, to ſettle it for a time in ſuch hands as the parliament ſhould approve. This was abſolutely refuſed by the king. For when the earl of Pembroke aſked him, whether he would grant the militia, as deſired by the parliament for a

militia in execution. To this the king forbids obedience, ſummons the gentry of the northern counties to York, and raiſes a guard of horſe and foot. About the ſame time ſeveral members of both houſes withdrew, and particularly nine
1642. peers reſort to the king. Mean time, the parliament, ac-
June 2. cording to a former deſire of the king, ſend him all their demands, digeſted into nineteen propoſitions, which are rejected by the king, as inconſiſtent with his rights (q).

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time? No, replies the king, by God, not for an hour. Theſe haſty words did the king great injury, they being ſpoken juſt after he had in a manner promiſed to comply, when he ſhould know how long it was to be thus ſettled. Ruſh. IV. p. 533.

(q) The king by meſſage to the parliament, Jan. 20, 1641, adviſed them "to digeſt into one "body all the grievances of the "kingdom and ſend them to "him, promiſing his favourable "aſſent to thoſe means which "ſhould be found moſt effectual "for redreſs." Whit. p. 52. Accordingly, the following June, the nineteen propoſitions were preſented to him, wherein it was deſired, (I.) That the privy-counſellors, foreign miniſters, (III.) great officers of ſtate, and (XV.) commanders of forts and caſtles, may be appointed with the approbation of the parliament. (II.) That affairs of public concern may be tranſacted only in parliament, and other matters of ſtate by the privy-council, (whoſe number ſhall not exceed twenty-five, nor be leſs than fifteen) and all their public acts atteſted under their hands. (XI.) That the privy-counſellors and judges ſwear to maintain the petition of right, and certain ſtatutes made by this parliament. (XII.) That the judges and other officers appointed with the approbation of both houſes, hold their places quamdiu bene ſe geſſerint. (IV.) That the governours of the king's children may be approved of by both houſes, and, in the intervals of parliament, by the major part of the council; and (V.) no marriage concluded for them without conſent of parliament. (VI.) That the laws againſt jeſuits, prieſts, and popiſh recuſants, may be ſtrictly executed. (VII.) That the votes of popiſh lords may be taken away, and an act paſſed for educating their children in the proteſtant religion. (VIII.) That ſuch a reformation may be made of the church government and liturgy, as both houſes aſſiſted by an aſſembly of divines, ſhall adviſe. (IX.) That the ordinance for the militia may remain, till the ſame be ſettled by a bill. (X.) That the members of this parliament may be reſtored to the places they have been removed from. (XIII.) That the juſtice of parliament may paſs upon delinquents. (XIV.) That the general pardon may be granted, with ſuch exceptions as ſhall be adviſed by the parliament. (XV.) That all forces about his majeſty may be diſmiſſed, (XVI.) and a more ſtrict alliance made with the proteſtant ſtates. (XVII.) That the accuſed

Soon after, the king ſends forth his commiſſions of array, the parliament vote the raiſing an army, and the king, at laſt, erects his ſtandard at Nottingham. Thus, the civil war was kindled; and now aroſe the diſtinctions of royaliſts and parliamentarians, cavaliers and roundheads. July 10. July 12. Aug. 22.

It muſt not be thought that the members of each of theſe parties were united in principles and opinions. The royaliſts, or thoſe that declared for the king, liſted in his ſervice upon different motives. Whilſt the parliament confined themſelves to the redreſs of grievances, their proceedings were oppoſed by very few members, and approved by the bulk of the nation. At that time therefore, the king could not be ſaid to have any party, either in the two houſes, or in the nation, except the biſhops, good part of the clergy, the univerſities; in a word, ſuch as had embraced the principle of the divine right of kings, and the conſequent doctrine of paſſive obedience, whoſe number was not very great. The reſt of the nation, however diſagreeing in other reſpects, were unanimous in their approbation of reforming what was amiſs, as well in the church as the ſtate. But when the acts to this end, paſſed by the king, were not deemed a ſufficient ſecurity for the future, and farther limitations were deſigned, then it was that the king began to have a conſiderable party both in the parliament and nation, by the union of all who being ſatisfied with the king's conceſſions, oppoſed the abridging of the prerogative. Many members of parliament, who had approved themſelves patriots in zealouſly promoting the legal redreſs of abuſes, when they ſaw a farther reformation not only intended but begun in the militia bill, withdrew to State of parties at the breaking out of the civil wars.

ſed members may be cleared by act of parliament. (XIX.) That peers made hereafter may be reſtrained from ſitting in parliament, unleſs admitted with the conſent of both houſes. Theſe reſtrictions, though they ſeemed to intrench upon the royal prerogative, were, however, agreeable to the nature of the Engliſh conſtitution, and ſuch as a king, who ſincerely intends the welfare and happineſs of his people, would chuſe to make the rule of his conduct. But however this be, they were infinitely preferable to the calamities of a civil war, which the refuſal of them was ſure to produce. Nevertheleſs, theſe propoſitions were rejected by the king, purſuant to his reſolution of not diveſting himſelf of any power which he thought legal, and, in a belief, that greater limitations would not be offered him, though he ſhould happen to be vanquiſhed in the war. This reſolution, and this belief, proved fatal not only to himſelf, but alſo to the ſtate, in the utter ſubverſion of the conſtitution,

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the king, and by theſe he was chiefly enabled to carry on the war. (r)

The royaliſts. The royaliſts therefore partly conſiſted of ſuch as profeſſed to believe all reſiſtance unlawful, but principally of thoſe who thought the prerogative ought to be reſtrained within the bounds preſcribed by the law; but relying on the king's ſincerity and the triennial act, were utterly againſt any farther alterations in the civil or eccleſiaſtical ſtate. To theſe may be added the catholics, who, in return for the indulgence they enjoyed, aſſiſted the king with their perſons and purſes.

The parliamentarians. The parliamentarians, in like manner, were far from being all in the ſame ſentiments. The chief branch conſiſted of thoſe who really believed, from the king's late proceedings, that he had altered his principles, but would, if left in poſſeſſion of his full power, revoke his conceſſions, and be revenged of his oppoſers. To limit the prerogative, therefore, was the profeſſed deſign of the parliamentarians, and what properly at this time diſtinguiſhed them from the royaliſts (s). With this branch were mixed all the enemies of

(r) It is a miſtaken notion that king Charles's party were moſtly induced to eſpouſe his quarrel, from a belief of the divine right of kings, and the doctrine of unlimited obedience. Moſt of the great men who engaged and ſuffered on his ſide, had been zealous aſſertors of the national liberties, and had ſtrenuouſly reſiſted the incroachments of the crown, as far as was warrantable by law. Beſides, it was not till after the reſtoration that theſe notions ſpread much beyond the court, the clergy, the univerſities, and ſuch as were under their influence. The alterations in conſtitution beyond what was thought legal, was properly what firſt raiſed king Charles an army.

(s) It has been warmly diſputed, on which ſide the war was firſt begun? Whether the king or the parliament was the aggreſſor? But this ſeems not to be the point that ought chiefly to be conſidered. All but thoſe who profeſs the doctrine of paſſive obedience, muſt, at this day, be determined for, or againſt the king, in the ſame manner as the ſeveral parties were formed at the time of the rupture. He that believes, the king's conceſſions were a ſufficient guard againſt any invaſions of the national liberties, and that his majeſty really intended for the future to govern by law, muſt condemn the parliament for requiring a farther ſecurity, and deem the two houſes authors of the war. On the other hand, he that thinks, the king had unwillingly conſented to theſe acts, and would have revoked them, if ever it had been in his power, muſt throw the blame of the war on the king, for not agreeing to a farther limitation of his prerogative, at leaſt for a time.

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epiſcopacy, and friends of preſbytery; all the republicans and independents, whoſe ſeveral wiſhes and views outwardly ſeemed at preſent to extend only to a farther limitation of the prerogative. In a word,

The royaliſts, on a ſuſpicion of the king's ſincerity, drew their ſwords for the church, the laws, and the legal rights of the crown; and the parliamentarians took arms in defence of the fountain of all civil happineſs the liberties of the people, in a belief, that as they had, contrary to the moſt ſolemn declarations from the throne, been trampled upon many years, they would again be invaded, unleſs ſecured by a temporary limitation of the prerogative. Theſe were the real grounds of the civil war; for if either the parliament had ſeen cauſe to rely on the royal word, or the king had been willing to part with the militia but for a few years, it would have been out of the power of faction, private views and reſentments, to introduce the confuſion which followed, or to hinder, in caſe the king had firſt relaxed, the ſettling of the conſtitution on laſting foundations. But,

Both ſides appealing to the ſword, the war is, in the beginning waged with equal ſucceſs, but afterwards with diſadvantage to the parliament. Wherefore as the king had reſolved to call in the Iriſh to his aſſiſtance, the parliament treat with the Scots for their aid. The Scots believing their religion and liberties depended on the ſucceſs of the parliamentarians, readily arm in their defence, on condition that uniformity in worſhip and diſcipline be endeavoured in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. To this end a covenant (t) is ſubſcribed by both houſes, with the aſſembly of divines (u), and afterwards enjoined to be taken by

(t) The covenant conſiſted of ſix articles; the chief of which were I. To endeavour to bring the churches of the three kingdoms to the neareſt uniformity in worſhip and diſcipline; and II. To endeavour the extirpation of the hierarchy.

(u) The ordinance for convening this aſſembly was to this effect: "Whereas it has been "declared by both houſes, that "the preſent church-govern-"ment, by archbiſhops, biſhops, "&c. is prejudicial to the ſtate, "they are reſolved it ſhall be "taken away, and ſuch a go-"vernment ſettled in the church "as may be moſt agreeable to "God's holy word, and of near "agreement with the church of "Scotland, and other reformed "churches abroad. For the bet-"ter effecting whereof, and for "vindicating and clearing the "doctrine of the church of Eng-"land from all falſe calumnies, "it is thought fit to call an aſ-"ſembly

by the people, though it is far from appearing that the presbyterians were the majority in the parliament (x). By the assistance

" ſembly of learned divines to " conſult about the premiſes, " and give their advice to both " or either of the houſes when " they ſhall be required." This aſſembly was to meet in Henry VII's chapel, and conſiſted of three ſorts of clergy, epiſcopal, independent, but moſtly preſbyterian, to the number of a hundred and twenty. With theſe were joined many members of both houſes, with power of debating and voting, the chief were, the earls of Northumberland, Bedford, Pembroke, Saliſbury, Holland, Mancheſter; the lord Say, Conway, Wharton, Howard of Eſcrick; with Selden, Rous, Prideaux, both the Vanes, Pym, Maynard, Whitlock, and ſeveral other commons.

(x) It muſt be obſerved, that not only above a hundred members had deſerted or been excluded the houſe, but alſo ſome of the moſt eminent were dead ſince the beginning of the war, particularly Hamden and Pym, which cauſed a great alteration in the parliament. By the firſt, the votes againſt the hierarchy, and for the taking of the covenant, met with the leſs oppoſition; and by the latter, the deſigns of Cromwel and the army were the more eaſily executed. It is indeed the general opinion of the hiſtorians, and amongſt the reſt, of Rapin himſelf, that at this time the majority of the commons was preſbyterian, but there ſeem to be very ſtrong arguments to the contrary. It is true, preſbytery has gained ground in the nation, becauſe the parochial clergy (who will always have a great influence over the people's religion) were moſtly preſbyterians. But it was far from being the ſame in the houſe of commons, for the following reaſons. When they voted the abolition of epiſcopacy, (which was done to pleaſe the Scots) the bill was not to take place till about a year after, in which time it was hoped the breach with the king would be made up. Again, had they really intended it, what hindred them from eſtabliſhing the preſbyterian government and diſcipline, when they were ſupported by a Scotch army which was come for that very end? In almoſt every page of Whitlock's memorials we find petitions from the aſſembly of divines, from the Scots, from the city of London, for the eſtabliſhment of preſbytery, and yet the thing was continually deferred. And even at laſt, when both houſes paſſed an ordinance for ſettling the preſbyterial government, the ſettlement was to laſt but three years, with a reſerve of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction to themſelves, which they would never part with. Wherefore the king, in his letter to the Scots, ſaid very rightly: " We are confident (ſays his ma- " jeſty) the moſt conſiderable " perſons (in the parliament) and " thoſe who make the faireſt " pretenſions to you of uniformity, will not ſooner embrace a " preſbyterial, than you an epiſ- " copal government." Mem. of Ham-

aſſiſtance of the Scots and change of the general (y) the ſcale is ſo turned to the parliament's ſide, that the king daily loſes ground.

Mean time, a great and ſudden change wrought by the republicans, who ſtill lay concealed. It is ſo managed by Cromwel and ſome others, that the army is entirely new-modelled, and by an ordinance of both houſes, all members of parliament are rendered incapable of civil or military office. Fairfax is made general; and Cromwel, who had a great influence over him, is, notwithſtanding the ordinance, continued lieutenant-general of the horſe. Thus the indepen-

Ham. B. IV. p. 197. Of the ſame opinion was the lord Clarendon: "Very much the major "part of the members that continued in the parliament houſe, "were (ſays he) cordially affected "to the eſtabliſhed government, at "leaſt not affected to any other." Vol. II. p. 117. The caſe ſeems to be this. The commons ſhewed, upon all occaſions, that they did not believe any church-government in particular to be jure divino, but that either the epiſcopal or preſbyterial might be eſtabliſhed, according as the peace and welfare of the public required it. And as they had a lively ſenſe of what the nation had ſuffered from the abuſes of eccleſiaſtical power, and had before their eyes an inſtance of the intolerable yoke of preſbyterian diſcipline in Scotland, they were reſolved never to lodge any coercive power in the hands of the clergy. Hence their early bill, paſſed by the king, to take away the temporal juriſdiction of all clergymen. Hence their expreſs prohibition to the aſſembly of divines, to exerciſe any authority. In vain did the aſſembly offer frequent petitions to have the power of the keys, of excommunications, &c. The commons declare they can never conſent to be ſubject to near ten thouſand judicatories. Nor did the ſame aſſembly ſucceed any better in their aſſertion of the divine right of preſbytery; the houſe would not come into their notion: on the contrary, being informed of an intended petition for eſtabliſhing preſbytery as the diſcipline of Jeſus Chriſt, they voted it ſcandalous. Whit. p. 159. In ſhort the opinion of the houſe, in theſe reſpects, ſeems to be expreſſed in three ſpeeches made by Mr. Selden, and two other members, to the aſſembly of divines, which the reader will find in Whitlock's memorials, p. 94, 163. From hence alſo appears the reaſon why the army and independents came to have ſo ſtrong a party in the houſe. For toleration, and a renouncing of all coercive power, were two profeſſed principles of the Independents, to which the commons had all along been inclined, and to which the preſbyterians were utterly averſe.

(y) The earl of Eſſex's ſcruples to fight againſt the king's perſon were of great diſſervice to the parliament, and occaſioned his removal.

dents,

dents, without diſcovering themſelves, or their deſigns, become at once almoſt maſters of the army. Three months
1645. after this ordinance, the king, by the loſs of the battle of
June 14. Naſeby, is unable to keep the field, and ſhifting ſome time
1646. from place to place, throws himſelf at laſt into the Scottiſh
May 6. army before Newark.

The Scots upon this retire to Newcaſtle, and by their ſollicitation, the parliament ſends propoſitions to the king. Confirmation of the covenant, abſolution of epiſcopacy, and ſettlement of the militia in both houſes for twenty years, are the principal articles. The king abſolutely rejecting the two firſt, the Scots deliver him up to the parliament, and march into their own country.

At this time conteſts ariſe between the army and parliament. The army refuſe to diſband, and reſolve to have a ſhare in ſettling the government. They begin with ſeizing the king's perſon whom they conduct to Hampton-court. Here the king privately treats with the Scottiſh commiſſioners, and afterwards ſigns an agreement with them, by which, on certain conditions, they engage ſpeedily to bring an army into the field, and in conjunction with the Engliſh preſbyterians and royaliſts, free him from the independents, and reſtore him to his juſt rights (z). The king's reliance on this army and the inſurrections of his party, prevents his cloſing

(z) The king promiſed to confirm the covenant by act of parliament, for the ſecurity of thoſe by whom it had been or ſhould be taken, with this proviſo, that none ſhould be conſtrained to take it. He alſo engaged to confirm, in the ſame manner, preſbyterian government, &c. for three years, with an exception of himſelf and houſhold. And that courſe ſhould be taken for the ſuppreſſion of all ſectaries, as anabaptiſts, independents, &c. As the king by this treaty, was to be reſtored to the power of the militia, choice of officers and privy-counſellors, which the parliament refuſed him, he was doubtleſs the more eaſily induced to conſent to it. It is obſervable, on this occaſion, that the Scottiſh as well as Engliſh preſbyterians were irreconcilable enemies to toleration, the ſuppreſſion of all other perſuaſions being a point they conſtantly inſiſted upon, though they had loudly complained of the epiſcopal clergy for proſecution, during the firſt fifteen years of this reign. The pretended, though not real ground of this averſion to toleration, wherever it prevails, is the ſame; namely, the claim of divine inſtitution. Thus the rigid preſbyterian looks with the ſame eye upon other ſects, as the rigid epiſcopalian looks upon diſſenters, and as the papiſts upon heretics, becauſe all three equally claim an authority jure divino.

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with the parliament's terms (a), and finiſhes his ruin. For the Scots are routed, and the royaliſts diſperſed; after which the army ſuddenly reſolve to bring the king to a public trial as the author of the war. The members that oppoſe this reſolution are by violence kept from the houſe; and the reſt, either agreeing in ſentiments with the army, or for other private ends, erect a high court of juſtice, by which the king is condemned and beheaded. Preſently after, the ſame commons vote the houſe of peers uſeleſs, aboliſh the monarchy, and, though in perfect ſubjection to the army, declare themſelves the ſupreme authority.

Thus inſtead of perſuing the ends propoſed at firſt by the majority of both houſes, inſtead of reforming the exceſſes of the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers, and preventing the like grievances for the future, the conſtitution both in church and ſtate was by a ſmall part of the houſe of commons, in conjunction with a ſtanding army, entirely deſtroyed. During the courſe of the war, both king and parliament had continually expreſſed an inclination to peace; but as the one would not make the leaſt conceſſion with regard to the militia, and the other would not be ſatisfied without having it

(a) Both houſes, notwithſtanding the diſſent of the Scotiſh commiſſioners, had agreed upon a perſonal treaty with the king, provided he would paſs four bills for ſettling the militia; for recalling declarations, &c. for diſabling the lords, made after the great ſeal was carried to Oxford, to ſit in the houſe of peers; and for empowering both houſes to adjourn as they ſhould think fit. Probably the king would have paſſed theſe bills, had it not been for his treaty with the Scotch commiſſioners, who coming the next day, after the bills were preſented to the king, prevailed with him privately to ſign their agreement, and refuſe the four bills. The bills were brought to him, Nov. 24. 1647. The Scots commiſſioners came the 25th, with the agreement ready drawn, which the king ſigned the 26th, and ſent the ſame day an unſatisfactory anſwer to the four bills, with deſign to have made his eſcape preſently after from the Iſle of White, where, by Cromwel's ſecret management (as it is ſaid) he had withdrawn himſelf, but was prevented by a cloſer confinement. Ludlow and others inſinuate, the king whilſt at Hampton-court, and in treaty with the Scots, received ſome private overtures from the army, but that Cromwel diſcovering the king's ſecret negociations with the Scots, and intercepting a letter to the queen of the king's intention to deſtroy him, when it ſhould be in his power, inſtantly reſolved to bring the king to the ſcaffold. He found the army very ready to ſecond him, ſince they would have been caſhiered without fail, had the king and parliament agreed upon any terms.

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in their hands, at leaſt for a time, it is too plain, the negociations were intended only for the amuſement of the people, and the caſe ſtill remained the ſame as in the beginning of the war; namely, the blame was thrown on the king or the parliament, according as farther ſecurity was, or was not, thought neceſſary. But when the king by the chance of war was fallen into the hands of the parliament, and offered not only to ſettle the militia in both houſes for ſeven, ten, nay twenty years, but alſo to appoint the privy-counſellors and great officers of ſtate with their approbation, the fear of future invaſions of the people's rights, or the apprehenſions of danger to particular perſons from the crown, could no longer be pleaded as lawful obſtacles to a peace, and conſequently the king from all that time, ſtood clear of all blame that the government was not ſettled in a regular manner, on the foot of the ancient conſtitution. The preſbyterians grown numerous in the nation, and encouraged by the Scots, would not be content with the ſecurity of their civil and religious rights, but poſſeſſed with their jus divinum, inſiſted on the total abolition of epiſcopacy, and abſurdly claimed a more tyrannical power over conſcience, than what had ever been complained of in the biſhops. This, and this alone proved the occaſion (though contrary to their intention) of the king's death, in giving the independent army time to purge the houſe (as they called it) of ſuch members as refuſed to come into their meaſures (b).

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(b) The king, in the laſt treaty at Newport, not only offered to ſettle the militia in both houſes, but alſo that preſbytery ſhould be confirmed by act of parliament for three years, and a free conſultation be had with the aſſembly of divines (increaſed with twenty of the king's nomination) how church-government after that time might be ſettled by his majeſty and both houſes. It is true, the parliament ſoon after voted the king's conceſſions ſufficient grounds for ſettling the peace of the kingdom. But in condeſcenſion to the preſbyterians, by whom London was then governed, they had ſo long inſiſted on the abolition of epiſcopacy, that two days after this vote, above a hundred members were ſeized by the army, and the king ſuddenly brought to a tryal. It may here be obſerved, that the king's conceſſions were never in ſeaſon but generally too late. He that declared he would not, to pleaſure the parliament, diſmiſs the meaneſt of his ſervants, paſſed afterwards the earl of Strafford's attainder, and offered to chuſe his counſellors, miniſters, and officers of ſtate, with the approbation of both houſes. He that declared he would not part with the militia for an hour, offered to ſettle

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By this means not only the conſtitution is entirely ſubverted, but the preſbyterians themſelves are alſo diſappinted of their aim. Cromwel having gained the battle of Worceſter, reduced Scotland and reſtored the Iriſh affairs, puts an end at once to the commonwealth and the remains of the parliament, by turning the commons out of their houſe. Then under the title of protector he aſſumes the government; and though preſbytery is continued in the church, he allows, to the great mortification of the preſbyterians, toleration in matters of religion. After Cromwel's death, and his ſon's reſignation, the republican members (called in deriſion the rump) are reſtored by the army, and again prevented from ſitting. Upon which there ariſes a diviſion in the army; Monk, with his forces in Scotland, declares againſt theſe proceedings, and for the parliament, which is not only re-aſſembled, but the ſecluded members reſtored to their ſeats. After which, paſſing an order for ſummoning a new parliament of lords and commons to meet the 25th of April 1660, they at laſt diſſolve themſelves. The new parliament, without other terms than the promiſe of a general pardon and liberty of conſcience, unanimouſly call king Charles II. to the throne.

Thus were loſt two ſignal opportunities of ſettling the conſtitution on laſting foundations; namely, at the end of the civil wars, when the king was ready to comply with any methods for ſecuring the national liberties; and at the reſtoration, when king Charles II. would have gladly ſubmitted to ſuch limitations, as ſhould have been thought neceſſary for the prevention of future abuſes of power. But the preſbyterians, out of hatred to the independents, by whom they had been kept in ſubjection almoſt twelve years, ſo haſtily joined with the royaliſts, in the reſtoration of the king, that the ſober and conſiderate perſons of the ſeveral parties could not be heard amidſt the general tranſport.

Inſtead therefore of improving the juncture, and ſettling the government on the foundations of liberty; inſtead of fixing the bounds of the prerogative, and ſecuring the rights of the people agreeable to the ancient conſtitution, the ſame principles of civil and eccleſiaſtical power which had been

The ſtate of parties under Charles II.

it in the parliament for twenty years; whereas his conſent for two years, at firſt, would have prevented the civil wars. The ſame may be ſaid of his other conceſſions. So that Burnet had reaſon to ſay, "The truth was, "the king did not come into his "conceſſions ſeaſonably, nor with "a good grace: all appeared "to be extorted from him." Vol. I. p. 31.

maintained by king James, and purſued by king Charles I. and which had thrown the nation into wars and confuſion, not only revived with more ſtrength than ever, but received the ſanction of a legal eſtabliſhment. The very parliament or convention by which the monarchy was reſtored led the way, and even before the king's arrival, aſſerted that the crown, on his father's deceaſe, did immediately deſcend to him by inherent birth-right (c). And in their act for an attainder of the regicides, they declare, that neither the parliament nor the whole nation together have any coercive power over the king (d). Theſe foundations being laid, a ſuperſtructure was raiſed to a great height by the next parliament, which met May 8, 1660, and continued almoſt eighteen years. Not content with declaring, that the king ought *in no caſe to be reſiſted, both houſes enjoined all orders of men to ſwear to a belief of the unlawfulneſs of taking arms, not only againſt the king, but even againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him* (e). In vain was it moved by a member

(c) In the form of proclaiming the king, May 8, 1660, are theſe words: "We the lords "and commons aſſembled in "parliament, together with the "lord mayor, &c. unanimouſly "acknowledge and proclaim that "immediately upon the deceaſe "of our late ſovereign king "Charles I, the imperial crown "of the realm of England, "&c did by inherent birth-"right, and lawful and un-"doubted ſucceſſion, deſcend to "his moſt excellent majeſty king "Charles II, as being lineally "the next heir, &c." See the proclamation in compl. hiſt. vol. III. p. 241. By the words imperial crown, uſed here and in acts of parliament, is meant an independent crown not held of any other, as the princes of Germany are ſaid to hold of the empire.

(d) The words of the act are as follows: "Be it hereby de-"clared, that by the undoubted "and fundamental laws of this "kingdom, neither the peers, "nor the commons, nor both "together, in parliament or out "of parliament, nor the people "collectively or repreſentative-"ly, nor any other perſons "whatſoever, ever had, [illegible], or "ought to have any coercive "power over the perſons of the "kings of this realm." The parliaments that depoſed Edward II, and Richard II, ſeem to have been of a contrary opinion.

(e) The oath is thus worded; "I A. B. do declare and be-"lieve, that it is not lawful, up-"on any pretence whatſoever, "to take up arms againſt the "king. And I do abhor that "traiterous poſition of taking "arms by his authority againſt "his perſon, or againſt thoſe who "are commiſſioned by him." This oath was impoſed; firſt, on all officers in corporations, by the act called the corporation act, the intent of which was declared

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ber of each houſe, that the word lawfully might be added to commiſſioned; the oath was enacted without any limitation and left in general terms, though the word lawfully was owned to be implied (f). The command and diſpoſition of the militia, one of the immediate cauſes of the civil wars, was

to be, "That the ſucceſſions in "corporations may be moſt probably perpetuated in the hands "of perſons well-affected to his "majeſty and the eſtabliſhed "government, &c." The ſame oath was, in the next place, impoſed on lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, officers and ſoldiers, by the militia act, which begins with aſſerting, "that the ſole "and ſupreme power, government, command, and diſpoſition of the militia, and of all "forces by ſea and land, &c. is, "and by the laws of England "ever was, the undoubted right "of his majeſty and his predeceſſors, and that the parliament "cannot pretend to the ſame, "nor can lawfully raiſe or levy "war, offenſive or defenſive, againſt his majeſty, his heirs, or "lawful ſucceſſors, &c." Laſtly, the whole body of the clergy enjoying any benefice or ſalary, were enjoined to take the ſame oath by the uniformity act, chiefly levelled againſt the preſbyterian clergy, two thouſand of whom were ejected out of their livings for refuſing to declare their aſſent to every thing contained in the book of common prayer. The author of the detection of the court and ſtate of England, obſerves, this is one of the firſt laws that ever was made to ſwear to opinions and belief, and ſeems to doubt whether there can be any ſuch thing as a negative aſſertory oath as this is. However that be, "ſuch "an oath, ſays he, can never "extend farther than to him "who ſwears he does not know "what he is required to ſwear: "but he can never ſwear that "another does not know it. "This ſort of ſwearing deſtroys "the religion and end of an "aſſertory oath, which is only "to what a man knows certainly "to be true, but no man knows "that an opinion or belief is "certainly true—In juſtice "therefore an aſſertory oath, "that I believe or am of opinion, is not admitted, unleſs "the teſtifier ſwears the ground "or cauſe of his belief to be "true of his own knowledge. "Now what were the grounds "or reaſon of the corporation-"oath, which every one ought "to ſwear to be true of his own "certain knowledge, before he "believe it not to be lawful, on "any pretence, to take up arms "againſt the king? or, admit "there might be reaſon for this "belief, yet if the cauſes of this "belief were not known to the "taker of this oath, ſo as he "knows them to be true of his "certain knowledge, this oath, "if any, is perjury." See Coke's "detection, vol. II. p. 116.

(f) Sir John Vaughan, in the debate on the words commiſſioned by him, produced many inſtances to ſhow, "That the "people of England not only "might, but in ſome caſes "were bound to take arms a-

was alſo declared to be ſolely in the king, and his undoubted prerogative. In fine, to remove all reſtraints upon the crown, the act for triennial parliaments, which had been deemed the nation's ſecurity, was repealed, and another of much leſs force ſubſtituted in its room (g).

Thus the king, according to the tenor of theſe acts, was inveſted with abſolute power, accountable to none but God alone, and exalted above all reſiſtance. Theſe proceedings

" gainſt perſons commiſſioned " by the king; and that the " ſheriffs were bound, if it could " be no otherwiſe done, to raiſe " the poſſe comitatus, to oppoſe " and ſuppreſs all ſuch as ſhould " put any ſuch illegal commiſ- " ſions in execution." He therefore preſſed that the word lawfully might be added. But attorney-general Finch, a promoter of the bill, replied, " That " it was not neceſſary, ſince the " very word commiſſion did im- " port it: for if it was not law- " fully iſſued out to lawful per- " ſons, and for lawful reaſons, " it was no commiſſion." And to this interpretation the whole houſe aſſented. The earl of Southampton moved alſo, in the houſe of peers, for the addition of the ſame word, but was anſwered in the like manner by the earl of Angleſey. Upon Southampton's urging it farther, " Be- " cauſe it would clear all diffi- " culties with many, who not " having heard the particular " ſenſe of both houſes, might " imagine, that if any ſort of " commiſſion was granted, it " would be unlawful to reſiſt " it:" As a ſatisfactory anſwer it was alledged, " That this " explanation being the very " ſenſe of both houſes, it would " ſoon ſpread and be known, " ſo as to become the ſenſe of " the nation." But unfortunately this was not the caſe, for the doctrine of abſolute non-reſiſtance was every where inculcated by the clergy and others without the leaſt intimation of the ſenſe of both houſes. By which means many perſons were induced to believe, that they were bound to an unlimited obedience, and that it was unlawful to relieve themſelves in the moſt threatning danger. Whereas if lawfully had been inſerted in the act, no man could have been miſled, and the propoſition would have been ſtrictly true, namely, that the king's legal commiſſions are no more to be reſiſted than the king himſelf, in the due execution of the laws. But by the omiſſion of the word lawfully, the act literally aſcribed greater power to the king than ever was, or ever can be exerciſed by the moſt abſolute tyrant. Well therefore might Mr. Locke ſay, that the corporations were made to ſwear to a declaration and belief of ſuch propoſitions as the parliament themſelves afterwards, upon debate, were forced to alter, and could not juſtify. Letter to a perſon of quality, p. 60.

(g) By the new act the king was left at liberty to continue the preſent parliament as long as he pleaſed, which was accordingly continued near eighteen years.

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ſo deſtructive of the public liberties, ſo repugnant to the old Engliſh conſtitution, flowed chiefly from the preſent temper of the royal party, of which the parliament moſtly conſiſted, and which now prevailed in the nation. The remembrance of their late misfortunes, and the dread of falling again into the like ſituation, ſo fully poſſeſſed them, that they wholly imputed the civil wars to the principles on which king Charles I. had been oppoſed, and zealouſly eſpouſed the contrary maxims, without perceiving the impoſſibility of reducing them to practice, and without imagining they ſhould themſelves, in a few years, be forced to retract them (h). For

The king, with his brother the duke of York, encouraged by the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy, on principles ſo ſubverſive of liberty, form the project of introducing arbitrary power, and by that means the popiſh religion. To this end, the adminiſtration of affairs is lodged in the hands of a cabal of five perſons, who were thought fit inſtruments for ſuch purpoſes. (i) A private treaty is made with France for the deſtruction of the Dutch, in order to pave the way for the extirpation of the proteſtant religion, and the ruin of the Engliſh privileges (k) Purſuant to this ſecret agreement, the 1670.

(h) The anonymous author of the diſſertations on parties conjectures on this occaſion, That in ſuch a temper of mind and ſituation of circumſtances, even thoſe, who ſaw how groundleſs and dangerous were ſuch extravagant notions about the right, power, and prerogative of kings, might imagine, however, it was a part of prudence to give way to them, and to countenance them in the preſent conjuncture; to ſuffer the opinions of the nation to be bent too far on one ſide, as they had been bent too far on the other; not that they might remain crooked, but that they might become ſtrait. p. 17, 18.

(i) Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Aſhley, Lauderdale, the initial letters of which names form the word cabal.

(k) The account of this private treaty was publiſhed in Italian at Paris in 1682, by abbot Primi, who was employed by Colbert de Croiſſy the French ambaſſador, in England, but ſoon after ſuppreſſed, and almoſt all the copies ſeized and deſtroyed, at the inſtance of the lord Preſton the Engliſh ambaſſador. It was publiſhed under the name of count Maiolo, with the royal privilege. In this treatiſe are the following paſſages: "Theſe "things engaged the king of "England to ſign a ſecret treaty "with France; and to make it "more firm, Henrietta, dutcheſs "of Orleans, ſiſter to the king "of England, went over into "England in 1670, and pro-"poſed a treaty to her brother "in the name of the moſt

the triple-alliance is diſſolved (l), war proclaimed againſt Holland in conjunction with France; and as this was done during a long receſs of the parliament, money is raiſed by ſhutting up the Exchequer and by a ſupply from France (m). At the ſame time the penal laws againſt diſſenters are ſuſpended,

" chriſtian king, wherein ſhe of-
" fered to ſecure to him an ab-
" ſolute authority over his par-
" liament, and the re-eſtabliſh-
" ment of the Roman catholic
" religion in his three king-
" doms of England, Scotland,
" and Ireland. But ſhe ſaid,
" that before this could be ef-
" fected, there was an abſolute
" neceſſity of abating the haugh-
" tineſs and power of the Hol-
" landers, who only ſtudied to
" foment diviſions amongſt their
" neighbours; and to reduce
" them to the ſingle province of
" Holland, of which the prince
" of Orange ſhould be ſovereign,
" or at leaſt perpetual governor,
" which would not be difficult
" for theſe two mighty kings,
" when once well united, to ac-
" compliſh: ſo that by this
" means the king of England
" might have Zealand to retire
" to, if there ſhould be occaſion;
" and that the reſt of the low-
" countries ſhould remain to the
" king of France, whenever he
" ſhall be able to conquer them."
State tracts, vol. I. p. 34.

(l) The triple alliance was made in 1668, between the king's of England, and Swedeland, and the Dutch, to prevent the progreſs of the French king's arms: ſo was entirely deſtroyed by the private treaty with France. Moreover Coventry was ſent to the court of Sweden to diſſolve it, which was ſo effectually done, that the king of Sweden firſt ſtood neuter, and afterwards joined with the French. For this, which put all Chriſtendom in a flame, Coventry was made (ſays Coke) ſecretary of ſtate, and it may be, preſented with the ranger's place of Enfield-chaſe; whereas Sir William Temple, principal inſtrument in the peace of Nimeguen, loſt 2200 l. by it; and his only recompence was to be ſecretary of ſtate in Coventry's place, if Sir William would give him 10,000 l. for it. Detect. vol. II. p. 167.

(m) In abbot Primi's account of the ſecret treaty, it is ſaid: " As for the king of England he " was exceedingly perplexed, " there was need of money to " carry on the deſign, and that " ſecretly too; He could raiſe " none at home without aſſem-" bling his parliament, and that " could not be done without ac-" quainting all Europe with his " deſigns: there was alſo great " fear of oppoſition, both from " the miſunderſtandings which " in that tumultuous aſſembly do " for the moſt part ariſe between " the two houſes; and from the " intrigues of the Hollanders. " For which reaſons the king of " France furniſhed him with ſuch " ſums of money as were ſuffici-" ent to ſend out a conſiderable " fleet; and he adviſed the king " of England (the better to con-" ceal their agreements) to keep " a fair correſpondence out-" wardly with the Dutch; to ap-

pear

pended, and a toleration published by the king, with the sole view of including the papists (n).

Hitherto, it may be said, there had been but one party in the parliament; the majority of both houses, full of zeal for the prerogative, and of resentment against the maxims, which in their opinion, had caused the late civil wars, seemed to have made it their whole care to exalt the crown above any future attempts, by fencing it with unlimited obedience, and by excluding from offices of trust, all persons of contrary principles, by subscriptions and oaths. No other party dared to appear in the nation, and all opposition to the court vanished. But when the king's designs begun to be suspected, when the constitution was thought to be in danger, the scene was immediately changed, and the old English spirit of liberty rouzed itself. The very parliament by which the doctrine of non-resistance had been in appearance so firmly established, resisted to the utmost in a parliamentary way, and, very probably, would have proceeded to a resistance of another kind, had not the king given up his ministers, departed from his claims, and in great measure complied with their demands. At their meeting, after a long interval, they resolve, in the first place, to crush the design for popery. They begin with the king's declaration for liberty of consci- Feb. 4. 1672—3.

"pear firm to the triple league; "and to declare that he sent out "a fleet for no other reasons, "but because his neighbours, "and especially the French, who "made great preparations in "all their ports upon the ocean; "strengthening themselves so "very considerably by sea." State tracts, vol. I. p. 35. Accordingly king Charles received between six and seven hundred thousand pounds, which, for fear of suspicion, were not returned into the exchequer, but into the hands of Mr. Chassinch (page of the back stairs) who, for his pains, was to have two-pence in the pound. Coke's detect. vol. II. p. 166.

(n) It must be observed, that the opportunity at the restoration, of closing the division in the church, was lost, and instead of a comprehension, the terms of communion were made harder, and severe laws against all non-conformists were enacted, which will be remembered hereafter in the account of our religious differences. The court's design in thus widening the breach, and excluding great numbers from the communion of the church, was, to have room for granting a liberty of conscience in matters of religion, in order to procure some indulgence for the catholics. Accordingly the king, in defiance of several acts of parliament, published a declaration for toleration, in which the papists were so far included, as to be exempted from the penal laws, and permitted the exercise of their religion in their houses.

ence, as knowing it was intended in favour of the catholics, and after ſome ſtruggles oblige the king to recal it, as illegal, though he told them in his ſpeech, he had reſolved to ſtick to it. Then, as an effectual means to remove all papiſts from places and poſts, the teſt-act is paſſed, in conſequence of which the duke of York himſelf, high-admiral of England, with the lord-treaſurer Clifford, reſign their commiſſions (o). Whereupon the cabal is broke, and three of the members called to an account (p). Moreover, the parliament force the king, notwithſtanding his reluctance and

(o) The teſt-act runs: "For "preventing dangers which may "happen from popiſh recuſants, "and quieting the minds of his "majeſty's good ſubjects, all "and every perſon or perſons, "that ſhall bear office civil or "military, or ſhall receive any "pay, ſalary, fee or wages, by "reaſon of any patent or grant "from his majeſty, or ſhall have "command, or place of truſt "under his majeſty, or by au"thority derived from him, "ſhall receive the ſacrament of "the lord's ſupper, according "to the uſage of the church of "England, within three months "after his or their admittance "in or receiving their ſaid au"thority or employment; and "every of the ſaid perſons, in "the reſpective court where he "takes the oaths, ſhall deliver "a certificate of ſuch his receiv"ing the ſaid ſacrament, under "the hands of the reſpective "miniſter and church-warden, "and ſhall make proof of the "truth thereof, by two credible "witneſſes upon oath: all which "ſhall be inquired of, and up"on record in the reſpective "courts." With the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, the following declaration was alſo enjoined: "I A. B. do declare, "that I do believe, that there is "not any tranſubſtantiation in "the ſacrament of the lord's "ſupper, or in the elements of "the bread and wine, at or af"ter the conſecration thereof "by any perſon whatſoever." This teſt, tho' deſigned againſt the papiſts, as appears from the tenor of it, and the diſpoſition of the parliament at the time of enacting, affected the proteſtant diſſenters, and therefore a vote paſſed to bring in a bill in their favour, which was prevented from being finiſhed by a prorogation. By which it was evident, the king in his declaration for liberty of conſcience, did not intend the eaſe of the proteſtant non-conformiſts. Of this the diſſenters were ſo well ſatisfied, that Love, a city-member, and a diſſenter, ſpoke againſt the king's declaration. It is farther obſervable, that notwithſtanding the ſevere laws againſt the diſſenters, they remained unmoleſted, during the continuance of this and the three following parliaments. The reaſon was, becauſe the deſigns of the court were now fully diſcovered.

(p) Aſhley, made earl of Shaftſbury, turned againſt the court, and Clifford was lately dead.

private

private engagements with France, to put an end to the Dutch war, and conclude a league with the ſtates. The zeal againſt popery is inflamed, as well in the nation as the parliament, upon the diſcovery of the popiſh plot. A bill is immediately paſſed for diſabling papiſts to ſit in parliament, or come near the king, with an exception, however, for the duke of York. Another bill is prepared for raiſing part of the militia for a time, to which indeed the king denied his aſſent. It was alſo voted, that no more money ſhould be granted, till ſatisfaction was given in matters of religion. Not ſatisfied with all this, the commons, after having endeavoured, but in vain, to prevent the duke of York's marriage with a papiſt, project his excluſion from the crown, in defiance of the doctrine of the divine right of lineal ſucceſſion. In a word, their reſiſtance reaches even the king himſelf, in the impeachment of the earl of Danby. Neither his majeſty's declaration that the earl had done nothing but by his order, nor a pardon under the great-ſeal could ſcreen him from their proſecution (q). To put a ſtop to theſe proceedings, the parliament, after a continuance of above ſeventeen years, is at laſt diſſolved. Jan. 4. 1678-9.

From the latter years of this parliament may be dated the beginnings of the tory and whig parties, though they were not yet diſtinguiſhed by theſe names. That party which in the parliament and nation had appeared on the ſide of the court, acquired the appellation of tories, and was formed upon principles grounded on a literal interpretation of the acts eſtabliſhed ſoon after the reſtoration, in favour of the crown. They profeſſed to believe all reſiſtance unlawful, and lineal ſucceſſion unalterable; and therefore conſidered thoſe who differed from them in theſe points, as enemies of the monarchy and church. The other party which had oppoſed the deſigns of the court, received the name of whigs, and was formed upon a limited interpretation of the non-reſiſtance acts, which they underſtood with ſuch reſtrictions, Beginning of the whig and tory parties.

(q) Though it appeared to the commons, by the letters produced by Montague, that in the private negociations with France, particularly concerning the penſion of ſix million of livres for three years to the king, the earl of Danby had acted entirely by his majeſty's direction, they would not deſiſt, but were reſolved to lay open, if poſſible, the whole proceedings, and therefore may be ſaid to attack the king himſelf, though indirectly, in their impeachment of the earl. So far did even this prerogative parliament carry their reſiſtance, when they thought their liberties in danger.

as rendered them, in their opinion, conſiſtent with the ancient conſtitution (r). Theſe parties were now chiefly diſtinguiſhed by their adherence or oppoſition to the excluſion of a popiſh ſucceſſor. The tories, purſuant to their notion of hereditary right, eſpouſed the duke of York's cauſe; whilſt the whigs, in conſequence of their principles, were for altering the ſucceſſion. The tories, in this reſpect, were the majority in the houſe of peers, and the whigs, in the houſe of commons.

March 6, 1678-9. The nation having been alarmed with apprehenſions of popery, the elections for a new parliament ran in favour of the country-party or whigs. Accordingly the impeachment of the lord Danby is immediately reſumed, and a bill for the excluſion of the duke of York brought in by the commons.

July 10, 1679. In vain did the king offer limitations on a popiſh ſucceſſor, they were not received, and therefore this parliament was alſo diſſolved.

Octob. 17, 1679. But ſuch was the temper of the people in the preſent ſtate of jealouſies and fears, that the next parliament was not

(r) Though this long parliament ſeemed at firſt to be entirely tory, and to be wholly engroſſed with the thoughts of guarding the crown and the church with non-reſiſtance acts and penal laws, yet a whig or country party may be traced from the moment the ill effects of theſe things began to be perceived. Hence the commons, upon any remarkable occaſion, took care to explain their own acts, by aſſerting, "That they "never deſigned to make any "real alteration in the Engliſh "conſtitution, or any direct in"croachment upon the ancient "liberties of the people, ſe"cured to them by magna "charta, and many ſubſequent "acts." But the firſt noted inſtance of the whig or country party in the houſe of peers, was in the ſeventeen days debate in the year 1675, when the oath and declaration of non-reſiſtance on any pretence was attempted to be impoſed on privy-counſellors and members of parliament. In the debate on the words, againſt thoſe commiſſioned by him, it was ſaid, "That ſuch "words, without diſtinctions "and limitations, would eſſen"tially change a civil and regu"lated government into one "military and arbitrary, ſo that "there could be no difference "between the Engliſh and the "Turkiſh government." Echard's review, p. 19. To the former oath it was now added: "And I ſwear that I will not at "any time endeavour the alte"ration of the government in "church or ſtate." The court lords, (ſays Coke) with all the biſhops to a man, were for it: yet (continues he) the country lords, when they debated it in paragraphs, made it inconſiſtent with the preſent conſtitution of the nation. Detect. p. 194.

more

more favourable to the court. The king, in a dread of their treading in the ſteps of the former parliament, deferred their firſt ſeſſion above a year after their ſummons. In this interval petitions were preſented to him for the ſitting of the new parliament, the promoters of which were termed petitioners. Theſe were followed by counter-petitions, wherein the ſubſcribers, expreſſed an abhorence of dictating to the king the time of a parliament's meeting, and from thence were called abhorrers. But theſe party-names were ſoon loſt, in the more general diſtinctions of tory and whig (s).

The parliament was no ſooner aſſembled, but the commons warmly reſumed the affair of excluſion, and a bill to diſable the duke of York to inherit the crown paſſed by a great majority, though, during the debate, the king ſent and offered them any other ſecurity. Upon the bill's being thrown out by the peers, the commons voted all other means not only inſufficient but dangerous. As nothing leſs than a total excluſion would ſatisfy the commons, and as the king was determined not to conſent to it, this parliament was likewiſe diſſolved. Octob. 21, 1680. Jan. 18. 1680—1.

The next parliament ſummoned to meet at Oxford, was opened by the king with declaring his reſolution not to alter March 21. 1680—1.

(s) Burnet obſerves, there were not ſuch numbers that joined in the petitions for the parliament as had been expected: ſo this ſhowed rather the weakneſs than the ſtrength of the party: and many well-meaning men began to diſlike thoſe practices, and to apprehend that a change of government was deſigned, p. 487. As this, very probably, with the factions which now aroſe in the council and parliament, concerning the manner of the excluſion, confirmed the king in his reſolution to adhere to his brother and lineal ſucceſſion, in the proſpect of dividing the nation; ſo it ſhould have warned the country party or wigs of the danger of puſhing things too far, and induced them, when they ſaw the king utterly averſe to the excluſion, to content themſelves with the moſt proper expedients. And doubtleſs they would have taken this method, had not faction and private views mixed with the national intereſts. That this was the caſe, too plainly appears from the hiſtory of thoſe times. Hence an eminent perſon of the country party (who loſt his life afterwards for the cauſe) ſays, in a letter ſtill extant: "I muſt "confeſs, I do not know three "men of a mind, and that a "ſpirit of giddineſs reigns among "us, far beyond any I have "ever obſerved in my life. "Some look who is fitteſt to "ſucceed ——They are for the "moſt part divided between the "prince of Orange and the "duke of Monmouth — Others "are only upon negatives, &c."

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the ſucceſſion, and his readineſs to agree that the adminiſtration of the government, in caſe of a popiſh ſucceſſor, ſhould be lodged in proteſtant hands. Accordingly it was propoſed to the commons, that the duke of York ſhould be baniſhed during life, five hundred miles from England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the whole government, eccleſiaſtical and civil, veſted, upon the king's death, in the princeſs of Orange as regent. But ſo averſe were the commons to all expedients, that theſe propoſals were rejected, and the excluſion purſued with as much warmth as ever. For which reaſon the king, after ſeven days ſeſſion, ſuddenly diſſolved this his laſt parliament, to the great joy of the duke of York, who dreaded limitations even more than a total excluſion (t).

Thus by the king's reſolution to maintain hereditary right, and by the commons adherence to an abſolute excluſion, in a confidence of the king's yielding at laſt, the deſign not only proved abortive, but occaſioned ſuch a change in affairs, as brought both religion and liberty to the brink of deſtruction (u). The proceedings of the three laſt parliaments

(t) The duke of York (ſays Burnett) declared openly againſt the limitations. He was very ſenſible the limitations would be almoſt univerſally agreed to, but knew that many in the nation thought the excluſion unlawful. By whoſe means he might poſſibly recover the throne, but to break through the limitations he was afraid would not be ſo practicable. Hence it was, that the next day after the lord Finch had propoſed the limitations to the parliament, the ducheſs of York ſaid in a letter, "That "as for all the high things which "were ſaid by their enemies "they looked for them; but "the ſpeech of the lord chan-"cellor was a ſurprize and a "great mortification to them." Burnet, vol. I.

(u) The author of the diſſertations on parties obſerves: men were made to believe that the king, who had yielded on ſo many other occaſions, would yield on this; that he, who had given up ſo many miniſters, would give up his brother at laſt; and that if the parliament would accept nothing leſs than the excluſion, in their own way, it would be extorted from him. Now in this they were fatally deceived. —— The king, who had not uſed to ſhow firmneſs, on other occaſions, was firm on this; and the conſequence of puſhing the excluſion, in this manner, was giving him an opportunity of breaking the country party; of dividing the nation into whig and tory; of governing without parliaments; and of leaving the throne open to his brother, not only without limitations or conditions, but with a more abſolute power eſtabliſhed, than any prince of his family had enjoyed, p. 42.

gave

gave the court an opportunity to revive the fears and reſentments which had prevailed juſt after the reſtoration, and by that means to divide the nation into tory and whig, which were now become the general names of diſtinction. As by the indulgence ſhown to proteſtant diſſenters by the late parliament, and their conſequent behaviour, the court artfully rouzed the jealouſy of the church and alarmed the clergy (x); ſo by the indiſcreet zeal of others, a ſuſpicion was infuſed of a deſign to alter the government, and matter furniſhed for the proteſtant plot, by which ſome of the beſt blood in the nation was ſpilt.

The king, upon the abrupt diſſolution of the laſt parliament, publiſhed a declaration by way of apology, which being read in all the churches of England, produced, by the management of the court, addreſſes of thanks to the king, with aſſurances of adhering to the unalterable right of lineal ſucceſſion. The clergy were extremely zealous on this occaſion. Divine hereditary right, paſſive obedience, and non-reſiſtance, were every where preached in the higheſt terms, and without any reſtrictions. The two univerſities, the judges, with many profeſſors of the law, promoted the ſame doctrines

(x) The country or whig party no ſooner prevailed in the houſe of commons, but they eſpouſed the cauſe of the proteſtant diſſenters ſo far, as to endeavour to free them from the penal laws, particularly ſuch as were primarily intended againſt the papiſts. Hence it is that they had been unmoleſted, from the time that the deſign for popery had begun to be diſcovered. In the fourth parliament a bill paſſed both houſes to repeal the ſevere act made in the 35th year of queen Elizabeth, by which thoſe who did not conform to the church were required to abjure the kingdom on pain of death: and for ſome degrees of non-conformity, they were adjudged to die without the favour of baniſhment. Burnet obſerves, this bill went heavily in the houſe of lords; for many of the biſhops, though they were not for putting it in execution, thought the terror of it of ſome uſe. But this bill, on the day of prorogation, when it ſhould have been offered to the king, was, by his majeſty's particular order, withdrawn by the clerk of the crown. The houſe of commons of the ſame parliament, the laſt day of their ſitting, voted, "That the acts of parliament made in the reign of queen Elizabeth and king James, againſt popiſh recuſants, ought not to be extended againſt proteſtant diſſenters." And, "That the proſecution of proteſtant diſſenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the ſubject, a weakning the proteſtant intereſt, an incouragement to popery, and dangerous to the ſtate

doctrines in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, and gave the crown an unlimited power (y). The king, however, in the midſt of his triumphs, did not yet think himſelf entirely ſecure. Notwithſtanding the flattering addreſſes from all parts, he was ſtill afraid of a parliament, and durſt not venture to meet the repreſentative of the nation, before he was abſolute maſter of the elections. Effectual methods were taken to that end. Not only ſuch ſheriffs, juſtices of the peace, officers of the militia, were appointed as favoured the court, but the king reſolves to new model the corporations by annuling their charters, and granting others under ſuch limitations and conditions, as he ſhould think fit. Almoſt five parts in ſix of the houſe of commons would by that means be in his diſpoſal. He begins with the city of London, and purſuant to a ſentence in the king's-bench, ſeizes the liberties of the metropolis into his hands. Upon this, many corporations unable to contend with the crown, are prevailed with to ſurrender their charters. The court was vigorouſly purſuing this project when the king was ſuddenly and unexpectedly ſnatched out of the world.

Feb. 6. 1684—5.

"ſtate of the kingdom." It was alſo given to the members of the laſt parliament of this reign, as an inſtruction from their electors, to repeal the 35th of Elizabeth and the corporation act. By the favour thus ſhown them, the non-conformiſts (ſays Burnet) behaved themſelves very indecently, and fell very ſeverely upon the body of the clergy, which made the biſhops and clergy apprehend, that a rebellion, and with it the pulling the church to pieces, was deſigned. It was eaſy therefore for the court to inflame the clergy, and cauſe them to turn their apprehenſions of popery into a dread of falling again under a preſbyterian government.

"tain, that our kings derive not "their titles from the people "but from God; that to him "only they are accountable; "that it belongs not to ſubjects "either to create or cenſure, "but to honour and obey their "ſovereign, who comes to be "ſo by a fundamental hereditary "right of ſucceſſion, which no "religion, no law, no fault or "forfeiture can alter or diminiſh." —— The univerſity of Oxford paſſed a decree, wherein regal power, hereditary right, paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, are carried to the utmoſt height, and a copy of the decree was ordered to be hung up in every college. Little did the univerſity think that within five years they ſhould conform their practice to propoſitions, which they now declared, falſe, ſeditious, and impious!

(y) Dr. Gower, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, told the king in the name of the univerſity, "We will ſtill believe and main-

At

At the accession of king James II. to the throne, the tories and whigs were the principal parties in the nation, and at open defiance with one another. Among the tories were all the high-church men, and the clergy, by whom the divine right of kings, unalterableness of lineal succession, passive obedience, and non-resistance had been zealously preached above twenty years to the people. It is no wonder therefore, their doctrines had spread themselves in the kingdom, and been embraced by many very learned professors of the law, and members of the universities, especially as they seemed to be a part of the legal establishment. As the tories by their principles thought themselves bound to adhere to a popish successor, and happened to be under the influence of popish counsels, they were reproached by their adversaries as favourers of popery as well as arbitrary power. But this imputation appeared afterwards entirely groundless. The whigs, chiefly consisting of moderate churchmen with some few of the clergy, avowed the principles of resistance in some cases, and asserted the power of the parliament to limit the succession to the crown. As the whigs were declared enemies to every degree of persecution, and consequently promoters of toleration in matters of religion, they were supported by the protestant dissenters of all denominations. Hence they were represented as presbyterians, enemies of the church, men of anti-monarchical principles. But this was with as little reason as the tories were charged with a popish inclination. The whigs as to religion, were no more presbyterians than the tories were papists; and though the small remains of the republicans took shelter in their party, the whigs were far from being antimonarchical, as their conduct afterwards fully demonstrated.

King James begins his reign with a strong declaration in council, that as he would never depart from his prerogative, so he would preserve the establishment in church and state, and maintain the rights of the people without invading any man's property. The tories who were now predominant in the nation, whilst the whigs with their adherents were oppressed, too readily believed the king's promises. The clergy every where extolled the royal word, and it was magnified as a security beyond any law (z). Addresses were presented from all parts full of the highest expressions of fidelity,

(z) The pulpits (says Burnet) were full of it; and of thanksgivings for it.—The common phrase was, we have now the word of a king, and a word never yet broken, p. 620.

lity, truſt and obedience (a). Though the king in a few days after his declaration in council, ordered the cuſtoms to be levied contrary to law, ſo far were the prevailing party from being alarmed, that he was publicly thanked by a learned ſociety, for this firſt violation of his word (b).

The corporations for the moſt part being modelled according to the project begun in the late reign, a parliament was called, and the elections by that and other irregular methods, were almoſt univerſally carried in favour of the tories (c). The king opens the firſt ſeſſion with repeating his former declaration of ſupporting the church of England, preſerving

(a) The univerſity of Oxford in their addreſs promiſed to obey the king without limitations or reſtrictions. The king's promiſe paſſed for a thing ſo ſacred, that they were looked upon as ill bred that put in their addreſs, our religion eſtabliſhed by law, which looked like a tie on the king to maintain it; whereas the ſtile of the more courtly was to put all our ſecurity upon the king's promiſe. The clergy of London added a word to this in their addreſs, our religion eſtabliſhed by law, dearer to us than our lives This had ſuch an inſinuation in it, as made it very unacceptable. Some followed that pattern. But this was marked to be remembered againſt thoſe that uſed ſo menacing a form. Burnet, p. 620.

(b) The ſociety of the Middle-temple in their addreſs ſaid, "That with the deepeſt ſenſe of "gratitude they acknowledged "his majeſty's great goodneſs, "in extending his royal care of "the government, to the preſervation of the cuſtoms which "had been continually received "in his royal predeceſſors for "ſome hundreds of years, and "never queſtioned by any parliament, unleſs in that where- "in were ſown the ſeeds of re- "bellion againſt the king his fa- "ther. —— May there never "want millions as loyal as we "are, to ſacrifice their lives and "fortunes in defence of your "ſacred perſon and prerogative "in its full extent." Thus a manifeſt breach of the law was vindicated and applauded by a body of lawyers themſelves. The legal method (ſays Burnet, p. 622.) was to be made entries, and to have taken bonds for thoſe duties to be paid, when the parliament ſhould meet and renew the grant which expired with the late king. As this ſeizing of the cuſtoms (ſays Welwood, p. 138.) was contrary to law, ſo was it altogether needleſs at that time, ſince a parliament was to meet within a few days, which nobody doubted would in a parliamentary way continue them for life. So that he openly violated the conſtitution, to obtain what he was certain would be granted him in a legal manner, and with the good-will of his people.

(c) The methods for ſecuring the elections were ſo ſucceſsful, that the king ſaid, there were not

preſerving the eſtabliſhed government, and never departing from his juſt prerogatives, aſſuring them, "they might "firmly rely upon a promiſe ſo ſolemnly made." Accordingly the commons, ſo great is their confidence in the king, grant him for life an annual revenue of two millions and a half, without any conditions or appropriations; voting withal that they entirely rely and reſt ſatisfied on his majeſty's word to ſupport the religion of the church of England, dearer to them than their lives (d). Coke II. 337.

In this diſpoſition was the parliament when the duke of Monmouth's invaſion put an end to the firſt ſeſſion, after an act of attainder againſt the duke, and a farther grant of four hundred thouſand pounds to the king on this extraordinary occaſion. June 11. July 2.

The ill-concerted expeditions of Argyle into Scotland, and of Monmouth in England, being defeated and the leaders put to death, the king thought himſelf ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in his throne, that he was eaſily induced to pull off the maſk and more openly avow his deſigns (e). Theſe invaſions furniſhed him with the pretence of raiſing and keeping up

not above forty members but ſuch as he himſelf wiſhed for. They were neither men of parts nor eſtates, ſo there was no hope left, either of working on their underſtandings, or of making them ſee their intereſt in not giving the king all at once. Moſt of them were furious and violent, and ſeemed reſolved to recommend themſelves to the king, by putting every thing in his power, and by ruining all thoſe who had been for the excluſion. Some few had deſigned to give the king the revenue only from three years to three years. But there was no proſpect of any ſtrength in oppoſing any thing that the king ſhould aſk of them. This gave all thinking men a melancholy proſpect. Burnet, p. 626.

(d) This reliance on a popiſh king for the ſupport of a proteſtant church, appears ſo extravagant to the author of the diſſertations on parties, that he ſays, "It is impoſſible to be-"lieve that their confidence in "the king's word was ſuch as "they affected. But like drown-"ing men who ſaw nothing elſe "to catch at, they caught at a "ſtraw." p. 76. And indeed the concluſion of this complaiſant vote, viz. dearer to us than our lives, ſeem to intimate to the king the danger of breaking his word, and is alſo an evidence that the tories even when moſt triumphant were far from being popiſhly inclined.

(e) It is obſerved, that theſe invaſions were ſo far from affording the nation any opportunity of mending their condition, that Monmouth's declaration might draw ſome of the diſſenters to his ſtandard, as it did; but

up an army which he took care to fill with popiſh officers though unqualified by law. Supported thus by a ſtrong force and a large revenue, he reſolves to haſten the introduction of popery and arbitrary power. He begins with plainly telling the parliament at the opening of the ſecond ſeſſion, "that a ſtanding army was neceſſary; and there-"fore he had increaſed the number of forces, and demanded "a ſupply for their maintenance. He owned ſome officers "had not taken the teſts, and declared he would not diſ-"miſs them (f)."

The parliament, and more eſpecially the commons, tho' chiefly conſiſting of men who profeſſed to believe the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, were alarmed at this ſpeech, as manifeſtly intimating a power in the king

but was calculated to drive the tory-party, moſt of the whigs, and in ſhort the bulk of the people, from him. Argyle's declaration was founded in the ſolemn league and covenant, and gave ſo much reaſon to apprehend that a revival of the ſame principles, and a renewal of the ſame tyranny was intended, that we cannot wonder it had no better effect, though we lament the fate of a worthy and gallant man, whoſe crime was refuſing a teſt, that ſhould never have been impoſed on proteſtants and freemen, and who had been driven into theſe extreme reſolutions by a ſeries of unjuſt and tyrannical uſage. Thus were theſe invaſions, favourable in ſome reſpects to the deſigns of king James. — But, in the event, they forwarded our deliverance from all the dangers to which we were expoſed, under his government, by precipitating his attempts againſt our religion and liberty. Diſſert. on parties, p. 77.

(f) Welwood remarks, that as king James's former ſpeeches to his council and parliament had put the French court to a ſtand what to think of him, this laſt ſpeech put them out of pain, and convinced them he was entirely theirs. — Accordingly the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which probably had been ſome time under conſideration before, was now put in execution, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe. Wel. mem. p. 156. Burnet makes the ſame obſervation. As far as I could judge, (ſays he) the affairs of England gave the laſt ſtroke to the recalling the edict of Nantes, and then adds, this year (1685) muſt ever be remembred, as the moſt fatal to the proteſtant religion. In February, a King of England declared himſelf a papiſt. In June, Charles, the elector Palatine, dying without iſſue, the electoral dignity went to the houſe of Newburgh, a moſt bigotted popiſh family. In October the king of France recalled the edict of Nantes. And in December, the duke of Savoy, by the perſuaſions and even threatnings of the court of France, recalled the edict that his father had granted to the Vaudois. So it muſt be confeſſed, that this was a very critical year, p. 656.

to

to diſpenſe with the laws. However to act as conſiſtently with their principles as poſſible, they offered not only to paſs a bill for indemnifying the popiſh officers from the penalties they had incurred, but alſo to capacitate ſuch others as ſhould be named by the king, and withal voted a ſupply of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, though they would not expreſsly declare that it was for the ſupport of the additional forces. Notwithſtanding theſe complaiſant offers, as they inſiſted on the king's removal of all jealouſies from his people by maintaining the laws, and eſpecially the teſts, he choſe rather to loſe the ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, than ſuffer them to ſit any longer, and accordingly put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſudden prorogation, which after many but fruitleſs attempts to gain the majority, was at laſt followed by a diſſolution. Nov. 20.

From this time may be dated the firſt deviation from the principles which had for many years been profeſſed by the prerogative-party. The king had been often declared to be above law, accountable only to God, and his commands to be received with an active or paſſive obedience. And yet the king's firſt attempt to diſpenſe with the laws is ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the very men who had eſpouſed the higheſt notions of regal power, and been elected as it were with the king's approbation. This naturally ſhould have deterred him from purſuing (at leaſt ſo openly) his deſigns, and taught him how little he could rely on the profeſſors of paſſive obedience, who, as it plainly appeared, when their religion and liberty were in danger, would interpret the doctrine of non-reſiſtance in a limited ſenſe. But,

Inſtead of being diſcouraged, the king ſince he could not prevail with the parliament to come into his meaſures, reſolves to fill Weſtminſter-hall with judges that ſhould anſwer his purpoſes. Accordingly at a ſham trial, the new judges declare it to be, "an inſeparable prerogative of the "crown to diſpenſe with all penal laws (g)."

This

(g) A ſham information was brought againſt Sir Edward Hales, a papiſt, for acting in a military office without qualifying himſelf according to law, which produced the declared opinion of the new judges in favour of the diſpenſing power. Echard's review, p. 71. When king James (ſays Welwood) came to aſſume to himſelf this power, as his prerogative and right, he unhing'd the conſtitution all at once; for to diſpenſe with laws already made, is as much a part of the legiſlature as the making of new ones. And therefore in arrogating to himſelf ſuch a diſ-

This important point being gained, the king contrary to an expreſs act of parliament erects a court of inquiſition under the name of a commiſſion for eccleſiaſtical cauſes. The clergy are forbid to preach on controverted points, that is, to defend their religion againſt the open attacks of the Romiſh prieſts; and the biſhop of London, for not obeying an illegal command of the king, is ſummoned before the new court, and arbitrarily ſuſpended from his office (h). Mean time a ſolemn embaſſy is ſent to Rome to reconcile the Britiſh dominions to the holy ſee, whilſt the catholic religion is publicly propagated in jeſuit ſchools and ſeminaries in London, and other conſiderable towns, and ſuch miniſters at court as would not conſent to the repeal of the

penſing power, he invaded the very eſſence of the Engliſh conſtitution, by which "the legiſ- "lature is lodged in king, lords, "and commons, and every one "of them has a negative upon "the other two." Welwood's memoirs, p. 169. It was, not enough (continues the ſame author) for king James to aſſume a diſpenſing power to act by it, but ſuch was the miſery and hard fate of England, that the party about the king would have had us believe, that a power in the king to diſpenſe with laws, was law. To maintain this monſtrous poſition, there were not only mercenary pens ſet a-work, but a ſet of judges found out, that, to their eternal reproach, did all that was poſſible for them to compliment the king with the liberties of their country.—— Thus were we fallen under the greateſt misfortune that could poſſibly happen to a nation, to have our laws and conſtitutions trampled upon, under colour of law: and thoſe very men, whoſe office it was to ſupport them, became now the betrayers of them to the will of the prince. Ibid. p. 171.

(h) The king ſent an order to the biſhop of London to ſuſpend Dr. Sharp (afterward archbiſhop of York) for a pretended contempt of the order againſt preaching on controverted points: and the biſhop refuſing to execute it, as being illegal, was himſelf ſuſpended by the new court. Welwood obſerves on this occaſion, that notwithſtanding the king's inſnaring letter to the clergy about preaching, they were not wanting in their duty; for to their immortal honour, they did more to vindicate the doctrine of their own church, and expoſe the errors of the church of Rome, both in their ſermons and writings, than ever had been done either at home or abroad ſince the reformation; and in ſuch a ſtile, and with ſuch inimitable force of reaſoning, as will be a ſtandard of writing to ſucceeding ages. Wel. mem. p. 174. The chief of theſe writers were, Tillotſon, Sharp, Patrick, Stillingfleet, Williams, Tenniſon, Sherlock, Claggett, Gee, Whitby, and Dr. Wake, late archbiſhop of Canterbury.

teſts,

teſts, are, notwithſtanding paſt ſervices, diſmiſſed, and their poſts filled with others of greater compliance.

Things being thus prepared, a proclamation for liberty of conſcience is publiſhed, the diſpenſing power is claimed, and all ſubjects allowed to hold places without the uſual oaths or teſts. The diſſenters dazzled with this indulgence, as freeing them from the oppreſſions they endured, preſent addreſſes of thanks, full of high ſtrains of gratitude and loyalty, not conſidering that by approving an illegal toleration they became incouragers of the diſpenſing power aſſumed by the king (i). 1687. April 4.

As the jeſuits were very impatient to get footing in the univerſities, in a belief it would greatly advance the propagation of their religion, the king's next ſtep was to order, by a royal mandate, the fellows of Magdalen college in Oxford, to elect a preſident contrary to their ſtatutes and oaths. Upon their refuſal, they are ſummoned before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, deprived (except two that complied) of their fellowſhips, and with their new-elected preſident declared incapable of any eccleſiaſtical preferment.

During the conteſt with the college, all methods were practiſed to procure a new parliament that ſhoud ratify the king's meaſures, repeal the teſts and give a parliamentary ſanction to his diſpenſing power. To this end he took a progreſs into ſeveral counties, purſued the affair of new mo-

(i). The obſervations of the anonymous author on parties, concerning the proceedings of the diſſenters, ſeem but too juſtly grounded. The king's deſigns (ſays he) were openly avowed, and deſperately puſhed. The church of England oppoſed them with the utmoſt vigour. The diſſenters were cajoled by the court, and they who had been ready to take arms againſt king Charles, becauſe he was unwilling to exclude his brother, and who had taken arms againſt this prince, ſince he was on the throne, became abettors of his uſurpations. It were eaſy to prove this, even by biſhop Burnet's account, as much as that is ſoftened; and if the excuſes which have been made for their ſilence againſt popery in this critical moment, or for their approving and encouraging the exerciſe of a diſpenſing power are to be received, one may undertake to excuſe, on the ſame principles of reaſoning, all thoſe inſtances of miſconduct in the church-party, which I have preſumed to cenſure ſo freely. But the truth is, theſe excuſes are frivolous. I could quote ſome, that are even burleſque. Let us reverence truth therefore, and condemn the diſſenters as frankly on this occaſion, as we have condemned the members of the church of England on others. Diſſert. on parties, p. 78.

delling the corporations, diſmiſſed from poſts and employments all ſuch as ſhowed the leaſt diſlike of his proceedings. With theſe, and many other artifices, the king could not however ſo far carry his point as to be ſure of a parliament to his mind; and therefore would not venture to call one, but choſe rather to rely on his army, which he reſolved to fill with Iriſh papiſts. To convince the nation ſtill more plainly of his deſigns, he not only made father Petre, a privy-counſellor, but ſolemnly received a nuncio from the pope, who made his public entry at Windſor (k).

1688. In this ſituation were affairs in the beginning of the famous year 1688; the king inveſted by the judges with the diſpenſing power; the privy council under the direction of a jeſuit; the counties and militia in the hands of papiſts, or other unqualified perſons; an army of fifteen thouſand men incamped ten miles from London; and to crown all, the king's proceedings approved by addreſſes not only from the diſſenters, but from corporations and other ſocieties (l), with promiſes of electing ſuch members of parliament as ſhould confirm his meaſures. In theſe favourable circumſtances, it is not ſtrange the king ſhould puſh his deſigns with

Jan. 2. openneſs and vigour. Accordingly after a proclamation of the queen's pregnancy, and ſome fruitleſs attempts to perſuade the prince and princeſs of Orange to approve the repeal of the penal laws and teſts, comes forth (what quickly

(k) This was ſeignor Dadda. The duke of Somerſet, then lord of the bed-chamber in waiting, was expected to aſſiſt in the ceremony; but he told the king, "He could not ſerve him upon "this occaſion, being aſſured it "was contrary to law." The king aſked him, "If he did not "know that he was above the "law?" The other replied, "If the king was, he himſelf "was not above the law;" for which he was diſmiſſed from all employments. Echard's review, p. 84.

(l) In the addreſs from the middle temple, it is ſaid, —— "As thanks (for the toleration) "ought to be paid your majeſty "by all your ſubjects, ſo we eſ- "pecially, of the profeſſion of "the law, have moſt reaſon to "be thankful for the honour you "have done us, by aſſerting "your own royal prerogatives, "which is the very life of the "law and our profeſſion. Which "prerogatives, as they were "given by God himſelf, ſo we "declare, that no power upon "earth can diminiſh them, but "they muſt always remain entire "and inſeparable to your royal "perſon. Which prerogatives, "as we have ſtudied to know "them, ſo we are reſolved to "defend them, by aſſerting with "our lives that divine maxim, "A Deo rex, A rege lex, &c." Hiſt. of addreſſes, p. 113.

brought

brought things to a criſis) a ſecond declaration for liberty April 27.
of conſcience, more full and expreſs in favour of the catholics, which was ſoon followed with an order of council to the biſhops, to cauſe the declaration to be read by the clergy in all the churches of their ſeveral dioceſes.

This order immediately produced a petition from the archbiſhops of Canterbury and ſix other biſhops (m) againſt reading the declaration, as "being founded upon a diſpenſing power often declared illegal in parliament." Whereupon they were all ſent to the Tower, and not long after, brought to a trial for framing and publiſhing a ſeditious libel; for ſo was termed their petition, though delivered in the humbleſt and moſt private manner to the king alone. After a long trial, wherein the diſpenſing power was not only boldly argued againſt, but demonſtrated to be a violation of the conſtitution, the biſhops were acquitted with loud acclamations, not only of the people, but even of the army itſelf, to the king's great mortification, who was then in the camp (n).

During the confinement of the biſhops it was that the queen's delivery of a ſon was publiſhed, to the great joy of the catholics, (who were now leſs anxious about the uncertainty of the king's life) but to the grief and aſtoniſhment of the conſiderate part of the nation, who had placed all their hopes on a proteſtant ſucceſſor, which now ſeemed entirely defeated. Their comfort was the queen's delivery by many circumſtances was rendered ſuſpicious, and the people in ge-

(m) The ſix biſhops were St. Aſaph, Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Chicheſter and Briſtol, five of whom were afterwards non-jurors.

(n) It was alſo obſervable upon their trial, that the tables were ſo far turned, that ſome that had largely contributed to the enſlaving their country with falſe notions of law, were now of another opinion; while at the ſame time, others, that had ſtood up for the liberties of their country in two ſucceſſive parliaments, and had ſuffered upon that account, did now as much endeavour to ſtretch the prerogative beyond its juſt limits, as they had oppoſed it before. So hard it is (ſays Welwood, p. 186,) for mankind to be in all times, and upon all turns, conſtant to themſelves. The proceedings againſt the biſhops were chiefly managed by ſollicitor Williams, a zealous promoter of the excluſion in the reign of king Charles, ſpeaker in his two laſt parliaments, and a bold pleader in all cauſes againſt the crown. On the biſhops ſide appeared, amongſt others, Finch and Sawyer, who had been, whilſt in power, great ſtickler for the prerogative.

neral inclined to believe it an impoſture of the papiſts to finiſh their ruin (o).

Nothwithſtanding the public rejoicings in the city, country and army, for the acquittal of the biſhops, which ſufficiently diſcovered the general diſlike of the king's meaſures, he reſolved to purſue his deſigns. Two of the judges were diſmiſſed for not vindicating his pretended prerogative in the late trial, and the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners were ordered to proceed againſt the clergy for not reading the declaration. The inclinations of the land and ſea forces were ſounded, and though ſeveral diſcouraging circumſtances occurred, the king was not deterred from his purpoſes; nor would he be perſuaded to uſe gentler methods, according to the advice of ſome of his friends, and particularly one of his miniſters who had ſuddenly changed his religion (p). It was thought that all oppoſition would vaniſh before the army, when ſtrengthened with Iriſh ſupplies.

State of parties at that time.

During the tranſactions of the foregoing years the ſtate of parties had undergone great alterations. The tories and churchmen who had ſo zealouſly eſpouſed and aſſerted the doctrine of non-reſiſtance in all caſes, whilſt the king exerted his prerogative in their favour, and ſuffered them to trample upon their oppoſers the whigs and diſſenters, when they diſcovered that this doctrine was going to be turned upon them, and made an inſtrument of deſtroying the eſtabliſhed religion and introducing popery and arbitrary power, their zeal began to abate, and neither pulpit nor preſs any

(o) It muſt be owned, that in caſe the queen was really delivered of a ſon, both ſhe and the king acted as if it had not been ſo, and by their proceedings not only rendered it ſuſpected, but put it out of the king's power to prove the birth in a ſatisfactory manner when he thought proper to endeavour it.

(p) This was the lord Sunderland, who in ſeveral long audiences with the queen, repreſented, "That ſince ſhe had got a "ſon, the ſtate of her affairs was "quite changed, and that there "was no occaſion for making "ſuch haſte now the ſucceſſion "was ſure. He told her, time "would bring all about, if ſoft "methods were uſed; and ad-"viſed her to appear the author "of gentle counſels, which by "another adminiſtration might "lay the flame ſo lately kindled, "and gain the hearts of the na-"tion both to herſelf and her "ſon, ſo that ſhe might be de-"clared regent if the king ſhould "die during the minority of the "prince." Echard's review, 103. Burnet, vol. I. 755. In order (ſays Burnet) to have the more credit in preſſing theſe advices, he reſolved to declare himſelf a papiſt. Ibid. p. 756.

longer

longer ſo ſtrenuouſly inculcated the doctrine of paſſive obedience. It was now generally thought that the king, as well as thoſe commiſſioned by him, were not to be obeyed without limitation, and that their power was circumſcribed by the law. In a word, the tories were ſo far become whigs that they believed when a prince viſibly endeavours the ſubverſion of the religion and liberties, he may be lawfully reſtrained and kept within bounds. In this ſituation were the tories, when the whigs were ſuddenly deprived of a great ſupport. The diſſenters, who had all along adhered to that party, fell for ſome time into a ſnare laid for them by the court. Liberty of conſcience, and exemption from penal laws, were ſo grateful, that overlooking the deſtructive and illegal means by which they were obtained, they exalted the prerogative in their addreſſes of thanks to as great a height as ever the tories had done, and ſo became indirectly abettors of the diſpenſing power, which at once unhinged the conſtitution. But quickly perceiving their error, they returned to their former friends, and joined with the whigs in oppoſing arbitrary power. At length, the tories being convinced that their religion and liberties were in manifeſt danger, and popery and ſlavery advancing with large ſteps, believed it time to provide for the ſafety of the church and ſtate (q). Thus perſuaded, they alſo co-operate with the whigs, and by this means the whole nation, as to the point of

(q) Echard in his review, expreſſes this very fully. "And "now (ſays he) the breaches in- "to the Engliſh conſtitution, "which many were unwilling "to ſee before, became appa- "rent to almoſt all men's eyes. "The king had plainly and "openly aſſumed to himſelf a "power to make laws void and "to qualify ſuch for employ- "ments, who were ſo incapaci- "tated by law, as to render all "their actings void. All un- "qualified perſons, ſheriffs, and "even judges, were now no le- "gal officers, inſomuch that the "government and the lawful "adminiſtration of it was quite "broken and confounded. All "this was brought about by the "magic of diſpenſing power, "which changed the whole "frame of the legiſlature, and "reduced all laws to the plea- "ſure of the crown. For by "virtue of the ſame power, "every diſagreeable ſtatute was "made liable to be vacated, eſ- "pecially ſince no laws were for- "tified with ſtronger clauſes to "force their execution, than "thoſe which the late declara- "tion had made uſeleſs. And "when this was declared ſuch a "ſacred point of government, "that a petition doubting of it "and delivered in the moſt mo- "deſt and private manner, was "made a high crime, and in- "flexibly

of reſiſtance in ſo deſperate a caſe, ſeemed to be all of one party.

Accordingly, ſoon after the queen's delivery, the prince of Orange was earneſtly invited, as well by tories as whigs, to come and ſave the nation from falling into the moſt deplorable of ſtates, popery and ſlavery. As the ſafety, not only of the United Provinces but of the proteſtant religion in general, depended on the fate of England, the invitation was gladly accepted by the prince of Orange, and heartily eſpouſed by the Dutch, who readily furniſhed an army and fleet.

Whilſt the warlike preparations were with great ſecrecy carried on in Holland, king James had intimation from France of an expedition intended againſt England, with the
Aug. 25. offer of a French army to aſſiſt him. This offer, to the great ſurpriſe of the king of France, was rejected as unneceſſary, though a private treaty was ſaid to be then made between the two monarchs (r).

But

" flexibly carried on againſt the " moſt eminent of the church. " This convinced the moſt doubtful, that the breach into the " conſtitution was general, de" ſtructive, and inconſiſtent with " the nature of it. The matter " was ſo open and avowed, and " continued with ſuch regular " ſteps and repeated acts, that " many of thoſe that had taught " the higheſt notions of obedi" ence, were ſenſible that there " was ſuch a total ſubverſion, as " might warrant the nation to " guard its conſtitution, and to " look out for its own preſerva" tion." Echard's review, p. 104.

(r) All the prieſts and popiſh lords were for having the French forces; it was oppoſed by the earl of Sunderland only, who ſaid, that an army of forty thouſand men might perhaps maſter England, but they would become the king's maſter's too, and render him only a viceroy to the king of France. A leſs army would loſe the king the affections of his people, and drive his own to deſertion, if not to mutiny. The king did not think matters were yet ſo near a criſis; ſo he neither entertained the propoſition, nor let it fall to the ground. There was a treaty on foot, and the king was to have a hundred tranſport-ſhips ready for ſuch forces as he ſhould deſire. It is certain, the French ambaſſador then at London did believe, that the king would have been able to have made a greater diviſion of the nation, than it proved afterwards he was able to do, and that then the king would have been forced to have taken aſſiſtance from France on any terms, and ſo he encouraged the king of France to go on with his deſign, in the winter, and he believed he might come in good time, next year to the king's aſſiſtance. This advice proved fatal to the king. The

firſt

But at length receiving certain advice of the prince of Orange's deſign, king James was extremely alarmed. He inſtantly ſaw the neceſſity of requiring the confidence of the clergy, ſtill vainly imagining they would practice that paſſive obedience they had ſo long and ſo ſtrenuouſly aſſerted. But to his great mortification the biſhops, to whom he applied for the aſſiſtance of their counſels, plainly adviſed him in ten articles, "to redreſs all his illegal proceedings, and "ſpeedily call a FREE PARLIAMENT, in which the church "of England, a due liberty of conſcience, and the properties "of the ſubject might be ſecured." Sept 23.

Whilſt the biſhops were preparing this addreſs, the king publiſhes a proclamation, intimating, "that no leſs than an "abſolute conqueſt of his kingdoms were propoſed by this "invaſion; that, nevertheleſs, he declined all foreign aid, "and wholly relied upon his own ſubjects." Concluding, "that though he intended to have met his parliament the "17th of November, he found it neceſſary to recall the "writs that had been iſſued for that purpoſe."

About the ſame time the king, as his fears increaſed, thought proper to redreſs ſome of the grievances complained of. He begins with taking off the biſhop of London's ſuſpenſion, and publiſhing a general pardon of all criminals; a few only excepted. Soon after this, the commiſſion for cauſes eccleſiaſtical was diſſolved: the charter of London reſtored: the fellows of Magdalen college were ordered to be re-inſtated: corporations were reſtored to their ancient charters: popiſh lord-lieutenants, juſtices of the peace, mayors, and other magiſtrates were diſplaced, and proteſtants put in their room. In a word, the whole popiſh fa-

firſt diſcovery of the alliance with France was by a memorial given to the ſtates by the French ambaſſador, wherein he told them, that there was ſuch a ſtrict alliance between his maſter and the king of England, that he would look upon every thing done againſt England as an invaſion of his crown. This put the king and his miniſters out of countenance, for they had poſitively denied there was any ſuch thing. But the memorial was a full proof of it. Burnet, vol. I. 767.

Skelton, the king's envoy at Paris had the blame caſt on him of putting it in the memorial, and when he came over was ſent to the Tower on that account; but this ſhow of a diſgrace was but ſhort, for he was ſoon after made lieutenant of the Tower. The French ambaſſador about this time ſhowed Sir William Trumball, ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, a letter from M. de Croiſſy, importing that an alliance was concluded between the two kings. ibid.

bric,

bric, the work of near four years, was in a few days almoſt entirely demoliſhed. But with how little ſincerity this was done, the king took care to ſhow preſently after.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in England, the prince of Orange, to juſtify his undertaking, publiſhed a ſo-
Octob. 10. N. S. lemn declaration, that "the expedition was intended only "for redreſs of the grievances, by a free and lawful parliament, to which ſhould be referred the inquiry into the "birth of the pretended prince of Wales, and of all things "relating to the right of ſucceſſion."

Upon news that the king, purſuant to the advice of the biſhops, had retracted ſome of his arbitrary proceedings, an addition was made to the declaration importing, "that "theſe redreſſes were imperfect, and a plain confeſſion of "the violences complained of, that the root of oppreſſion, "the claim of a deſpotic power, was reſerved entire, and "conſequently no remedy could be offered but in parliament, by a declaration of the rights of the ſubject which "had been invaded, and therefore all ſhould be referred to "a free aſſembly of the nation in a lawful parliament."

The king ſoon verified that part of the declaration concerning the defectiveneſs of the redreſs of grievances; for hearing the Dutch fleet had ſo greatly ſuffered by a ſtorm, that they were forced to put back, and would not be able to proceed till the ſpring, he returned to his former conduct, recalled ſeveral of his late acts of favour, particularly the reſtoration of Magdalen college, and thereby demonſtrated that all his redreſſes were owing entirely to neceſſity and not to inclination, which loſt him many friends that might otherwiſe have been induced to ſtand by him.

Mention being made in the prince's declaration of his being invited by divers of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, the king in great haſte ſent for the archbiſhop, and ſuch biſhops as were in London, and required them to juſtify themſelves to the world, by declaring under their hands their abhorrence of the prince's intended invaſion. But inſtead of complying with his requeſt, they renewed their petition with great earneſtneſs to call a free parliament.

The damage ſuſtained by the Dutch fleet having been purpoſely magnified to increaſe the king's ſecurity, it was ſoon repaired, and the prince ſailed again on the firſt of November, and on the fifth, landed his forces at Torbay. He marched directly to Exeter, where he was at firſt but coldly received by the clergy and magiſtrates. But ſoon after an aſſociation by the advice of Sir Edward Seymour, was drawn up,

up, to ſtand by the prince of Orange, till religion, the laws and liberties were ſecured by a free parliament. This aſſociation was ſigned and ſent to other places, particularly to Oxford, where it was ſubſcribed by almoſt all the heads and chief men of the univerſity, and the prince was earneſtly invited thither, with a promiſe that their plate if wanted, ſhould be at his ſervice. From that time, as every day brought ſome perſons of diſtinction to the prince, ſo the king was daily forſaken, not only by thoſe he had moſt truſted, but even by his own children, the prince and princeſs of Denmark.

The king was now under ſuch a conſternation that he neither knew what to reſolve on, nor whom to truſt. He ſent for all the lords in London, that were known to be firm proteſtants, by ſome of whom he was privately adviſed to call a general meeting of all the privy-counſellors and peers to aſk their opinion. They unanimouſly agreed, that it was neceſſary to call a free parliament, and ſend commiſſioners to treat with the prince. How much ſoever this went againſt the king's inclinations, he next day declared in council, that he reſolved to have a free parliament on the fifteenth of January, and ordered writs to be iſſued out accordingly. At the ſame time, the marquiſs of Halifax, the earl of Nottingham, and the lord Godolphin, were appointed to go and aſk the prince what it was he demanded. The removal of papiſts, and calling a free parliament, were the chief articles propoſed by the prince, which with the reſt of the prince's demands, were deemed ſo reaſonable that they were immediately ſent away to the king, who owned he did not expect ſo good terms. During this treaty, ſtrange councils were ſuggeſted to the king and queen. The prieſts and violent papiſts knew that they muſt be the ſacrifice, and the whole deſign of popery given up without hope of revival. They told the queen, ſhe would be impeached and witneſſes ſet up againſt herſelf and ſon. Whereupon ſhe reſolved to go to France with the child; and the midwife with all that aſſiſted at the birth, were alſo carried over, or ſo diſpoſed of, that it was never known what became of them afterwards. The queen prevailed with the king to promiſe to follow her very ſoon. Accordingly, having called an extraordinary council on account of the prince's propoſals, he acquainted them with the queen's departure the night before, but ſtill promiſed them that he would ſtay with them. He was unanimouſly adviſed to comply with the prince's demands, and all things appeared as if he deſigned it, and the council was ordered

dered to attend him next morning. But having privately ſent for the great ſeal, on the eleventh of December, about three in the morning, he went away in diſguiſe with Sir Edward Hales, whoſe ſervant he ſeemed to be. They paſſed the Thames, and threw the great ſeal into the river; which was found ſome months after by a fiſherman near Vaux-hall. The king went down to a fiſher-boat that Hales had provided for carrying him over.

Thus king James when there was no apparent cauſe to fear the ſafety of his perſon, choſe rather to abandon all, than to ſtay and ſee the iſſue of a free parliament; which he had been ſo often petitioned and adviſed to call, and which he had ſo often promiſed to ſummon. With this his reign may be ſaid to end. For if ever there was a real diſſertion of a kingdom, and ever a people left to take care of themſelves, this was certainly the time. He expoſed the nation to the pillage of an army which he had ordered to be diſbanded without money, he deſtroyed the parliament writs, threw the broad ſeal into the Thames, and left the people without a governor.

Echard.

Upon this deſertion the privy counſellors and peers with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, met at Guild-hall, and agreed to invite the prince to come and take upon him the government of the nation, till matters were ſettled by a parliament. This invitation was ſigned by all, and ſent to the prince, who upon receiving the ſurpriſing news of the king's ſudden departure, thought it neceſſary to make all poſſible haſte to London. When he was advanced as far as Windſor, two gentlemen of Kent brought him notice, that the king was taken by ſome fiſhermen and carried to Feverſham (s). The prince

(s) The following account is a manuſcript letter from one of the gentlemen that came to the king, when he was taken, to his friend in London.

" It was the fatal Tueſday, " Decemb. 11, 1688, when the " mobile were all in arms; on " which day were taken the lord " Saliſbury, and Sir Charles " Hales at Aſhford, the lord " Peterborough, &c. in the iſle " of Thanet, and near Is baron " Jenner, Burter, Graham, Obadiah Walker, Gifford, Leybourn, Kingley, and two ſuppoſed to be their titular " biſhops, with ſeveral papiſt " gentlemen, viz. the lord Arundel of Wardour's ſon, Hardwick, a merchant, Sing, adjutant to Sir Edward Hales, &c. " This was the great work of the " day, beſides rifling of popiſh " houſes: but the night was " attended with ſomething more " extraordinary; for the leamen, " armed with a ſort of emulation " at the ſucceſs of the landmen, " were reſolved to have a frolic " in

prince inſtantly ordered Zuyleſtein to go and deſire him to ſtay at Rocheſter, but Zuyleſtein miſſing his way, the king, at

" in their way; and about ſeven at night, under the conduct of William Ames and John Hunt, with about fifty more, chiefly ſeamen, put off in queſt of a prize, and about eleven at night they took a cuſtom-houſe boat, in which proved to be the king, Sir Edward Hales, and Ralph Sheldon. The king was in a particular diſguiſe, and ſo not known that night; but as if his deſtiny deſigned to be ſevere upon him, the ſeamen treated him very roughly above the reſt, though incognito. One cried out 'twas father Petre; they knew it to be ſo by his lean jaws: a ſecond called him old hatchet-faced jeſuit: a third ſwore 'twas a cunning old rogue, they would warrant him. And all night long they welcomed him him with theſe rough ſalutations, and perfuming the room with tobacco, the ſmell whereof the king hates. His majeſty was taken at the weſt point, not above a quarter of an hour before the flood would have carried him off; and it was his own fault, that they ſtopt there for baliaſt, which the pilot was againſt: but the roughneſs of the ſea made his majeſty fear they were not ſafe in ſo ſmall a boat without baliaſt; whereby they loſt ſix or eight hours, and ſo were providentially taken. He was detained at ſea all night, and brought up from Owſe, where he landed, to Feverſham about twelve, Wedneſday the 12th. Then he was ſuſpected, as he came up the town, and within a quarter of an hour after he was in the inn, fully diſcovered. He was willing by all arts at firſt to conceal himſelf; and at his firſt coming in he called for bacon and eggs, as if he were ſome ordinary man in his diet: whereas he taſtes no meat that is in the leaſt ſalted, as it afterwards appeared. He ſeemed caſt down ſomewhat at the noiſe of the rabble; but after ſome recollection, called for ſome ink and paper to write to the earl of Winchelſea; but was ſo diſcompoſed, that he wrote, and tore, and begun again, as if he were overcome with diſorder or fears. Inaſmuch as I was with him before he was diſcovered, he entered into ſome diſcourſe with me. He thanked me, and commended my prudence for not diſcovering him with the firſt, though I knew him, as ſoon as any one. He told me, that the rage of the people was up; and now that of the pſalmiſt was true; I, who ſtill the raging of the ſea, muſt ſtill the rage and madneſs of the people; for he could not, therefore he———He complained heavily of fears and jealouſies blown about by ill men; and too many of the black coats had done him that ill office they could never make him amends for. He inſiſted on his integrity; ſaid, he had a good conſcience, and could ſuffer and die. He told me,

" he

at the invitation of the ſame peers and privy-council, that

" he read ſcripture much, and found great comfort in it. He declared, he never deſigned to oppreſs conſcience, alter the government, or deſtroy the ſubjects liberties; and at laſt aſked me plainly, What have I done? What are the errors of my reign? tell me freely. To which, you may be ſure, I made no anſwer. He inſiſted much upon going off, after he was taken; and I believe he put the queſtion to every layman and churchman in the room, to get him a boat, and let him eſcape. He ſaid, the prince of Orange ſought his crown and life; and if he were delivered up, his blood would lie at our doors, for he ſeemed perſuaded they would murder him. Now, ſaid he, the opportunity is in your hand; but if you miſs this, it will not be in your power to help me. He argued much upon theſe words, He that is not with me, is againſt me; and ſermonized half an hour, making reflections on men's coldneſs to ſerve him in that extremity. Whilſt he inſiſted upon going off, and uſed all motives proper, as he thought, in begging, praying, tempting, arguing, perſuading, reproving, &c. which was for above three hours, the rage of the ſeamen took fire, apprehending he would prevail with ſome to let him eſcape ſecretly; and thereupon aroſe ſome contemptuous words, and no ſmall inſolencies offered; which I almoſt think had not happened, if the fear of his eſcape had not run ſo much in their minds, or if his majeſty would have waved diſcourſing ſo much thereof. For the ſeamen much valued themſelves on their charge, and did apprehend their own lives in danger, if he went off; imagining, they had done a ſingular piece of ſervice to the nation, and reſolving there to keep him till order from the prince, or the lords at Guild-hall. And the king himſelf undertook to diſcourſe them, and aſked the ſeamen, By what authority do you ſtand here? Am not I your king? And ſure you will not hurt my life. Will you ſtand by me? I'll reward you. If you be my good ſubjects, you muſt obey me. Come and ſerve me, and get me a boat, and I'll go off. Afterward, he went ſo far as to regulate their way of keeping guards; bid them ſtand further off: Go down, and keep your diſtance: which ſo inraged them, that ſome of them forgot all decency and reverence to him; inſomuch that Sir Edward Hales was deſired to take the king off from that diſcourſe, which made him cheap, and provide ſo unpolitic and unſucceſsful. But ſtill the rage of the ſeamen increaſed, and they ſhook hands and cried out one and all, We'll die rather than he ſhall go off; got together in a full body, broke out into ſo ſcornful huzzas, and for a while doubled their guard, ſuffered none to go to him, but whom they well knew, loaded their muſkets, and made ready, as if

" they

had ſ[illegible] before ſent to the prince to take upon him the government,

" [illegible] reſolved to fire upon any " [illegible] oppoſed their meaſures. " [illegible]is indeed intimidated the " king, and his ſpirits ſeemed " much down; which made him " keep his eye upon the door, " and watch all their motions " narrowly, and deſire not to be " much alone, but the gentle- " men to ſtay with him. To- " wards night, the earl of Win- " chelſea came, and then it was " reſolved to remove the king to " a private houſe; which the " ſeamen ſtill oppoſed for fear " of eſcape. But my lord pawn- " ing his honour for the king's " ſtay, the better ſort of them " conſented, but the mobile ſtill " refuſed; and as the king came " down ſtairs, I believe more " than twenty ſwords were drawn " over his head, and ſome " threats paſſed; and at the bot- " tom of the ſtairs they ſtopt " him near a quarter of an hour. " At length, the matter was com- " pounded, upon condition they " only ſhould be the king's " guards, whilſt he ſtayed. So at " length the king was ſuffered to " walk down the dirty ſtreet to " his private apartments, with " the irregular diſorderly crew at " his heels.

" When the king had been " ſome while in the private houſe, " his ſpirits revived, and he was " full of diſcourſe, which was " chiefly in his own vindication; " for he undertook to juſtify " himſelf even to Magdalen col- " lege buſineſs. Only I muſt " not forget that he pleaſantly " entertained us with a long diſ- " courſe about St. Winefrid and " the virtue of her well, and the " whole legend of it; as alſo " having loſt a wooden croſs, he " told us how much it was to be " prized, for it was St. Edward " the confeſſor's, and had a piece " of the true real croſs in it, on " which our Saviour ſuffered; " which ſort of diſcourſe was to " us, you may imagine very " agreeable. He then wiſhed " himſelf with the queen; and " bleſſed God, ſhe and his " ſon were ſafely arrived abroad. " And he was farther heard " more than once to thank God, " that father Petre was ſafely ar- " rived alſo, and ſeemed to ex- " preſs a mighty eſteem for him. " As to Sir Edward Hales, he " did confeſs, it was by his " means he came this way: but " ſeemed not much to blame " him for his ill ſucceſs. And " when he was told, the country " hated him, and none ſpake " well of him, he ſaid, that then " he was the likelier to be an " honeſt man. And being told, " that Mr. William Penn was " ſeized alſo, he pitied him " much, and ſaid, he was a good " man, and he was ſure no ill " could be charged on him.

" Next day being Thurſday " the 13th, came in two hun- " dred gentlemen from Canter- " bury and Eaſt-Kent, and in " the ſight of him declared their " concurrence with the prince of " Orange; which much afflicted " him, for that he then ſaid, " he was not ſafe where he was. " And towards night captain " Crayford and another captain " came from Sheerneſs declar- " ing the reſolution to deliver " up to the prince the fort and

vernment, came to London; where he was receiv[ed] by expreſſions of joy by great numbers (t).

When the prince at Windſor, had notice of the king's return to London; he thought himſelf ill uſed by the [privy]-council, who had invited the king without conſulting [him]. The ſcene was now altered, and new counſels were to be taken. So it was reſolved to ſtick to the point of the king's

" the ſhips in the Swale, which " is a road under the protection " of the fort. Upon the hear- " ing of which he ſaid, he would " conſent to any thing to pre- " vent bloodſhed; but ſeemed " extremely afflicted thereat. " He was really very melan- " choly at times, and often ſhed " tears. His guards were ſo " ſevere upon him, and purſued " him from one room to ano- " ther; and preſſed upon him " in his privacies, ſo that he " had ſcarce the civilities from " the ſeamen, that was due to " a gentleman in reſtraint; " ſcarce leiſure to be devout or " retire to the calls of nature; " ſo over officiouſly did they " guard him. Freſh rumours " oft were raiſed of his going " off, which fetched the ſcat- " tered ſeamen together, and " were the occaſion of freſh heats " and inſolencies. In this tu- " multuous manner was the poor " king guarded; neither would " they ſuffer the gentlemen to " take their turns.

" When Friday night came, " and the guards, that were ſent " from the lords that were then " at Guildhall, were within two " hours march of Feverſham, the " rage of the ſeamen increaſed, " becauſe the earl of Feverſham " was with them, and ſome " others they diſliked; and " they ſwore boldly no guards " ſhould come in there, and ſo " run all to arms. Upon ſight " of which the gentlemen were " forced to diſpatch expreſſes " away to ſtop the guards, and " pray them to lodge at Sit- " tingbourn; for doubtleſs if " the guards had come that night " into town, there had been " bloody work; for by what I " heard and ſaw, I verily be- " lieve the ſeamen would have " reſiſted them.

" At length, Saturday morn- " ing came, when the king was " guarded out by the ſeamen " and gentlemen, and ſo received " near Sittingbourn, by thoſe " that were ſent for him." Thus you have a long account of this affair.

(t) It is obſerved, by Burnet, that though this accident of the king's return, ſeemed of no great conſequence, yet all the ſtrugglings afterward made by the Jacobite party, did flow from thence. For if he had got clear away, by all that could be judged, he would not have had a party left. All would have agreed, that here was a deſertion, and therefore the nation was free and at liberty to ſecure itſelf. But what followed, gave them a colour to ſay that he was forced away. Till now he had ſcarce any party but among the papiſts; but from this incident a party grew up, that were long very active for his intereſts.

deſerting

deſerting his people, and not to give it up, by entering into any treaty with him. Purſuant to this reſolution, the king was ſent to and deſired to remove out of London, and Ham being propoſed to him, it was aſked whether he might not go to Rocheſter. As this was viſibly deſired in order to a ſecond eſcape, the prince readily conſented to it, and came to St. James's, the ſame day the king departed from White-hall. Dec. 18.

The king remained a week at Rocheſter, and both himſelf and every one elſe ſaw he was at full liberty, and under no ſort of reſtraint. Many that were zealous for his intereſt, went to him and preſſed him to ſtay and ſee the iſſue of a free parliament. But a vehement letter from the queen (which was intercepted and afterwards conveyed to the king) claiming his promiſe to come over to her, determined him contrary to the ſollicitations of his friends: ſo he left Rocheſter very ſecretly, on the laſt day of that memorable year, Dec. 31. and in a veſſel prepared for him, got ſafe into France.

The prince at his coming to London, called together all the peers and the members of the three laſt parliaments that were in town, with the aldermen, and ſome other citizens of London. By theſe he was deſired to take upon him the adminiſtration of affairs, and to write miſſive letters to the ſame effect, and for the ſame perſons to whom writs were iſſued out for calling a parliament, that ſo there might be an aſſembly of men in the form of a parliament though without writs under the great ſeal; ſuch as that was which had called home king Charles the ſecond (u).

Purſuant to this advice, the prince ſummoned a convention in the manner deſired, and the elections of the members

(u) The lawyers were generally of opinion, that the prince ought to declare himſelf king like Henry VII. This they ſaid, would put an end to all diſputes, which might otherwiſe grow very perplexing and tedious. And, they ſaid, he might call a parliament, which would be a legal aſſembly, if ſummoned by a king, in fact, though his title was not yet recognized. This was plainly contrary to his declaration, by which the ſettlement of the nation was referred to a parliament; ſuch a ſtep would make all the prince had hitherto done, paſs for an aſpiring ambition only to raiſe himſelf, diſguſt thoſe who had been beſt affected to his deſigns, and make them leſs concerned in the quarrel, if inſtead of ſtaying till the crown ſhould be offered him, he would aſſume it as a conqueſt. Theſe reaſons determined the prince againſt that propoſition, and to call the peers, &c. together. Burnet I. 803.

were managed with all poſſible freedom. Every man voting for whom he pleaſed, without any interpoſition or recommendation from the prince (x).

Jan. 22. The convention being met and the ſpeakers choſen, the marquis of Hallifax, for the peers (in oppoſition to the earl of Darby) and Mr. Henry Powle for the commons, it was voted in the lower-houſe, "that king James having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and the throne is thereby become vacant." The next day it was farther reſolved, "That it has been found by experience, to be inconſiſtent with this proteſtant kingdom to be governed by a popiſh prince." When theſe important votes were ſent up to the lords for their concurrence, a motion was made not to agree with the commons, that the throne was vacant, but only to ſuppoſe it for the preſent, and determine firſt, whether the throne being vacant, it ought to be filled by a regent or a king: this queſtion was debated with great warmth. The earls of Nottingham, Clarendon and Rocheſter, were the chief managers in favour of a regent; in oppoſition to the marquis of Hallifax, and the earl of Danby, who ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the neceſſity of filling the throne with a king. The debate being ended, fifty-one voted for a king, and forty-nine for a regent. It was next debated, whether or no there was an original contract between king and people? The houſe being divided upon the queſtion, fifty-three were for the original contract, and forty-ſix againſt it. After this, it was ſoon carried in the affirmative, that king James had broke the original contract. Then they took into conſideration the word abdicated, and concluded, that the word deſerted was more proper. They examined alſo the word vacant, and the queſtion was put, whether king James, having broke the original contract, and deſerted the government, the throne was thereby vacant? Upon a diviſion in the houſe, thoſe who maintained the king never dies, and

(x) As there had been writs for a parliament twice before this, in a few months, moſt places had fixed their members, ſo that the difference was not conſiderable, between the members that were, and thoſe that would have been choſen, if king James had ſuffered the firſt or ſecond parliament, he had called to meet, which is a plain proof of the temper and diſpoſition of the nation at this juncture. Echard's rev. p. 222.

conſequently,

conſequently, that the throne is immediately full of the next heir; carried it againſt the vacancy, by eleven voices. Whereupon a motion being made, that the prince and princeſs of Orange ſhould be declared king and queen; this was alſo carried in the negative by five voices, though proteſted againſt by forty lords. Having thus gone through the grand vote of the commons, the peers acquainted them, that inſtead of abdicated, they would have deſerted put in, and that the throne is thereby vacant, to be left out. But the commons adhering to their vote, rejected theſe amendments, and after a very famous free conference, the lords at laſt agreed, that king James had abdicated the government, and that the throne was thereby become vacant (y). This done, it was voted in both houſes, that the prince and princeſs of Orange, ſhould

(y). The diſputes about the words abdicate, or deſert, and the vacancy of the throne, were fitter for a ſchool than a houſe of parliament; and might have been expected in ſome aſſembly of pedants, where young ſtudents exerciſed themſelves in diſputation, but not in ſuch an auguſt aſſembly, as that of lords and commons met in ſolemn conference, upon the moſt important occaſion. The truth is, that they who formed the oppoſition, were reduced to maintain ſtrange paradoxes.—— Thus for inſtance, they were forced to admit, that an oppreſſed people might ſeek their remedy in reſiſtance, for they had ſought it there themſelves, and yet they oppoſed making uſe of the only remedy, which could effectually ſecure them againſt returns of the ſame oppreſſion, when reſiſtance had put it in their power, as oppreſſion had given them a right, to uſe this remedy. This muſt appear a very abſurd paradox, if we conſider that reſiſtance, in all ſuch caſes, is the mean, and future ſecurity the end; and the one is wicked in the higheſt degree, if it be not employed to obtain the other. Thus again, the ſame men declared themſelves willing to ſecure the nation againſt the return of king James, to that throne he had abdicated, or according to them deſerted; and yet they could not prevail on their ſcrupulous conſciences to declare the throne vacant. They had concurred in the vote, that it was inconſiſtent with the laws, liberties and religion of England, to have a papiſt rule over the kingdom——; and yet they maintained, though they did not expreſsly name him, that if the throne was then, or ſhould be at any time, vacant of the father, it muſt be reputed inſtantaneouſly full of the ſon, upon the foundation of this ſilly axiom that the king never dies. According to this law, king James and his ſucceſſors, to the twentieth generation, might have continued abroad a race of royal exiles, preſerving their indefeaſible right to govern, but debarred from the exerciſe of it, whilſt the nation continued, from cen-

ſhould be declared king and queen, but that the adminiſtration ſhould be ſingly in the prince. There was drawn up and agreed to, a ſolemn declaration of rights, containing the ſeveral facts and reaſons, for king James's forfeiture of the crown; aſſerting the undoubted rights and liberties of the ſubject (z), ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, and appointing the new oaths of allegiance. This declaration and the tender of the crown, being offered to their royal highneſſes, they were proclaimed the ſame day, to the great joy of the nation.

Feb. 13. 1688.

State of parties at the revolution.

By all theſe proceedings of the convention, it plainly appears, that the ſtate of parties were very much altered. Till king James's abdication the whole nation ſeemed to be of

tury to century, under the dominion of regents with regal authority, but without any regal right. Thus they who maintained the hereditary right of our kings, reduced themſelves, and would have reduced their country, to the abſurd neceſſity of altering the conſtitution, under pretenſe of preſerving it. No king, except a Stuart, was to reign over us, but we might eſtabliſh a doge or regent; and by this means theſe warm aſſertors of monarchy, refuſing to be ſlaves, concluded to be republicans. Many more paradoxes of equal extravagance might be cited, which were advanced directly, or which reſulted plainly, from the arguments employed on one ſide of the queſtion in theſe diſputes. But theſe inſtances may ſuffice to ſhow, that although difficulties hard to ſolve in ſpeculation, or to remove in practice, will ariſe in the purſuit of the moſt rational principles; yet ſuch abſurdities as theſe can never ariſe except from the moſt irrational, and always muſt ariſe from ſuch. Diſſer. on par. p. 83.

(z) In ſtating the grievances and rights. the diſpenſing power came to be diſcuſſed. And then the power of the crown to grant a non-obſtante to ſome ſtatutes was objected to. Upon opening this, the debate was found ſo intricate, that it was let fall at that time only for diſpatch. But afterwards an act paſſed condemning it ſingly, and the power of a non-obſtante was taken away. Yet king James's party took great advantage from this; they ſaid, though the main clamour of the nation was againſt the diſpenſing power, yet when the convention brought things to a ſettlement, that did not appear to be ſo clear a point as had been pretended: and it was not ſo much as mentioned in this inſtrument of government. So that by the confeſſion of his enemies, it appeared to be no unlawful power; nor was it declared contrary to the laws of England. Whereas its not being mentioned then, was only upon the oppoſition that was made, that ſo no more time might be loſt, nor this inſtrument be clogged with diſputable points. Burnet, p. 822,

one

one mind, tories and whigs unanimouſly carried on the great work. But when king James rather than wait the iſſue of a free parliament, and be bound to govern by law, (which was all that was required of him) choſe to abdicate the government, and withdraw into France; ſeveral parties aroſe both in the nation, and in the parliament; according to the different principles they had eſpouſed. Though the tories, when their religion and liberties were at ſtake, had laid aſide paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, they ſtill firmly adhered to the principle on which thoſe doctrines were founded, namely, the divine, unalienable, indefeaſible, hereditary right of kings. And therefore, though they had heartily concurred with the whigs in inviting over the prince of Orange, their only view was to oblige king James to alter his meaſures and make the laws the ſole rule of his conduct. In a word, they wanted the prince to be their deliverer, but not their ſovereign. In theſe ſentiments were almoſt one half of the lords, about one third of the commons, and the clergy in general. All theſe declared for a regent, for according to their principles, the king never dies, nor can the throne ever be vacant, being, upon death, ceſſion, or abdication, inſtantly full of the next heir. If therefore a king, by his miſconduct ſhould ſhow that he was as incapable as an infant or lunatic of governing his people, the remedy provided for infancy or lunacy might in their opinion be applied, but the right muſt remain and go on in a lineal ſucceſſion (a).

Of

(a) If the perſons who maintained the divine hereditary indefeaſible right of our kings, had thought fit to drop theſe principles, when they laid aſide thoſe of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, and no tolerable reaſon can be given why they did not, their conduct would have been conſiſtent and uniform on this great occaſion, and this uniformity would have been productive of great good, by taking away at once, even the appearances of all political diviſion in the bulk of the nation. But whilſt they laboured to reconcile their preſent conduct to their ancient ſyſtem, they were true to neither. They had gone much farther lengths than their ancient ſyſtem would allow, and then they refuſed to go as far as the other required in order to be ſafe; and therefore in order to be juſtified, they loſt every kind of merit, the chimerical merit of adhering to a ſet of ſilly principles; and the real merit of ſacrificing their prejudice to the complete deliverance of their country, from the recent danger of popery and arbitrary power. Diſſert. on part. p. 8. It may

The non-juring party.

Of thoſe who were thus for continuing the right of ſovereignty in king James, and veſting a regent with the exerciſe of the power, there were viſibly two different parties. Some adhering to the old principles (tranſmitted down from king James I.) in their literal ſenſe and full extent, went into the expedient of a regency, as the moſt probable way for laying the nation aſleep, and for overcoming the preſent general averſion to king James. After which they imagined it would not be difficult in ſome time, to compaſs his reſtoration. This was their intention, and therefore, when the prince of Orange was declared king, they could not comply with the ſettlement, nor ſwear allegiance to the new king, but formed what was properly called the non-juring party, whoſe number indeed was not very great, though headed however by Dr. Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury; and ſeveral other ſpiritual and temporal lords.

Moderate tory party.

The reſt of thoſe that were for hereditary right and a regent, though they could not, conſiſtently with their principles, promote the advancement of the prince of Orange to the throne, yet when he was declared king, they thought they might ſwear allegiance to him, by means of the diſtinction of a king de jure, and a king de facto; a diſtinction authorized by the famous ſtatute of Henry VII (b). But though the whole tory party came into the new ſettlement upon this diſtinction,

be obſerved on this occaſion, that there is a diſtinction which ſhould be conſtantly made in caſes of this nature, and which thoſe who eſpouſe the principle of hereditary right, never make in their diſcourſes or writings, or never make exactly enough. They compare the proceedings, without comparing the ſituation. Neceſſity and ſelf-preſervation are great laws of nature, and may well diſpenſe with the ſtrict obſervation of the common forms of any particular conſtitution. Either the convention muſt have fallen into the abſurdities mentioned in a former note, or have called back king James, the greateſt abſurdity of all, or have left their country in abſolute anarchy, or have done what they did. What they did, was done as near as poſſible to the ſpirit of our conſtitution, the forms of our laws, and the examples of former times.

(b) This ſtatute did ordain, that no perſon, that did aſſiſt in arms or otherwiſe, the king for the time being, ſhould after be impeached therefore or attainted. For that it was agreeable to reaſon of ſtate, that the ſubject ſhould not inquire of the juſtneſs of the king's title, or quarrel; and it was agreeable to good conſcience (that whatſoever the fortune of war were) the ſubject ſhould not ſuffer for his obedience. Bacon's hiſt. of Henry VII. p. 144. This ſtatute was principally

diſtinction, they were however divided into two very different branches, by the different conſequences they drew from it. Some ſincerely thought that a king de facto, had a right to their obedience, and that they were bound to adhere to him and defend him, even in oppoſition to him, with whom they believed the right did ſtill remain. Hence it was, that though they could not reſolve to vote or act themſelves, againſt the principles they had profeſſed as maxims of law, yet they could reſolve to adhere to a new ſettlement, when it was made. This was the caſe of the earl of Nottingham, and many others who were employed in eminent poſts in the reign of king William (c).

But the other branch of the tories, drew from the ſame diſtinction of a king de jure and a king de facto a very different concluſion. They acknowledged one king, and held their allegiance ſtill due to another. They bound themſelves by oath to preſerve a ſettlement, which they pretended themſelves in conſcience obliged to ſubvert (d) According to them, the meaning of the oath of allegiance was, that they were

The rigid tory party, or high-fliers.

principally made (ſays a certain author) that the ſubjects might be ſafe which ever ſide prevailed, in an age, when the epidemical folly of fighting for different pretenders, had ſpilt oceans of blood on the ſcaffold, as well as in the field. He obſerves, of this law, that it confounds in effect the very diſtinction it ſeems to make, ſince it ſecures alike, and, by ſecuring alike, authoriſes alike thoſe who adhere to the king de jure, and thoſe who adhere to the king in poſſeſſion. Diſſ. on part. p. 91.

(c) The principle (ſays the anonymous author ſo often mentioned) of this branch of the tories was wrong, but it could not be reputed dangerous, whilſt it failed; and it ſeems to have been built on ſo narrow and ſlippery a foundation, that it did not continue long in force, —— Since we find among thoſe who voted for a regent, not a king, ſome illuſtrious perſons, who ſerved king William faithfully, adhered inviolably to the new eſtabliſhment, and have been diſtinguiſhed friends to the ſucceſſion that hath now taken place. Diſſert. on parties, p. 92.

(d) This was (ſays the forementioned author) to juſtify perfidy, to ſanctify perjury, to remove the boundaries of right and wrong, and as far as in them lay, to teach mankind to call good evil, and evil good.—— That there have been perſons who deſerved to be ranked under this head, is too notorious to be denied; but I perſuade myſelf, that this diviſion hath always conſiſted of a flux body. On one hand, it is ſcarce poſſible to believe, that any number of men ſhould be ſo hardened as to grow to themſelves, and to one another, the acting, and perſiſting to act, on a principle ſo repugnant to every notion and ſentiment,

were only to obey the new king as an uſurper, during his uſurpation; and therefore, as long as he continued in poſſeſſion, they were bound to ſubmit to him, but that it was ſtill lawful for them to aſſiſt king James, if he ſhould come to recover his crown; and that they might act all they could in his favour, as being ſtill their king de jure. The proceedings of this branch of the tory-party, in the courſe of king William's reign, make it but too viſible, that they took the oaths in this ſenſe, contrary to the plain meaning of the words faith and true allegiance, and contrary to the expreſs declaration of the act that enjoined them. This branch of the tory-party were ſtiled the rigid tories, or high-fliers.

Republican whigs.

On the other hand, as the tories were divided into two branches, ſo the whigs were not all of one mind. For though they had all, purſuant to their principles, declared themſelves for the abdication of king James, and the vacancy of the throne, and unanimouſly concurred in making the new ſettlement, yet ſome few among them had very different views and ends from the reſt. Thoſe intended to take advantage from the preſent conjuncture to depreſs the crown, to render it as precarious and elective as they could, and to raiſe the power of the people upon the ruin of the monarchy. Hence it was dangerouſly aſſerted by ſome, that the whole government was diſſolved; from which a diſſolution of all men's properties, honours and rights, might have been inferred. And when it was propoſed to examine into the birth of the pretended prince (e), the ſame perſons thought it

ment, that harbour in the breaſts of ſocial creatures. On the other, we know how the ſallies and tranſports of party on ſome occaſions can hurry even reaſonable men to act on the moſt abſurd, and honeſt men to act on the moſt unjuſtifiable principles, or both one and the other on no principle at all, according as the object which the prevailing paſſion preſents to them, directs. Diſſert. on parties, p. 92.

(e) When this debate was propoſed in the houſe of lords, it was rejected with indignation. He was now ſent out of England to be bred up in France, an enemy both to the nation and the eſtabliſhed religion. It was impoſſible for the people of England to know, whether he was the ſame perſon that had been carried over or not: if he ſhould die, another might be put in his room, ſo as the nation could not be aſſured concerning him.——It was known that all the perſons, who had been the confidents in that matter, were conveyed away: ſo it was impoſſible to come at them, by whoſe means only the truth of the birth could be found out. This matter, it ſeems, had been privately debated before it was brought to the houſe; and

policy to let it lie in the dark undecided, and believed it no ill precedent that they ſhould ſo neglect the right of ſucceſſion, as not ſo much as to enquire into the matter. They alſo thought, it would be a good ſecurity for the nation, to have a dormant title to the crown lie as it were neglected, to oblige the kings to govern well, while they would apprehend the danger of a revolt to a pretender ſtill in their eye. From theſe and other proceedings they are called republican whigs. But the far greater part of the whigs, without going into new ſchemes of government, thought it ſufficient to ſay, that in extreme caſes all obligations did ceaſe; and that in the preſent circumſtances, the extremity of affairs, by reaſon of the late ill government, and by king James's flying over to the enemy of England, rather than ſubmit to reaſonable terms, had put the nation on the neceſſity of ſecuring themſelves upon a legal bottom. Extreme dangers would juſtify extreme remedies, though there was no ſpecial proviſion that directed to them, or allowed of them. Nor was there any need to fear ill conſequences from this, ſince houſes were pulled down or blown up in a fire, and yet a town in general was not thereby deſtroyed. So a nation's ſecuring itſelf againſt a king, who was ſubverting the government, did not expoſe monarchy, nor raiſe a popular authority. In a word, they were for keeping, as near as they could with ſafety to the lineal ſucceſſion, and not to deſtroy but rather improve the conſtitution, by marking out the bounds of the prerogative, and declaring the rights and liberties of the people. Moderate whigs.

As for the clergy, when they ſaw the church in imminent danger, they had, with the reſt of the tories, ſo far given up paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, as to co-operate with the laity in promoting the revolution, till king James's The ſtate of the clergy.

and it was by ſome obſerved, that as king James, by going about to prove the truth of the birth, and yet doing it imperfectly, had really made it more ſuſpicious than it was before; ſo, if there was no clear or poſitive proof made of an impoſture, the pretending to examine into it, and then the not being able to make it out beyond the poſſibility of contradiction, would really give more credit to the thing than it had, and inſtead of weakning it, would ſtrengthen the pretenſions of the birth. Upon all theſe conſiderations, no farther inquiry was made into it. It is true, this put a plauſible objection in the mouth of all king James's party. Here, ſaid they, an infant was condemned and denied his right, without either proof or enquiry. Burnet, p. 817.

abdication.

abdication. Some of the prelates had joined to invite over the prince of Orange, and their brethren refuſed to ſign an abhorrence of this invitation. Nay, the univerſity of Oxford had aſſociated for him againſt their king; and the biſhops and London clergy had welcomed him to St. James's, even after the king had withdrawn himſelf into France. But as they ſtill firmly adhered to the divine right of monarchy and lineal ſucceſſion, (which they had ſo often and ſo publicly aſſerted) upon the king's abdication they were at a loſs how to diſengage themſelves with honour or conſcience. Conſiſtently with their profeſſed principles they could not vote nor act in favour of the new ſettlement; and therefore they had recourſe to the diſtinction above-mentioned, of a king de jure and a king de facto; and too many of them drew the ſame conſequence from that diſtinction, as the rigid tories, that is, they acknowledged one king, and held their allegiance due to another. But others, and eſpecially ſuch as came in more ſincerely to the new government, were influenced by a notion which ſeemed to agree with their principles, and which was thus expreſſed: "The prince of "Orange had juſt cauſe to make war on king James. In "a juſt war, ſucceſs is conſidered as the deciſion of hea-"ven. Conſequently, the prince's ſucceſs gave him a right "of conqueſt over king James, and a title to all that was "before veſted in him." This is ſaid to have had the moſt univerſal effect on the greateſt part of the clergy. Some few who were more ſcrupulous, refuſed to ſubmit to the new ſettlement, and remained among the non-jurors.

Such was the ſtate of parties at the time of the revolution; and ſuch the political diviſions in the nation and parliament, when king William was advanced to the throne: which being remembered, will plainly account for the early and ſtrong oppoſition to the new ſettlement, even from thoſe who had heartily eſpouſed the prince of Orange's cauſe till the flight of king James; and alſo for the many difficulties, obſtructions, plots, and conſpiracies, which king William encountered in the courſe of his reign; and which made him ſo uneaſy, that he will be ſeen more than once reſolving to quit his throne, and retire to Holland.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XXV.

From the REVOLUTION to the year 1692.

CHAP. I.

Account of king William before his acceſſion.—State of foreign affairs at the revolution.—Settlement of the court, council, and miniſtry.—The convention turn'd into a parliament.—Oath of allegiance refu'd by ſome temporal and ſpiritual lords.—Coronation-oath.—State of the diſſenters.—Repeal of the teſt attempted.—Toleration act.—Bill of comprehenſion.—State of the revenue.—Civil liſt.—Proviſion for the princeſs of Denmark propos'd.—Hearth-money diſcharged.—Reimburſements of the Dutch for the charges of the expedition into England, recommended from the throne and voted.—Militia-bill.—Act of indemnity retarded by the whigs.—Bill of rights and ſucceſſion.—Birth of the duke of Gloceſter.

28. WILLIAM III. and MARY II.

AMONG the various revolutions in kingdoms and ſtates mentioned in hiſtory, that in England in the year 1688 is hardly to be paralleled. The manner in which it was accompliſhed, and the circumſtances attending the courſe of it, were as extraordinary as the importance of it was great, not only to the Britiſh dominions, but alſo to the beſt part of Europe, and to the proteſtant

proteſtant intereſt in general. The progreſs of the French in their deſign of an univerſal monarchy was ſuch, that catholic no leſs than proteſtant ſtates rejoiced, at a revolution that ſeemed to be the only means to check the overgrown power of France, and free them from the approaching ſtate of a ſlaviſh dependency. But to England this revolution was in a more particular manner the fountain of many invaluable bleſſings, not only as the nation was delivered by it from popery and arbitrary power, which were advancing very ſwiftly, but the like danger for the future was by the new eſtabliſhment entirely removed. The authority of the prince, which by ſuch principles as compoſed an avowed ſyſtem of tyranny, had been raiſed to a degree inconſiſtent with a free ſtate, was reduced within the bounds of the laws. The prerogative of the crown, which by various arts had been ſtretched, and the many precedents, deſtructive of liberty, that had been ſet, were no longer to be feared; all hidden reſerves of authority to be let out on occaſion, and to overflow the privileges of the people, being removed, and the laws of the land made the ſole ſprings of the ſovereign's pretenſions and the nation's rights. In a word, the conſtitution of England, which for almoſt a century had been ſeen in two very different lights, was by the revolution and ſubſequent ſettlement not only renewed and brought back to the firſt principles, and nearer the primitive inſtitution; but moreover was fixed upon ſurer and more laſting foundations.

A brief account of king William before the revolution.

William III. prince of Orange, chief author of this famous revolution, was deſcended from the ancient houſe of Naſſau (a). He was great grandſon of William I. prince of

GENEALOGY of the princes of ORANGE.

(a) The houſe of Naſſau is very antient, and divided into numererous branches, which have their titles from the ſeveral counties belonging to Naſſau, as Naſſau-Dittenburg, Naſſau-Dietz, Naſſau-Seigen Naſſau-Hadamar, &c. Naſſau was made a principality by Ferdinand II, in 1653. This family has given not only a king to Great-Britain in the perſon of William III, but alſo an emperor to Germany in the perſon of Adolphus, count of Naſſau, in 1292, ſlain ſix years after in a battle with his rival Albert of Auſtria. From Otho count of Naſſau, general of the imperial army againſt the Hungarians under Henry I. in 926, to John III. in 1494, are fourteen deſcents. In which time the counts of Naſſau by marriages acquired large poſſeſſions in the Netherlands, Burgundy, &c. as Vianden, Bred, Loek, &c. John III. count of Naſſau-Dittenburg, had (by Elizabeth daughter of the landgrave of Heſſe-caſſel,

of Orange, who upon the revolt of the Netherlands, occaſioned by the tyrannical proceedings of their ſovereign Philip

caſſel, and in right of her mother counteſs of Catzenellobogen) two ſons Henry and William, between whom his territories were divided; Henry had the poſſeſſions in the Netherlands, and William thoſe in Germany. Henry (to whom Charles V. owed in great meaſure his advancement to the imperial throne) being ſent by the emperor as ſovereign of the Netherlands into France, to do homage for Flanders and Artois, was, (1515) with the conſent of Francis I, married to Claude de Chalons, only ſiſter of Philibert de Chalons prince of Orange, by whom he had a ſon called Renè or Renatus. Philibert dying without iſſue, left by will the principality of Orange to his ſiſter's ſon Renatus, who alſo dying without heirs (1544), bequeathed his poſſeſſion to his couſin, ſon of his uncle William; namely,

WILLIAM, ſirnam'd the Great,

count of Naſſau, and by his couſin Renatus's will, prince of Orange, born 1533. He was ſon of William the elder, who having embraced the reformed religion, and introduced it into his territories, the emperor Charles V. took from him this his ſon William, and educated him in the popiſh religion, which he profeſſed till the revolt of the Netherlands. He was many years about the Emperor's perſon, and by him made, at the age of twenty-two, generaliſſimo of his armies. When Philip II. would have ſubverted the conſtitution of the Netherlands, he being then governor of Holland, Zealand, &c. eſpouſed the cauſe of liberty, and became the founder of the republic of the United Provinces. In this he was greatly aſſiſted by his brothers Lodowic, Adolphus, Henry, (all three ſlain in battle without heirs) but eſpecially by John his ſecond brother, (b. 1535.) to whom he gave part of his German dominions, with the title of count of Naſſau-Dietz. [This John count of Naſſau, and Stadtholder of Friezland, was anceſtor of ſeveral branches of Naſſau, viz. by his ſon John, of the line of Seigen; by his ſon George, of the line of Dittenburg; by his ſon Lewis, of the line of Hadamar; and by his third ſon Erneſt-Caſimer, of the line of Dietz, Stadtholders of Friezland. This Erneſt-Caſimer (b. 1573.) count of Naſſau-Dietz, was father of William Frederic (b. 1613.) father of Henry-Caſimer (b. 1657.), father of John-William Frizo (b. 1687, who being appointed heir of the houſe of Orange by king William III, aſſumed that title, and was drowned 1711), father of William-Charles-Henry-Frizo, the preſent prince of Naſſau-Dietz and Orange, hereditary Stadtholder of Friezland, and choſen Stadtholder of Gelderland, Zutphen and Groningen (1722.), married (1733.) to Anne, princeſs of Great-Britain.]

William

Philip II, king of Spain, took up arms in defence of the Belgick liberties, and by his prudence and conduct, founded

William I. prince of Orange was at laſt aſſaſſinated at Delft (1584.) in the 57th year of his age. He had by his firſt wife Ann of Egmont (counteſs Buren and Leerdam) Mary, and Philip-William prince of Orange, who being ſeized at the univerſity of Louvain by the duke of Alva, was carried to Spain, and confined there thirty years, before he was ſuffered to come back to the Netherlands, where he died without heirs 1618. By his ſecond wife Anne, daughter of Maurice, elector of Saxony, he had Emilia (married to Emanuel nominal king of Portugal) and Maurice. By his third wife Charlotte de Bourbon, daughter to the duke of Monpenſier, who had been a nun, he had ſix daughters; Juliana (married to Frederic IV. elector of Palatine) Iſabella, Catharina Belgica, Charlotta Brabantina, Charlotta Flandrina, Emilia. By his fourth wife Louiſa de Coligni, he had Henry Frederic. After his death, Philip his eldeſt ſon being in Spain, he was ſucceeded in the ſtadtholderſhip of Holland and Zealand by his ſecond ſon,

MAURICE *,

count of Naſſau, and, after his brother Philip's death, prince of Orange, (b. 1567.) He was called into action at ſeventeen years of age, and remained at the head of affairs above forty years, from 1584 to 1625, when he died. He was never married, but was ſucceeded in his eſtates and dignities by

HENRY

* Maurice prince of Orange had by madame de Mechlin his miſtreſs, 1. William, (vice-admiral of Holland, ſlain at Groll, 1627.) 2. Lewis de Naſſau, lord of Lecke, Odyke, Auverquerque and Bererwert, who dying 1668, left by his wife, counteſs of Horne, five daughters and three ſons. The daughters were Emilia, wife of Thomas Butler earl of Oſſory; Iſabella, wife of Henry Bennet earl of Arlington; Mauritia, wife of Colin Linſey earl of Balcarras; Charlotte, lady of the bed-chamber to queen Ann, (d. 1702); Ann-Elizabeth, wife of baron Rutenburgh, whoſe daughter married George earl of Cholmondley. The three ſons were, Maurice created count of Naſſau by the emperor Leopold 1679, whoſe deſcendents are nobles of Holland; William Adrian, lord of Odyke, Zeiſt, &c. firſt nobleman of Zealand, famous for his embaſſies; d. 1705, and Henry de Naſſau, who being lord of Auverquerque, had that ſirname. He was king William's captain of the guard when prince of Orange, and maſter of the horſe when king of England, d. 1708. By Iſabel van Arſens, daughter of Cornelius lord of Somerdyke, (who d. 1719-20.) this Henry had five ſons; Lewis, (d. 1687.); Cornelius, (lieutenant-general of the Dutch infantry, lord of Woudenberg); Maurice, (captain of the Dutch life-guards); Francis, (colonel of an Engliſh regiment of dragoons, killed at Almanza in Spain); and Henry, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon, created 24 Dec. 1698, baron of Alford, viſcount Boſton, and earl of Grantham, lord-chamberlain to her late majeſty queen Caroline.

the

the republic of the United Provinces, the moſt powerful in Europe (b). This republic formed by the father, was eſta-

HENRY-FREDERIC *,

prince of Orange, ſon of William I. by Louiſa de Coligni, widow of monſieur de Taligni, b. 1584. The republic founded by his father, and eſtabliſhed by his brother, was by him brought to perfection, being after ſixty years wars acknowledged a free ſtate by the Spaniard. He died May 14, 1647. By Emilia de Solms, daughter to John Albert count of Solms, (who came into Holland with the queen of Bohemia, and whom he married (1625.) by advice of his brother prince Maurice) he had four daughters; Louiſa, (married 1646, to Frederic-William, elector of Brandenburg); Henrietta-Emilia, (married 1648 to William-Frederic, count of Naſſau-Dietz, ſtadtholder of Frieſland); Henrica-Katherina, (married 1658, to George II. prince of Anhalt); Maria, (married 1666, to Lewis-Herman, palatine of Simeren); and one ſon, namely,

WILLIAM II.

prince of Orange, (b. 1626.) on whom the ſurvivorſhip of all his father's dignites and employments was conferred by the ſtate In 1641. he married Mary Stuart, eldeſt daughter to Charles I. king of Great-Britain. He died at the age of twenty-four, 1650, of the ſmall-pox, ſoon after his attempt upon Amſterdam, leaving only a poſthumous ſon, viz.

WILLIAM III.

prince of Orange, and king of Great-Britain, (b. 1650.) who leaving no iſſue by his wife Mary, daughter of James II. king of England, bequeathed the principality of Orange, &c. to his couſin and next heir male John-William-Frizo, prince of Naſſau-Dietz, as was ſaid above. He died March 8, 1702.

(b) The names of the ſeven provinces, that form the republic with their ſeveral rates towards the yearly expences of the government according to the proportion of 100 guilders, and the order in which their deputies to the ſtates-general vote; are as follows,

1 Gelder-

* Henry-Frederic prince of Orange, had by a concubine Frederic of Naſſau lord of Zuleſtein, killed at the battle of Voordam (1672.) refuſing quarter. He left by his wife Mary, daughter of ſir William Killigrew bart. of Cornwall; William-Henry, lord of Zuleſtein, created May 10, 1695, baron of Enfield, viſcount Tunbridge, and earl of Rochford, whoſe ſon William II. earl of Rochford died without heirs at Almenara 1710, and was ſucceeded by his brother Frederic, who dying in June 1737, was ſucceeded by his ſon William-Henry.

bliſhed by his ſecond ſon Maurice, and by his youngeſt ſon Henry-Frederic brought to perfection, being acknowledged and

	Guil.	Sti.	Den.
1 Gelderland, with the co. of Zutphen,	5	12	3
2 Holland, with Weſt-Friedland or North Holland,	53	6	2¼
3 Zealand,	9	3	8
4 Utrecht,	5	16	5
5 Friezland,	11	13	2
6 Overyſſel,	3	1	5
7 Groningen, with the Ommlands,	5	16	7½
	100	0	0

It may not be improper to inſert here, a brief account of the nature and conſtitution of a republic, ſo different from all others; and which is to bear ſo large a part in the affairs of Europe, throughout the following hiſtory.

The Netherlands, or low-countries, have been for many ages, divided into ſeventeen diſtinct provinces; and were governed by ſo many ſovereigns, under the various titles of prince, duke, or count. The ſeveral conſtitutions of theſe provinces, were much the ſame, being originally formed by part of thoſe northern ſwarms which over-ran Europe, and every where introduced a conſtitution, now generally called the ſtates; under a ſingle perſon limited by law. As by the aſſembly of the ſtates, the ſucceſſion when doubtful or conteſted was ſettled, laws made, taxes impoſed, peace or war declared; the uſe of this aſſembly was the principal privilege of the inhabitants of the low-countries, and conſequently, they were always very jealous of any incroachment upon it. In proceſs of time, theſe provinces by marriages, ſucceſſions, or conqueſts were united in the houſe of Burgundy, under Philip the good. Afterwards upon a marriage with the heireſs of Burgundy, they came to the houſe of Auſtria, and in the perſon of the emperor Charles V. were incorporated with his dominions of Germany, Spain, Italy and the Indies.

In the height of his glory Charles V. not only reſigned the imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand, but alſo the kingdom of Spain with the Netherlands, to his ſon Philip, whom he had two years before married to Mary, queen of England. Philip II. ſworn enemy of the reformed religion, which now began to ſpread in the low-countries, reſolved to extirpate hereſy in all his dominions, and to that end, introduced by violence the inquiſition, into the Netherlands; to which the inhabitants had always refuſed to ſubmit. Provoked at this, and many other incroachments of their liberties, the provinces riſe in arms, and headed by the prince of Orange, waged war with their ſovereign; which at length produced in 1580, the famous union of Utrecht, the foundation of the preſent republic of the United Provinces, the nature of whoſe government is briefly this.

The ſovereign authority of the United Provinces reſides in the ſtates-general, of the ſtates of each

and treated with by Spain, as free and independent ſtates; and their ambaſſadors ranked with the Venetian by the treaty

each province aſſembled in one place. But as this aſſembly (conſiſting of above eight hundred perſons) cannot meet without great expence and trouble, each province deputes a ſmall number of plenipotentiaries, (uſually in all about thirty) who with the greffier or ſecretary, conſtantly ſit at the Hague, and are commonly called the ſtates-general. Each province preſides their week in turns. Neither ſtadtholder or governor, or any military perſon, can be a member of this aſſembly. Matters are here decided by the majority, except in caſes of peace and war, foreign alliances, raiſing or coining money, and particularly the ſovereignty and privileges of each province or member of the union. In all theſe the provinces muſt all concur. Nor can they chuſe ambaſſadors, or anſwer foreign miniſters, (though ſent and received in their name) without conſulting the ſtates of each province, by their deputies, and receiving their orders; which indeed is alſo done in all affairs of great importance. Each province may ſend what number of deputies they pleaſe, as two, three or more; ſince the deputies of a province have but one vote. The ſovereignty of the territories and places, conquered by the common arms, is likewiſe imbodied in the ſtates-general, as Boiſleduc, Breda, Bergenopſoon, &c. and the places belonging to the Eaſt and Weſt-India companies, in Aſia, America and Africa.

The reſolves of the ſtates-general are executed by the council of ſtate, conſiſting of three deputies from Holland, two from Gelderland, two from Zeland, two from Friezland, one from Groningen, one from Utrecht, and one from Overyſſel, in all twelve. The deputies preſide by turns, and may always decide by plurality of voices. This council propoſes to the ſtates the ways and means of raiſing forces and money, ſuperintends the troops, fortifications, contributions upon the enemy's country, paſſports, and the affairs, revenues, and government of the places conquered ſince the union. Eſtimates of the expences of the enſuing year, are alſo drawn up by the treaſurer-general, (who has a ſeat here for life, with a deliberative voice) under the authority of the council, and a petition preſented to the ſtates to demand the ſame of the provinces in the proportion above-mentioned. Each province raiſes what money they pleaſe, ſend in their quota to the receiver-general (who alſo has a ſeat in the council of ſtate) and convert the reſt to preſent uſes, or reſerve it for future occaſions. In a word, the council of ſtate diſpoſes of all money deſigned for extraordinary affairs, and gives orders (ſigned by at leaſt three deputies of ſeveral provinces and the treaſurer-general, and regiſtered in the chamber of accounts) for the whole expence of the ſtate, according to the reſolves of the ſtates-general. It muſt be obſerved,

May 2. 1641. treaty of Munſter. William II. ſon of Henry-Frederic (who had married the princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter of Charles I. king

ſerved, the council of ſtate, formerly repreſented the authority of the ſtates-general in their abſence, and were judges of the proper time to convene them. But this power being abuſed under the earl of Leiceſter, the provincial ſtates deſired of the general, that they might by deputies, continue their aſſemblies under the name of ſtates-general, which has been done ever ſince Leiceſter's leaving the government.

The chamber of accounts erected for the care of the council of ſtate, to examine and ſtate all the accounts of the ſeveral receivers, to controul, and regiſter the orders of the council of ſtate. This chamber is compoſed of two deputies from each province, who are changed every three years, and reſide at the Hague.

The admiralty (divided into five colleges; one in Amſterdam, a ſecond at Rotterdam, a third at Horn, a fourth at Middleburgh, a fifth at Harlingen,) has the management of the ſea-affairs, and when a fleet is ordered, each college, (conſiſting of ſeven deputies, four from the province where the college reſides, and three named by other provinces) furniſhes their own proportion in all monies that are to be raiſed.

Each province, being ſovereign and independent, is governed by its own laws and cuſtoms, under the authority of the provincial ſtates; for inſtance, the ſovereignty of Holland is lodged in the ſtates of that province repreſented by deputies from the nobles and towns, compoſing nineteen voices, of which the nobles have only the firſt, and the cities eighteen, ſo many ſending deputies to the ſtates. Theſe were originally but ſix, till William I. prince of Orange, to ſtrengthen his authority, added twelve more. The former are ſtill diſtinguiſhed from the latter, by being called the ſix great cities, namely, Dort, Harlem, Delft, Leiden, Amſterdam and Gouda. The nobles are repreſented by eight or nine of their body, and each town may ſend what number of deputies they pleaſe, ſince they are maintained at their charge, and have but one vote. The provincial ſtates of Holland ſeverally meet four times a year at the Hague, in February, June, September, and November, to order the affairs of the province. The penſioner of Holland, has a place in all the aſſemblies of the province, and in the ſtates propoſes all affairs, gathers the votes, and concludes. This office is of great importance, for the penſioner is as the preſident of the aſſembly, and generally for life, though he ought to be choſen or renewed every fifth year. He is always one of their deputies, in the ſtates-general. When there is a ſtadtholder, and differences ariſe between him and the ſtates, the penſioner is in a dangerous ſituation, of which Barnevelt and de Wit, are terrible inſtances. There is likewiſe a provincial council of ſtate compoſed of ſeveral deputies, one from the nobles, and one from each of the principal towns;

king of England, and been inveſted with the ſurvivorſhip of his father's dignities of ſtadtholder and captain general) being

towns; and but one, from three of the ſmaller towns who chuſe him by turns. This council ſits conſtantly at the Hague, propoſes the matters of deliberation to, and executes the reſolves of, the provincial ſtates, who are convened by this council upon extraordinary occaſions. There are alſo two chambers of accounts, one for the ancient demean of the old courts of Holland, (but as the demean is begun to be ſold, this chamber will in the end be ſuppreſſed) the other manages the revenues of the province. Theſe charges are given as an honourable retreat to perſons who are grown old, in the more laborious employments.

Holland and Zealand, having but one ſtadtholder or governor, under the houſes of Burgundy and Auſtria, ſtill continue to have but one common judicature, exerciſed by two courts of juſtice, common to both provinces. The firſt conſiſts of a preſident, eight counſellors of Holland, and three of Zealand, with a greffier, and ſix ſecretaries. The other called the high-council, (to which there is an appeal from the firſt in civil, though not in criminal caſes) is compoſed of ſix counſellors of Holland, and three of Zealand, a greffier and ſubſtitute.

As the provinces are governed by their ſtates, ſo are the cities by their ſenators. For example, the ſovereign authority of Amſterdam reſides in a ſenate of thirty-ſix, who, (by a former reſolution of the burghers in a general aſſembly) chuſe a new ſenator when one happens to die. And this cuſtom has prevailed in all the towns of the province, though with ſome difference in the number of ſenators. By the ſenate are elected the four burgomaſters, of whom three are choſen every year, and one ſtays in office two years. The burgomaſter of the year before, preſides the firſt three months, after which the other three preſide by turns. Though this office is of great authority, the ſalary is but 500 guilders a year. The eſchevins (who are the court of juſtice, in every town) are alſo annually choſen by the ſenate in this manner: The ſenate names eighteen, out of which the burgomaſters chuſe nine, for ſo many are there at Amſterdam. They are ſovereign judges in criminal cauſes, but in civil, above ſuch a value, there lies an appeal to the provincial court of juſtice. In a ſentence of death they adviſe with the burgomaſters, but are not bound to follow their advice. Under theſe magiſtrates, are the treaſurer of the city; the ſcout who ſeizes all criminals, and ſees the ſentence of juſtice executed: the penſioner, who is a civil lawyer, verſed in the cuſtoms, records and privileges of the town, of which he informs the magiſtracy upon occaſion: He is a ſervant of the ſenate and burgomaſters, delivers their meſſages, and makes their public harangues. Thus the burgomaſters and eſchevins may be likened to our lord-mayor and

ing diſguſted at the reſolution of Holland to diſmiſs great part of the army, ſuffered himſelf to be ſwayed by a violent

aldermen, the ſcout to the ſheriff, and the penſioner to the recorder. The deputies to the provincial ſtates are choſen by the ſenate, among whom one of the burgomaſters and the penſioners are commonly ſent.

As to the office of ſtadtholder it muſt be obſerved, whilſt the United Provinces were under the dominion of Spain, there was a ſtadtholder or lieutenant-general, over the ſeventeen provinces with inferior governors or ſtadtholders, over particular provinces. After the revolt, the ſupreme power which before reſided in Philip II. as ſovereign of the Netherlands, devolved upon the ſtates-general, namely the power of making war and peace, raiſing money and the like, whilſt the rights of the governors or ſtadtholders, ſeemed to have been preſerved. For inſtance, William I. prince of Orange, being at the time of the revolt, ſtadtholder of Holland and Zealand, under the Spaniard, had his power and authority confirmed to him by the ſtates of thoſe provinces, now become ſovereigns, and was alſo made ſtadtholder-general, as well as captain-general of the United Provinces after the union of Utrecht. After his aſſaſſination, prince Maurice, was choſen ſtadtholder of Holland and Zealand, and after Leiceſter's return to England, was alſo made ſtadtholder of Guelderland, Utrecht and Overyſſel, whilſt his couſin prince William-Lewis of Naſſau-Deitz, was choſen ſtadtholder of Friezland and Groningen. The power and rights of the ſtadtholder were, the command of the land and ſea-forces as captain-general and admiral, the diſpoſition of military poſts, the pardon of penalties and crimes, the election of magiſtrates, upon the nomination of the towns, who preſented three, and he choſe one of them. But with all this he could neither raiſe nor diſband forces, and for governors of frontiers towns, he was to chuſe them out of perſons nominated by the ſtates. In a word, he could not take the field, form a camp or ſiege, without the expreſs order of the ſtates; when the ſtadtholder or general of the union had any view which he thought to be advantagious to the republic, and which ought to be kept ſecret, he deſired the ſtates to appoint two or three perſons to whom he imparted his deſign, which being approved of, the ſtates without knowing the particulars, made the neceſſary preparations and always ſent with him three or four deputies, to repreſent the ſtate, and ſerve him for counſellors. But as for the council of war he formed it as he pleaſed, and was maſter of the military diſcipline.

From the time of prince Maurice and his brother Frederic-Henry, there were two ſtadtholders and generals in the ſeven provinces, the princes of Orange of five, and the counts of Naſſau-Dietz of two, but the command in chief of the army belonged to the princes of Orange.

The

lent counſels, and under colour of a power from the ſtates-general to preſerve the union, and oppoſe whatever might diſturb

The ſtadtholder in the aſſemblies of the ſtates-general or provincial, could only give his opinion, not vote. He was arbitrator of differences between provinces, a power founded upon an article of the union, which gave that right to the ſtadtholders of the provinces. They had a large patrimonial revenue in lands, lordſhips, &c. in the provinces which enabled them to live with ſplendor and increaſed their authority, though in Holland, they were not maſters of any town that ſent deputies to the ſtates. In Zealand, they had moſt power, where, of the ſeven votes of the provincial ſtates, they were maſters of three; one as firſt nobleman, (the nobility being extinct in that province, they had ſome perſon to repreſent them in the aſſemblies) the other two as marquiſſes of Vere and Flaſhing. But never was the authority of ſtadtholder greater than under William III. prince of Orange, and king of England.

The inhabitants of Holland, may be divided into boors, or countrymen who cultivate the land, mariners, merchants or traders, who fill their towns, renteeners, or ſuch as live in their cities upon eſtates formerly acquired, nobles and officers of the army. The renteeners have a liberal education, with a view chiefly to render them fit for the ſervice of their country, for out of theſe the magiſtracy of their towns, their provinces, and their ſtate is generally compoſed; being deſcended from families, who have many times been conſtantly magiſtrates in their native towns, for many years and ſome for ſeveral ages. Their eſtates conſiſt in their ſalaries (which are ſmall) rents of lands, or intereſt of money. The nobles in Holland are very few, moſt of the families have been extinguiſhed in the long wars with Spain. Thoſe that remain, are in a manner all employed in the military or civil charges of the province or ſtate. They value themſelves more upon their nobility, than in countries where it is more common, and would not upon any conſideration marry below their rank. The officers of the army live after the cuſtoms of the nobles, as do many of the ſons of rich merchants, who returning from their travels purſue their pleaſures more than the ſervice of their country, or if they pretend to that, it is rather by the army than the ſtate. All theſe are generally deſirous to ſee a court, and wiſh for the re-eſtabliſhment of a ſtadtholder. Temp. Le Clerc.

From this account it appears the republic of Holland, is rather an oligarchy or ariſtocracy, than a democracy; for the ſenates of the towns are filled up by themſelves, the provincial-ſtates are choſen by the ſenate, and the deputies to the ſtates-general are elected by the provincial. Thus the people have little or no ſhare in the government. The caſe is much the ſame in all the ſeven provinces.

diſturb it, not only impriſoned ſix provincial ſtates in the caſtle of Louveſtein, but raſhly marched an army againſt Amſterdam, in order to ſeize and change the magiſtrates of that city, by whom his meaſures were chiefly oppoſed. This deſign being diſcovered by the Hamburgh poſt, who happened to ride through the army in the night, the prince's mortification at his diſappointment was ſo great, that he retired from the Hague to his ſeat in the country, on pretenſe of taking the diverſion of hunting, where being ſeized by a fever, which was followvd by the ſmall-pox, he died in the 25th year of his age. The princeſs his wife was ſo ſtruck
Nov. 4. with this unexpected accident, that eight days after ſhe was
1650. delivered of a ſon when ſhe was but ſeven months gone with child.

This ſon was William-Henry third prince of Orange of that name, and afterwards king of Great-Britain. The diſadvantages under which he came into the world were ſo many and ſo great, that there was no poſſibility of foreſeeing that he was born for the preſervation of the liberties not only of Holland and England, but of all Europe. His conſtitution, by reaſon of his untimely birth, was infirm. His private af-

About four years after the union of Utrecht, prince William was aſſaſſinated at Delft, July 10th, 1584. The murderer was one Balthaſer Gerards, who in hopes of the reward, or of meriting heaven by killing the prince, had inſinuated himſelf into his family, under the name of Francis Guyer, ſon to a martyr for the reformed religion. He had always the Hugenot pſalms in his hands, and was a conſtant frequenter of ſermons, in order to conceal his deſigns. By this means he was truſted by the prince and ſent upon ſeveral diſpatches. At the time of the murder, he was come for a paſſport to go where the prince had ordered him, and finding a fit opportunity ſhot him with a piſtol loaded with three balls, of which he inſtantly died, with theſe words in his mouth, "Lord "have mercy on my ſoul, and "the poor people." Thus died the founder of the republic of the United Provinces, who (ſays Maurier) made more noiſe in Europe, than all the kings of his time put together. Count Mayrice his ſon erected for him at Delft, a marble monument, not inferior to the moſt ſtately tombs in Italy. His murderer who is ranked among the martyrs by the catholics, ſuffered in the 27th year of his age his puniſhment with incredible conſtancy, his right arm, was burnt to the ſtump and the fleſhy of the muſculous parts of his body torn off with hot irons, without his expreſſing the leaſt ſign of pain. An inſtance of the ſtrange effects of enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition!

fairs were in a bad condition; too great jointures to his mother and grandmother, beſides a large debt contracted by his father for the aſſiſtance of his brother-in-law king Charles II. then in exile with the reſt of the royal family of England. As to his public affairs, his condition was ſtill worſe. His father's late attempt upon Amſterdam had raiſed great jealouſies of his family. A ſtrong party, with the grand penſionary de Wit at their head, was formed againſt him and the ſtates of Holland, at the inſtigation of Cromwel, who dreaded the advancement of a prince ſo nearly allied to the Stuarts, excluded him and his deſcendants from the dignities 1654.
enjoyed by his anceſtors; and afterwards, to bar him from all hopes of ever being ſtadtholder, that office, by the perpetual edict, was entirely aboliſhed, and the perſon choſen admiral or captain-general was to renounce it by a ſolemn oath, though offered him by the provinces themſelves. The French king, mortal enemy of his family, ſeized the principality of Orange, and demoliſhed the ſtrong citadel built by prince Maurice at a great expence. Such were the diſadvantages the young prince had to ſtruggle with, and which contrary to all appearance, he lived to ſurmount. Though his education, among his other misfortunes, had been much neglected, the governor, impoſed upon him, ſcarce affording him a tutor of any tolerable learning or knowledge of the world, yet he ſoon became maſter of thoſe parts of mathematics which related to the military art; and learnt to ſpeak Engliſh, French, and High-Dutch, almoſt as fluently as his own tongue. As he advanced in years, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition of the contrary party, his friends increaſed, and particularly among the clergy and populace. The firſt turn in his favour was his being choſen chief nobleman of Zealand, after which he was introduced into the council of ſtate. He paid a viſit to his uncle king Charles 1669.
II. in hopes of recovering the money which his father had ſupplied him with in his diſtreſs, and to ſee what offices the king would do towards his advancement to the ſtadtholderſhip, but inſtead of receiving any ſatisfaction in theſe points, he only diſcovered the king's inclination to popery (c). However,

(c) The king (ſays Burnet) gave him good words only, and tried him in point of religion. "He ſpoke of all the proteſ- "tants, as of a factious body "broken among themſelves, ever "ſince they had broken off "from the main body, and "wiſhed the prince would take "more pains, and look into thoſe "things

However, what his uncle would not aſſiſt him in, was obtained by his friends at home. It was propoſed in ſo many places, that he ſhould have the ſupreme command of the fleet and armies, that de Wit, who dreaded the name of ſtadtholder, and had been author of the perpetual edict, was no longer able to oppoſe the torrent. And the prince was declared admiral and captain-general, though by de Wit's management, it was done with ſuch limitations as were not eaſy to digeſt. The hardeſt condition was, that he ſhould bind himſelf by oath never to aſpire to the office of ſtadtholder, nor accept it even though it ſhould be offered. But when the war broke out with France in conjunction with England, and the French like a flood over-ran the United Provinces, all theſe limitations quickly vaniſhed, the oath was diſpenſed with, the perpetual edict revoked, de Wit and his brother torn in pieces by the mob, and the prince reſtored to the dignity of ſtadtholder with full power, for the time, of peace and war, and not long after the ſame dignity, from which he and his heirs had been excluded for ever, was made hereditary in his family, and ſettled upon him and his iſſue-male. This turn, however great, was no more than what he had deſerved. He had made a ſtand againſt France, when his country was on the brink of deſtruction, and in leſs than two years, had entirely changed the face of affairs. He had not only retaken Narden, but boldly marched up the Rhine, and ſeized Bonne, by which means he had cut off the ſupplies ſent down by the French to their garriſons on the Rhine and the Iſſel, and opened a paſſage for the Germans into Flanders, which gave ſuch a diverſion to the progreſs of the French, that they abandoned the three provinces they were poſſeſſed of, in leſs time than they had conquered them. An alliance was alſo made with the emperor, and a peace with the elector of Cologn and the biſhop of Munſter; after which a ſeparate treaty was concluded with the king of England, whoſe mediation was accepted by France. But as

1672.

1674.

Feb. 1674.

" things better, and not be led " by his Dutch blockheads." The prince told this to Zuyleſtein, his natural uncle, but never ſpoke of it to any other perſon till after the king's death, though he carried it always in his own mind, and could not hinder himſelf from judging of all the king's intentions after that, from the diſcovery he had then made of his ſentiments. Nor did he, upon his not complying with that propoſition, expect any real aſſiſtance from the king, but general interceſſions, which ſignified nothing, and which indeed was all he obtained. The prince was about twenty at the time of this viſit.

that

that mediation was run out to a great length, the prince, whose governing paſſion was the depreſſion of France, attacked the whole French army, commanded by the prince of Condé, and fought the famous battle of Seneffe, wherein he juſtly gained the eſteem of all the world, and of Condé in particular, for his conduct and courage (d). This change of the affairs of the ſtates had acquired the prince of Orange the affections of the people, to ſuch a degree, that he could have obtained whatever he deſired, and even the loſs of ſo important a place as Maeſtricht, was not at all charged to him (e). Indeed, it appears in the whole courſe of this war, that Temple's letters.

Aug. 1674.

(d) Condé's teſtimony of the prince was, "that he had acted "like an old captain in all, but "only in venturing himſelf too "much like a young man." For which very thing that old general himſelf was remarkable in that day's action. In the beginning of the battle the French had the advantage; but Condé puſhed it too far, and the prince of Orange engaged the whole army with ſo much bravery, that it appeared, the Dutch army was now brought to another ſtate than he had found it in. He charged himſelf in ſo many places with too great a neglect of his perſon, conſidering how much depended upon it. He was once engaged among a body of French, thinking them his own men, and bid them charge: they told him they had no more powder. He, perceiving his miſtake, with great preſence of mind, got out of their hands, and brought up a body of his army to charge them, who quickly routed them. The action in the afternoon recovered the loſs that was made in the morning, and poſſeſſed every one, with a high eſteem of the prince of Orange. The emperor's general Zouch, behaved ſo ill, that the prince told his ſon at night, that his father had acted ſo baſely, that, if it had not been for the reſpect he bore the emperor, he would have ſhot him through the head. By this and ſome other accidents, the battle was not deciſive, the loſſes being nearly equal, between ſix and ſeven thouſand on each ſide.

(e) After the battle of Seneffe, the prince in two enterprizes was unſucceſsful. He beſieged Maeſtricht, the only town of the Dutch provinces, then remaining in the hands of the French, but after two months endeavours to take it, Scomberg, (who in the mean time had beſieged and taken Aire) marched an army through the heart of the Spaniſh Netherlands, and unexpected came to the relief of the town. At his approach, the prince, whoſe army was weakened by ſickneſs and duty, was forced to retire. For this, it is ſaid, he never heartily forgave Scomberg, though he made uſe of his councils and experience afterwards in the expedition into England, and the reduction of Ireland. At the battle of Montcaſſel againſt the duke of Orleans, reinforced by

that the prince of Orange, even while ſo young and ſo little practiſed in affairs, had ſo clear and ſo juſt a view of them, that nothing could miſguide him, and that the bad proſpect he had from the ill condition of affairs, did not frighten him to accept of any mean or baſe conditions of peace. His fidelity to his country and the public intereſt, was ſo firm that no private conſideration of his own could biaſs him, or indeed be much conſidered by him (f).

July 1676. Nov. 4. 1677. During the negotiations of Nimeguen, under the mediation of England, the prince came over and by the management of the earl of Danby, and Sir William Temple, his marriage with the princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter of his uncle the duke of York, was concluded to the univerſal ſatisfaction of the proteſtant party, both at home and abroad; but to the great ſurpriſe and concern of the French king, who declared the duke had given his daughter to the "greateſt enemy he had in the world." (g) From this time

by Luxemberg, after a ſharp diſpute, the firſt regiment of Dutch infantry began to break. The prince rallied them ſeveral times, but at laſt was born down by the flight of his men, whom he was forced to reſiſt like enemies. He fell in among them with ſword in hand, and cutting the firſt croſs the face, cried aloud, "Raſcal! I'll ſet a mark on thee "at leaſt, that I may hang thee "afterwards." The prince was carried by the torrent of the runaways, to the reſt of his troops, which yet made a ſtand; and with theſe he made a retreat that came little ſhort of a victory. He alſo offered battle to the king of France when before Bouchain, which was refuſed.

(f) Of this there are many inſtances. When, to allure him to a dependance on France and England, all the offers were made him, that could be of honour and advantage to his perſon and family, (particularly the propoſal of making him ſovereign of the United Provinces, under the protection of England and France, at a time too, when ſo little of the provinces was left, and what remained in ſo imminent danger) he always anſwered with great firmneſs, "he would never betray a truſt repoſed in him, "nor ever ſell the liberty of that "country, which his anceſtors "had ſo long defended." And when the duke of Buckingham preſſed him much on the ſame head, and often ſaid to him; "Do not you ſee your country "is loſt?" He replied, "I do "ſee indeed, it is in great dan"ger; but there is a ſure way "never to ſee it loſt, and that is, "to die in the laſt ditch." Temple's memoirs. Burnet.

(g) Letters were ſent to the king of France, from the king, the duke, and alſo from the prince; who had no mind to this piece of courtſhip, but was obliged to it by his uncle. The king aſſured Lewis, that he had made the match on deſign to engage

time the prince of Orange was looked upon as the head of the proteſtant intereſt in Europe, and the greateſt check to the overgrowing power of France, which he deſired to ſee well bounded, but not deſtroyed. Having married the preſumptive heir to the crown of England, the eyes of the Engliſh were continually upon his proceedings, as were his upon their affairs, and upon the various ſteps of his two royal uncles. Though little application was made to him, during the reſt of king Charles's reign, yet he found that neither he nor his princeſs, were forgot by the parliament, in the great ſtruggle about the excluſion of the duke of York, his father-in-law; upon whoſe death it was intended, that they ſhould fill the throne.

Though neither this marriage, nor any other motive could prevail with the prince to abandon the allies, and make a ſeparate peace with France; yet at length the French found means to accompliſh their ends. They ſuddenly attacked the Spaniſh Netherlands, and taking Ghent and Ypres, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Dutch, that the ſtates reſolved on a peace at any rate, and the treaty at Nimeguen, after ſeveral years negotiations, was at laſt finiſhed, according to the terms preſcribed by France; though ſtrongly proteſted Aug. 10. 1678.

gage the prince, to be more tractable in the treaty, that was now on foot at Nimeguen. Montague, the Engliſh ambaſſador being called over ſoon after this for new inſtructions, Danby aſked him, "how the king of "France, received the news of "the marriage?" He anſwered, "as he would have done the "loſs of an army, and ſpoke "very hardly of the duke, for "not acquainting him with it." Danby anſwered, "he wronged "him, for he did not know it "an hour before it was publiſh-"ed, and the king himſelf not "above two hours." This was a maſter-piece in the earl of Danby, who ſince he was duke of Leeds, has declared in print "that he "would not ſuffer that part of his "ſervice to be buried in oblivi-"on." For this the duke never forgave him. It muſt be obſerved, that notwithſtanding all this, Sir William Temple makes himſelf the ſole agent in the ſucceſs of this affair, though according to the account, which the duke of Montague told biſhop Burnet, Sir William Temple was not preſent, when the king was perſuaded to conſent to it, when the duke was ſent for by the king, when the prince came to them and the lord treaſurer, and when the princeſs was given to him. What makes this the more probable, is, that Montague was known to be no friend to the lord Danby, and yet does this juſtice to him. See Burnet, I. p. 409.

againſt

Sept. 17. againſt by Denmark, Brandenburgh and Munſter (h). This
1678. was followed by a treaty between France and Spain, and
Feb. 1. another between the emperor and France, and thus the
1679. peace became general, though not at all agreeable to the prince of Orange's plan, who had all along inſiſted upon the enlargement of a frontier on both ſides of Flanders; without which, France, he affirmed, would end this war only with a proſpect of beginning another with greater ad-
1680-3. vantage, after breaking the preſent confederacy. What the prince foretold was ſoon verified. For the French quickly began their incroachments, and claimed whole provinces, by way of dependencies upon their new conqueſts, granted them by the late treaty (i). Not content with this, they

(h) After the orders for ſigning the treaty were ſent, the prince of Orange, by whom the peace was by no means approved, marched and attacked the duke of Luxemberg, before Mons; and notwithſtanding his advantageous ſituation, beat him from ſeveral poſts. This action happened four days after the treaty was ſigned, but the prince having no intimation of it, nor orders to ſtop, thought he might take all advantages; as wiſhing rather than fearing, to embroil matters. But the French were ſo tired of the war, that no notice was taken of this buſineſs, which an officer in the French army eſteemed "the only heroic action that "had been done in the whole "courſe of the war." The prince having the next day, received an account of the peace, communicated the ſame to Luxemberg, who deſired an interview with the prince; which being agreed to, they met in the field at the head of their chief officers. Many civilities paſſed, and there was great curioſity in the French, to ſee a young prince, who had made ſuch a noiſe in the world, and who the day before, had given life and vigour to ſo deſperate an action as this battle of St. Dennis, was univerſally deemed. It was believed by many, that the marquis de Grana, the Spaniſh general intercepted the packets from Nimeguen, till the action was over; for Spain did not like the peace. During the battle, as the prince was engaged among the thickeſt of the enemies, a French captain was juſt going to fire a piſtol at him, when Monde Averquerque, interpoſed and ſhot the Frenchman dead. The earl of Oſſory ſignalized himſelf in this battle, with the Engliſh and Scots under his command.

(i) It was pretended that in time of old, Alſatia, Lorrain, the counties of Chiney, Arlon, Vierton, St. Armond, all Luxemberg (except the city of that name) divers villages and ſeignories in Germany, Flanders, Brabant, Haguenau and the country of Liege, did of juſt right belong to the king of France, as dependencies upon the biſhopricks of Metz, Toul and Verdun, or upon the places yielded to

they ſurpriſe Courtray and Dixmude, and lay ſiege to Luxemberg. The prince of Orange, ever ready to aſſert the liberties of Europe, came forth from his retirement where he had lived ſince the concluſion of the peace, and projected an alliance againſt France. Accordingly the league of Auſtria was formed, wherein were engaged the emperor, Sweden, the ſtates of Holland, circle of Franconia, and ſome of the imperial cities. But the French, after the taking of Luxemberg, (which the prince of Orange, with a ſmall army in vain endeavoured to relieve) having obtained their ends, propoſed a truce for twenty years; which was agreed upon by a treaty ſigned at the Hague. 1683. June 29. 1684.

The king of France now at peace with all his neighbours, and in ſtrict alliance with king James, (who had ſucceeded his brother king Charles II.) reſolved to extirpate the reformed religion in his dominions. He began with letting looſe his dragoons, to live upon the Hugenots at diſcretion. They were under no reſtraint but from rapes and murder. This was followed by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which proſcribed two millions of reformed, and drove above two hundred thouſand into foreign countries, for refuge, leaving thoſe that remained to the mercy of an inraged clergy, to the barbarity of the intendants, and other officers (who on this occaſion ſeemed to have thrown off the common impreſſions of humanity) and to the cruelty of the dragoons. The principality of Orange, (then in poſſeſſion of the prince of Orange, by the treaty of Nimeguen) was not only dragooned but out of enmity to the owner, ſeized by the king of France, and united to the reſt of Provence; and all its rights, as a diſtinct principality were ſuppreſſed. Whilſt hereſy was thus extirpating at home, the French king declares war againſt the pope, ſeizes Avignon, and ſends Lavardin to Rome, to brave his holi- State of foreign affairs at the revolution. Of France. Octob. 25. 1685.

to him by the treaty of Nimeguen. In purſuance whereof, were erected in France, two tribunals of juſtice, one at Metz, and the other at Briſac, by the names of the chambers of reunions, where the inhabitants and lords of all the forementioned places were cited to appear, and make their ſubmiſſion to the king of France, and in caſe of refuſal were condemned for contumacy. Under ſuch pretenſions it was, that Straſburgh was ſeized and Luxemberg beſieged, becauſe the Spaniards would not yield up ſeveral places in Flanders, which were thus claimed. The king of Spain upon this occaſion, proclaimed war againſt France; but as the pince of Orange could not prevail with the ſtates to give him timely aſſiſtance, he was forced to ſubmit.

neſs

neſs at his ſee. The regale (k) gave the firſt riſe to this quarrel, the franchiſes (l) inflamed it, and the pope's inclination for the emperor carried his moſt chriſtian majeſty's indignation to extremity. By being thus employed, the king of France, except in the affair of Orange, had not yet openly violated the peace of Nimeguen, or the twenty years truce. But at length he pulls off the maſk, and, whilſt the emperor, relying on the late truce, was carrying on his wars in Hungary, privately aſſiſts Tekely and his party with money, and by his agents encourages the Grand Seignor

(k) The regale is a right, which the king of France has to enjoy the revenues of biſhoprics and archbiſhoprics, and vacant ſees; till the biſhop and archbiſhop, has taken the oath of fidelity to the king, and the oath be regiſtred in the chamber of accounts at Paris. The king alſo during the vacancy of a ſee, nominates to all the prebendaries and other dignities, and to whatever benefices are in the gift of the biſhops and archbiſhops, except cures of pariſhes.

(l) In Rome, all thoſe of a nation put themſelves under the protection of the ambaſſador, and were uſually lodged in his neighbourhood; pretending that they belonged to him. So they exempted themſelves from the orders and juſtice of Rome, as part of the ambaſſador's family. The extent of houſes or ſtreets in which they lodged was called the franchiſes, which were become ſo great a part of the city, that the privileges of thoſe, that lived in them, were daily giving diſturbances to the courſe of juſtice, and were the common ſanctuaries of criminals. The pope reſolved to reduce the privileges of ambaſſadors, to their own families within their own palaces. He began with the emperor's and the king of Spain's ambaſſador's, who quitted their pretenſions to the franchiſes, provided the French did the ſame. So the pope ſaid, as his nuncio at Paris, had no privilege but for his family, he was reſolved the French ſhould have no more at Rome. This was rejected by the French, with great ſcorn; and the quarrel riſe ſo high, that France and Rome, ſeemed to be in a ſtate of war. Laverdin was ſent ambaſſador to Rome, and the pope refuſing to ſee him unleſs he would renounce the franchiſes, he entered Rome in a hoſtile manner with ſome troops of horſe, tho' not in the form of troops, kept guard in the franchiſes, and affronted the pope's authority on all occaſions. The pope in revenge, not only refuſed to confirm the election of a coadjutor to Cologn, by which means it became void by the death of the elector; but afterwards he got prince Clement's election to Cologn, judged in his favour, againſt cardinal Furſtenberg ſet up by France. Thus by affronting the pope the French king's deſign which he had been long purſuing was defeated, otherwiſe the expedition to England would not have been ſo ſafe for Holland, nor could it have been propoſed eaſily to the ſtates.

to

to continue the war, with the promiſe of a powerful diverſion. This diverſion was accordingly made by the ſudden Septemb.
irruption of the French into Germany. Philipſburg, Spires 1688.
and Worms were taken, and theſe followed by thoſe of Frankendal and Manheim, and with the deſolation of the Palatinate. They drained, plundered, deſtroyed ſeveral cities of the empire, burnt the palaces of the princes, pillaged the churches and committed a thouſand inſtances of an inhumanity more than barbarian. A manifeſto was pub- Emperor's
liſhed by France againſt the emperor, which by all who had letter to
conſidered the rights of peace and laws of war, was looked king
upon as one of the moſt avowed and ſolemn declarations, James.
that ever was made of the perfidiouſneſs of the French king, who ſeemed plainly to intimate, that he thought himſelf tied by no peace, but might, upon any ſuſpicion of his neighbours, begin a war when he pleaſed. Hence may be dated the beginning of the great war, which laſted till the peace of Ryſwick.

To this height of power and inſolence was the French monarchy grown, and Lewis le Grand (m) ſeemed as it were reſolved to give law to all Europe. He had uſurped an abſolute power over the eſtates, perſons, and conſciences of his ſubjects, and had a mind to extend it alſo over his neighbours and enemies. And indeed, what but the revolution in England could poſſibly have ſtopped the progreſs of his deſigns, ſupported as he was by his alliance with England. Whether this invaſion of Germany, in open violation of the treaty of Nimeguen, was to break the meaſures of the prince of Orange, and hinder his expedition into England, or to perform his promiſe to the Turk, or to oblige the empire and eſpecially the emperor to convert the twenty years truce into a treaty of peace, which might hinder Germany from leaguing with Holland, and the prince of Orange, or whatever other deſign the French king might have, it ſerved only to render him more odious to the empire and haſten the alliance againſt him; and was ſo far from retarding, that it promoted, the prince of Orange's expedition; ſince by marching his troops towards the upper Rhine, the French king had made it impracticable to tranſport an army into England, or

(m) After the king of France's return from his expedition in 1672, a ſolemn debate was held at Paris, what title ſhould be given him. Le Grand was thought too common. Some were for Invincible. Others for Le Conquerant. Some, in imitation of Charlemagne, for Lewis le Magne; others for Maximus: but as Tres-Grand or Maxime did not ſound ſo well, Le Grand was pitched upon at laſt.

to ſend a ſufficient force into Cologn, to alarm the Dutch. It is true, he never imagined, that an expedition which ſeemed almoſt deſperate, could have ſucceeded in ſo ſudden and ſurprizing a manner. He expected, and in all appearance very juſtly, that king James would have been able to make a great diviſion in the nation, and that the kingdom would have been deeply involved in a civil war. And therefore, he was the leſs concerned that his offer of troops was refuſed by king James, and the more eaſily induced to proſecute his deſigns that winter in Germany, not at all doubting but he ſhould come in good time, the next ſummer to king James's aſſiſtance who would then, he thought, be forced to receive aid from France on any terms. But to his great diſappointment as well as mortification, he ſaw the revolution compleated, without any effuſion of blood, and a prince advanced to the throne of England, that was reſolutely bent to check, to the utmoſt of his power, the progreſs of his ambitious deſigns.

State of Spain. In proportion as France grew every day more powerful, Spain on the contrary, daily declined; and under the reign of an infirm king ſeemed like him, to be without ſtrength or life. The council of Madrid, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to ſupport the ſinking ſtate, but when the head is dying, the reſt of the members ſtrive in vain to uphold the body. It was to no purpoſe, that able miniſters were employed in foreign courts, and able governors in the provinces; France had always the aſcendant. The marquiſſes of Grana and Caſtanaga, ſucceſſive governors of the Spaniſh Netherlands, were good generals, as well as good politicians. They had their agents at king James's court, and themſelves negotiated in Flanders, with all poſſible zeal and capacity. Ronquillo, his catholic majeſty's ambaſſador at London, who is ſaid to know the Engliſh genious and conſtitution, ſtrenuouſly backed their endeavours and uſed all poſſible arguments to draw off king James from France; and, if that king's hiſtorian, is to be credited, he went ſo far, as to offer to aſſiſt him, in obliging the parliament to approve of his meaſures, provided he would but accede to the league of Auſtria, which ſhows at leaſt, the ſincere deſire of Spain, to ingage him to break with the French king. But as troops were wanted and there was no money to raiſe new levies, or to pay thoſe already on foot, France, well acquainted with the wants and weakneſs of Spain, and ſecure of England, during the reign of James II, was preparing in concert with him for the invaſion of Holland, and the Spaniſh Netherlands. Nothing therefore

Father Orleans.

could

could happen more fortunately for Spain, than the revolution in England; without which, in all appearance the loſs of the Netherlands, would have been unavoidable.

The United Provinces ſaw with terror the progreſs of the French arms, and their encroachments on the Netherlands, ſince the concluſion of the peace of Nimeguen. They were greatly alarmed when they found that the taking of Luxemburg, by the French king was connived at by king James, but when they diſcovered the private alliance between the two monarchs, they plainly perceived their deſtruction was inevitable, unleſs timely prevented. Wherefore, as ſoon as their ſtadtholder had ſecured the elector of Brandenburg in his intereſt, and concerted meaſures with Cologn, Heſſe and Luxemburg, for a ſupply of troops if required, in the room of thoſe he ſhould take with him, they readily furniſhed an army and fleet for an expedition, on the ſucceſs whereof, their ſafety ſo viſibly depended, and which, however dangerous it appeared, was the only means to ſave them from ruin. So great reaſon had the united provinces to rejoice at a revolution which freed them from ſuch dreadful apprehenſions, and would be a ſtrong bulwark for the future againſt the common enemy of Europe. Of the United Provinces.

King William, was thirty eight years of age, when the revolution took place, ſeventeen of which had been ſpent in a conſtant oppoſition of the pernicious ſcheme, (formed by Richlieu and purſued by Mazarine) of making France the ſeat of univerſal empire, and of enſlaving all Europe. Lewis le Grand, had made ſuch a progreſs in this ſcheme, that it would probably have ſucceeded had it not been for the great checks it received from king William, whilſt prince of Orange. As that prince had made the humbling of France, the great buſineſs of his life before the revolution, ſo after his advancement to the Britiſh throne, we ſhall ſee him ſtill vigorouſly proſecuting the ſame deſign, in a thorough belief that it was the ſole means of preſerving the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of chriſtendom. But firſt we ſhall ſee him earneſtly endeavouring to finiſh and complete the new ſettlement in church and ſtate in the beſt manner he could, amidſt the oppoſition of thoſe who thro' principle, prejudice, party, or diſappointment clogged all his meaſures. We ſhall ſee him purſue the abdicated king into Ireland, and oblige him to retire once more into France, and that kingdom to return to the obedience of the crown of England. We ſhall ſee him eſcape from the plots and conſpiracies of his enemies at home, and abroad. We ſhall ſee him declared Abſtract of king William's reign to the peace of Ryſwick.

generaliſſimo of the confederate armies, expoſing himſelf to great perils, in voyages and battles; and croſſing the ſeas whenever his preſence was neceſſary at the head of the armies, or at the public aſſemblies in Holland and Germany. We ſhall ſee him exerting all his courage and ſtrength, to humble the pride of France, under the greateſt difficulties. Spain quite exhauſted will aſſiſt him but feebly, whilſt the forces of Holland, are employed in the defence of the Spaniſh Netherlands. The emperor attacked by the Turks, and the Hungarian malecontents will ſend but weak armies on the Rhine, and the princes of the empire, will be either ſo ſlow, or ſo disjointed, that their aſſiſtance will be inconſiderable. We ſhall ſee king William by his ability, conſtancy and reſolution, ſurmount all theſe difficulties, and make head againſt an enemy ſuperior to him in the number of his troops, and more ſo, in the union of his generals; till Lewis, apprehenſive of being obſtructed in his grand, tho' as yet ſecret deſign upon Spain, gladly conſents to a peace, concluded at Ryſwick in 1697. Theſe in general are the events of the firſt nine years of king William's reign; throughout which his moderation and clemency, his wiſdom and valour, were equally conſpicuous. And what is very uncommon, he brought with all his virtues, not one vice to the throne (n). He was addicted neither to wine, nor women; nor did irreligion or pride, make any part of his character. It is true, he had ſome failings which were an allay to his virtues. He was ſo intent upon the war, and the humbling of France, which he thought abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of Europe, that he was not ſo careful of his government as he ſhould have been. The diſguſt this raiſed, being improved by men of ill deſigns, ſo perplexed his affairs, that he could hardly ſupport himſelf at home; whilſt he was the admiration of all abroad. He was alſo of ſo reſerved and ſilent a temper, (which had been heightened by his education, when all his words and actions were narrowly watch'd,) that it made him averſe to talking in company, and very hard of acceſs. This was by no means agreeable to the Engliſh nation, and

(n) Biſhop Burnet ſays indeed, he had no vice but of one ſort, in which he was very cautious and ſecret. What this vice was, he has left the world to gueſs, by which means, the worſt ſort of vice is, at leaſt by his enemies, fixed upon him, though in expreſs contradiction to the religious character given of him by the ſame biſhop after his death, and which the reader may ſee at the end of his reign.

therefore

therefore many endeavoured to perſuade him to be more viſible, open and communicative. He ſeemed reſolved to follow their advice, but his ill ſtate of health, increaſed by his long ſtay at St. James's, without his uſual exerciſe of hunting, of which he was very fond, made him give way to his natural diſpoſition; and he became rather more retired and leſs acceſſible than before. In a few days after he was placed on the throne, he went to Hampton-court, from whence he came to town only on council-days. So that the face, gaiety and diverſions of a court diſappeared, which gave great diſcontent. The queen, who was affable and lively, endeavoured by a great vivacity and chearfulneſs to ſupply what was wanting in the king, but when ſhe was found not to meddle in buſineſs, though all were pleaſed with her, yet few came to make their court to her, as but few found their account in it.

King William's firſt care after his advancement to the throne, was to ſettle a privy-council (o) and appoint a miniſtry. The earl of Danby, created marquis of Carmarthen, was made preſident of the council. He had, by his accompliſhing the king's marriage with the queen, and heartily concurring in the revolution from the very beginning, aton'd in ſome meaſure for his proceedings under Charles II. He is ſaid to have puſhed for the treaſurer's ſtaff, a poſt he had formerly enjoyed, but was refuſed by the king, who was reſolved the treaſury ſhould be in the hands of commiſſioners (p). The privy ſeal was given to lord Halifax, who for zealouſly

1688-9. A new privy-council and miniſtry ſettled. Pro. H. L. II. 342. Boyer. Rereſby.

(o) The names of the privy-counſellors were as follows; his royal highneſs George prince of Denmark, William Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Henry Compton biſhop of London, Henry duke of Norfolk, Charles marquis of Wincheſter, George marquis of Halifax, Thomas earl of Danby, Robert earl of Lindſey, Aubery earl of Oxford, Charles earl of Shrewſbury, Charles earl of Dorſet and Middleſex, William earl of Bedford, John earl of Bath, Charles earl of Macclesfield, Daniel earl of Nottingham, Thomas viſcount Falconberg, Charles viſcount Mordaunt, Francis viſcount Newport, Richard viſcount Lumley, Philip lord Wharton, Ralph lord Montagu, Henry lord Delamere, John lord Churchill, Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Henry Sidney, Sir Robert Howard, knt. Sir Henry Capel, knt. Mr. Henry Powle, Mr. Edward Ruſſel, Mr. Hugh Boſcawen, and Mr. Richard Hampden, to whom were added on the twentieth of February, Thomas Wharton, eſq; and Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, bart.

(p) Sir John Rereſby, bart. ſays, that he certainly had been in hopes of being advanced to the office of lord treaſurer; but being

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zealouſly promoting all the ſteps that were lately made for the king, was hated by the tories, and for his oppoſition to the

being diſappointed in this, he was obliged to take up with the poſt of preſident of the council, which was of great honour and credit, though very ſmall profit. However, his lordſhip had not been above a fortnight in his poſt, "before I found him, (ſays Sir John) extremely cooled with "regard to affairs, as then managed. He ſaid, that being "embarked with his all, he was "ſorry to ſee things no better "conducted: that Ireland was "in a manner become invincible, "by our neglect of ſending forces thither before now. That "with regard to this, and other "material points, equally unheeded, he had been preſſing "the king to a degree even of "incivility. That he had told "his majeſty, he plainly ſaw, "he did all he could to encourage the preſbyterians, and to "diſhearten the church, which "could not but be abſolutely "prejudicial both to himſelf and "the government; though he, "at the ſame time, obſerved, "that his majeſty interfered but "little in councils, being prevented therefrom, partly by "inclination, and partly by want "of health. Indeed the king "looked but ill, and the difficulty he laboured under in "ſwallowing, ſeemed to foretel "him a man of ſhort continuance in the world. His lordſhip further told me, that he "had been appointed preſident "of the council quite againſt his "will, after the king had declared he could not give him "the ſtaff of treaſurer, determined, as he was, that the "treaſury ſhould be in the hands "of commiſſioners. That he "had been offered to be ſecretary of ſtate and preſident both "at the ſame time; and that he "had declined the firſt. That "all he aſked of the king for "himſelf was a patent, to which "he had a right by a former "grant; and that he would alſo "be pleaſed to gratify ſome "gentlemen, who had, upon the "revolution, joined him in the "north. In fine, that the king "had told him, it would be by "no means for his intereſt to be "out of all buſineſs; and that "he had, in a manner, forced "the preſidentſhip upon him. "His lordſhip expreſſed himſelf "doubtful of the continuance of "affairs, as they now ſtood; "and informed me, that King "James had ſent down to "him into the north, offering "to throw himſelf into his hands "before he went away. To "this, he ſaid, his anſwer was, "by Charles Bertie, who brought "the meſſage, that his own "force, which he depended upon in the north, was not ſufficient to truſt to; but that if "his majeſty would bring a conſiderable part with him, and "come without his papiſts, he "would ſooner loſe his life than "he ſhould ſuffer the leaſt injury. But that the king having no mind to part with his "Romans, would not come. "His lordſhip then ſaid, that if "the king would but quit his

"papiſts,

the bill of excluſion, was not beloved by the whigs. The affair of ſurrendering up the charters, and the remiſſneſs in relieving of Ireland, were alſo charged on him. He had for ſome time great credit with the king, but lord Carmarthen not being able to bear the equality, or rather preference that ſeemed to be given him, brought on a ſtorm that quickly fell on him. The earl of Devonſhire was made lord ſteward of the houſhold, and the earl of Dorſet, lord chamberlain. As they were both whigs, the houſhold was made up of ſuch, except where there were buyers for places, which were ſet Burnet.

" papiſts, it might poſſibly not " be too late yet for him. He " then obſerved, that the duke " of Gordon, a papiſt, and go- " vernor of Edinburgh caſtle, " the only magazine in Scot- " land, who was lately ready " and willing to ſurrender it to " any body, now held it out " obſtinately for king James; " and that the diſcontents in " England grew greater daily " and greater. He then re- " flected on lord Halifax, the " king, and all about him, as " moſt ſtrangely infatuated with " notions of their own ſecurity; " and particularly animadverted " on the laſt mentioned lord, " for inſiſting with ſuch violence " in a ſpeech of his, that the " prince ſhould be intitled legal " and rightful king of this realm, " (which, I ſuppoſe, the lord " Halifax did with a view of " continuing the old oaths of al- " legiance and ſupremacy, and to " obviate all ſcruple about taking " the new,) ſaying, it was mere " nonſenſe; for that had the " prince of Wales been made " king, he could never have " been deemed our lawful ſo- " vereign, while his father liv- " ed.——But his lordſhip ne- " verthelefs appeared very ſeri- " ous and urgent about the le- " gality of taking the new oaths, " and condemned the biſhops " for their ſqueamiſhneſs in that " reſpect, though they them- " ſelves had ſo large a hand in " bringing about this great and " extraordinary change; and " thereupon quoted lord Not- " tingham's ſpeech, who in the " houſe of lords, had obſerved, " that though he had never in " the leaſt conſented to this re- " volution, but had with all his " might oppoſed the prince's " acceſſion, as contrary to law; " yet ſince his highneſs was " here, and we muſt owe our " protection to him as king de " facto, he thought it but juſt " and legal to ſwear allegiance " to him. I have been the more " exact in the particulars of this " converſation, to give the bet- " ter inſight into the thoughts " of the greateſt men upon this " occaſion; though I wondered " his lordſhip would venture to " be ſo very undiſguiſed with " me; but he was ſure I would " not betray him, though even " lord Halifax." See memoirs of Sir John Reresby, laſt governor of York, containing ſeveral remarkable tranſactions from the reſtoration to the revolution, p. 321, &c.

to ſale. And though the king ſeemed to diſcourage ſuch practices, yet he did not encourage propoſals for detecting them. Mr. Bentinck, afterwards earl of Portland, was made groom of the ſtole and privy purſe. He continued for ten years, to be entirely truſted by the king, and ſerved him with great fidelity and obſequiouſneſs, but could never bring himſelf to be acceptable to the Engliſh nation (q) Mr. Sidney, made firſt lord Sidney, and then earl of Rumney, was made one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, and afterwards ſecretary of ſtate, lord lieutenant of Ireland, and in other great poſts. The king's chief perſonal favour lay between Bentinck and him. He was brother to the earl of Leiceſter, and to Algernon Sidney, beheaded by king James. He was the man who had the ſecret of all the correſpondence, that was before the revolution, between the prince of Orange and his party in England, and the conduct of that whole affair was by the prince's own order, chiefly depoſited in his hands. He was a graceful man, and had lived long at court, where he had ſome adventures that became very public. He was a perſon of a ſweet and careſſing temper, had no malice in his heart, but too great a love of pleaſure. He had been ſent envoy to Holland in the year 1679, where he entered into ſuch particular confidences with the prince, that he had the higheſt meaſure of his truſt and favour, that any Engliſh man ever had. Marſhal Schomberg was made maſter of the ordnance. He had been of great ſervice to the king in his expedition into England, and the king had been very earneſtly preſſed to bring him over with him, both becauſe of the great reputation he was in, and becauſe it was thought to be a ſecurity for the king's perſon, and to the whole deſign, to have another general with him, to whom all would ſubmit in caſe of any accident (r).

Burnet.

The

(q) The king's affection to Mr. Bentinck, may be dated from the time of his having the ſmall-pox, in 1675. Bentinck then gentleman of his bed-chamber, though he had never had that diſtemper, attended his maſter during the whole courſe of his illneſs, both night and day, for ſixteen days. After which having leave to go home he immediately fell ſick of the ſmall-pox and was in great danger of his life.

(r) The reſt of the houſhold were lord viſcount Newport, treaſurer of the houſhold, Mr. Wharton, comptroller of the houſhold, Sir John Lowther, vice-chamberlain of the houſhold, monſieur D'Auverquerque maſter of the horſe, the lord Montagu, maſter of the great wardrobe; monſieur Zuyleſtein, maſter

The earl of Shrewſbury was declared ſecretary of ſtate, and had the greateſt ſhare of the king's confidence. He had been educated a papiſt, but had renounced that religion upon a very critical and anxious inquiry into matters of controverſy. Some thought, that though he had forſaken popery, he was too ſceptical, and too little fixed in the principles of religion. However, he ſeemed to be a man of great probity, and to have a high ſenſe of honour. He had no ordinary meaſure of learning, a correct judgment, with a ſweetneſs of temper, that charmed all who knew him. He had ſo great a command of himſelf, that during all the time he continued in the miniſtry, no perſon was heard to complain of him, except for his ſilent and reſerved anſwers, with which his friends were not always well pleaſed. His modeſt deportment gave him ſuch an intereſt in the king, that he never ſeemed ſo fond of any of his miniſters, as he was of him. His method was only to lay in general the ſtate of affairs before his majeſty, without preſſing too much. The earls of Shrewsbury, and Nottingham made ſecretaries of ſtate.

It was for ſome time under conſideration, who ſhould be the other ſecretary; at laſt the earl of Nottingham was pitched upon for that poſt. He had ſtood at a great diſtance from the court all king James's reign, and though a privy-counſellor, never went to the board. When the prince of Orange's coming over was propoſed to him, he firſt agreed to it, but afterwards refuſed to proceed any farther. However he declared, that though his principles reſtrained him, ſo that he could not go on, his affection would make him wiſh well to the cauſe, and would be ſo far a criminal as concealment could make him. Accordingly he oppoſed the ſettlement with great earneſtneſs; but always ſaid, that though he would not make a king, yet, upon his principles, he could obey him when made, better than thoſe, who were ſo much for making one. The tories apprehended, that the oppoſition, which they had given to the king's advancement, and the zeal, that the whigs had ſhewn for it, would alienate him from them, and throw him into the others hands,

maſter of the robes; the biſhop of London, dean of the chapel; the lord Lovelace, captain of the gentlemen penſioners; the duke of Ormond, the earl of Oxford, the lords Mordaunt, Lumley and Churchill, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber; the earl of Wiltſhire ſon to the marquis of Wincheſter, lord-chamberlain to the queen; John Howe, eſq; vice-chamberlain; Mr. Villiers, great maſter of the horſe, and the counteſs of Darby, ſiſter to the duke of Ormond, firſt lady of the bed-chamber, and groom of the ſtole to her majeſty.

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from whom they could expect no favour, but ſevere returns for the hardſhips they had put on the whigs, the latter end of king Charles II's reign. Theſe apprehenſions grew daily amongſt that party, and made them begin to look back towards king James. It was therefore thought adviſable, in order to avoid exaſperating ſo large a body, to employ the earl of Nottingham. The great increaſe of buſineſs in chancery having led many to apprehend, that it was too much to be truſted with one perſon, it was reſolved to put that court into commiſſion, and the earl was propoſed to be the firſt in the commiſſion, but he refuſed it, and accepted of the place of ſecretary of ſtate. This gave as much ſatisfaction to the tories, as it begot diſtruſt in the whigs. The tories hoped for protection and favour by his means; they reckoned, that he would infuſe all the prerogative notions into the king, and give him ſuch a jealouſy of every ſtep, that the whigs ſhould make in their prejudice, that from thence his majeſty would ſee cauſe to ſuſpect all the ſhow of kindneſs, that they might put on towards him, when at the ſame time they were undermining ſome of thoſe prerogatives, for which the earl ſeemed to be ſo zealous. This had a great effect on the king, who being ignorant of the conſtitution, and naturally cautious, ſaw reaſon enough to diſlike the heat he found among thoſe, who expreſſed much zeal for him, but who appeared, at the ſame time, to have it with a great mixture of republican principles. They on the other hand, were much offended at the employing the earl; "and he gave "them daily cauſe to be more diſpleaſed at it; for he ſet "himſelf with a moſt eager partiality againſt the whole "party, and againſt all the motions made by them; and he "ſtudied to poſſeſs the king with a very bad opinion of them. "And whereas ſecretaries of ſtate have a particular allow"ance for ſuch ſpies, as they employ to procure intelligence, "how exact ſoever he might be in procuring foreign intelli"gence, he ſpared no coſt nor pains to have an account of all "that paſſed in the city and in other angry cabals; and he "furniſhed the king very copiouſly that way, which made a "deep impreſſion on him, and had very bad effects."

The chancery and treaſury put in commiſſion, Boyer. Burnet.

The marquis of Halliſax having alſo refuſed the offer made to the earl of Nottingham, with reſpect to the chancery, Sir John Maynard was made firſt commiſſioner, and Anthony Keck and William Rawlinſon were knighted, and joined with him.

The treaſury being alſo put in commiſſion, lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Monmouth, was made firſt commiſſioner

miſſioner. He was the firſt of all the Engliſh nobility that came over to ſee the king when prince of Orange. He was a man of much heat, many notions, and full of diſcourſe. He was brave and generous, but had not true judgment. His thoughts were indigeſted, and his ſecrets were ſoon known. Lord de la Mere, afterwards earl of Warrington, was chancellor of the exchequer. The lord Godolphin (s) was likewiſe brought into the treaſury, to the great grief of the other two, who ſoon ſaw that the king conſidered him more than them both. For as he underſtood treaſury-buſineſs well, ſo his calm and cold way ſuited the king's temper. Mr. Richard Hampden and Sir Henry Capel were the other commiſſioners. The earls of Monmouth and Warrington, though both ſtaunch whigs, became great enemies. Monmouth generouſly gave the inferior places, but ſought out men of republican principles: and Warrington is ſaid to ſell every thing that was in his power (t).

The admiralty was alſo committed to the care of commiſſioners; and the admiral Herbert, afterwards earl of Torrington, was firſt in the commiſſion. He was brother to chief juſtice Herbert. Being preſſed by king James, to vote for the repeal of the teſt, he abſolutely refuſed, and choſe rather than comply, to loſe places to the value of four thouſand a year; though his circumſtances were very indiffer- And alſo the admiralty.

(s) He was a younger brother of an ancient family in Cornwal, that had been bred about king Charles II. from a page, and was conſidered at the time that the earl of Sunderland, lord Hyde, and he managed affairs, as one of the ableſt men belonging to the court. He was the moſt ſilent and modeſt man that was perhaps ever bread in a court. He had a clear apprehenſion, and diſpatched buſineſs with great method, and with ſo much temper, that he had no perſonal enemies. He loved gaming beyond what men of buſineſs uſually do, and gave one reaſon for it, becauſe it delivered him from much talking. He had true principles of religion and virtue, and was free from all vanity, and never heaped up wealth. He had much of the confidence of four ſucceeding kings. He was ſecretary of ſtate in 1684, which he quitted, and was made a baron the ſame year. He was concerned in the ſcheme laid at lady Portſmouth's, by Barillon and lord Sunderland; and was ſent by king James to the prince of Orange at Hungerford.

(t) The commiſſioners of the cuſtoms were the honourable George Booth, Sir Richard Temple, Sir Robert Southwel, Thomas Pelham, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Patience Ward. Of the exciſe, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Aſhhurſt, Sir Humphrey Edwin, Thomas Frankland, John Danvers, Francis Perry, John Wilcocks, junr.

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ent (u). He was a man of great pride, as well as great humour, and ſet a high value on himſelf, and expected the ſame from others. With all this, he had a good underſtanding, and a great reputation for his conduct in ſea-affairs. He quitted king James and went over to Holland, and was made lieutenant-general admiral of the Dutch fleet, that brought over the king. There were ſix other commiſſioners named with him (x).

The judges choſen. Burnet. Boyer.

Nothing gave a more general ſatisfaction than the naming of the judges, the king ordered every privy counſellor to bring a liſt of twelve, and out of theſe, were choſen twelve very learned and worthy judges. This nomination was generally well received over the nation. The firſt of theſe was Sir John Holt, made lord chief juſtice of England, then a young man for ſo high a poſt, who maintained it during his whole life, with a high reputation for capacity, integrity, courage and great diſpatch. So that ſince Sir Matthew Hale's time, the king's-bench has not been ſo well filled as it was by him (y).

All

(u) When king James aſked him to vote for the repeal of the teſt, he anſwered, he could not do it, in honour or conſcience. The king ſaid, he knew he was a man of honour, but the reſt of his life did not look like a man, that had great regard for conſcience; (for he was indeed abandoned to luxury and vice.) He boldly replied, he had his faults, but they were ſuch that other people who talked more of conſcience, were guilty of the like.

(x) Theſe were the earl of Carbury, Sir Michael Wharton, Sir Thomas Lee, Sir John Chicheley, Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, and Mr. William Sacheverel. This laſt, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſeveral ſpeeches for the bill of excluſion, being little acquainted with maritime affairs, deſired the king to excuſe him from acting at the admiralty board, on account of his inſufficiency. The king replied, "There are enough who "do underſtand the buſineſs, "which a man of ſenſe would "ſoon be maſter of, and he could "depend on his integrity." Sacheverel perſiſted in excuſing himſelf, ſaying, "ſince he was "not qualified for the ſervice, he "could not in conſcience accept "the ſalary." Oldm. III. p. 2.

(y) The reſt of the judges were Sir William Dolben, Sir William Gregory, and Giles Eyre, juſtices of the king's-bench; Sir Henry Pollexfen, lord chief juſtice, and Sir John Powel, Sir Thomas Rokeby, and Peyton Ventris, juſtices of the common-pleas; Sir Robert Atkins, lord chief baron, and Sir Edward Nevil, Nicholas Lechmere, and John Turton, barons of the exchequer; and John Trenchard, chief juſtice of Cheſter, Sir George

All theſe employments were diſpoſed of at ſeveral times within the ſpace of two months. And as Dr. Burnet had been one of the chief promoters of the revolution, ſo he was the firſt eccleſiaſtic, who reaped the fruits of it, having been elected biſhop of Sarum, purſuant to his majeſty's conge d'elire, on the ninth of March, and conſecrated on the thirty firſt of the ſame month at Fulham, by the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Lincoln, Landaffe, St. Aſaph, and Carliſle, by virtue of a commiſſion from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who refuſed to perform the ceremony himſelf; and three days after the new biſhop was ſworn and admitted chancellor of the order of the garter (z). Dr. Burnet made biſhop of Saliſbury. Boyer.

In this manner were ſettled the court, the council and the miniſtry. As they chiefly conſiſted of whigs, the tories could not but be diſguſted as well as ſome others who had expected a ſhare in the promotions. Theſe laſt, improving the diſaffection and prejudices of the others, a faction was ſoon formed, which embraced all occaſions to oppoſe and diſtreſs the adminiſtration. How early this oppoſition began, will appear in the proceedings of the convention, which are now going to be related.

The firſt thing that was judged neceſſary to be done was to turn the convention into a parliament. For it had been already ſaid in the houſe of commons, that the convention, not having been called by the king's writs, their acts were not valid. To obviate this objection which might be infuſed into men's minds, and to avoid the uſual delays, occaſioned by the calling of a new parliament, and to preſerve a great number of members, that were entirely ſatisfied with the preſent ſettlement, the king, the firſt time he adviſed with his privy-council, propoſed the queſtion to them "whether "the convention might be legally turned into a parliament." As there were ſome in the council, who ſtill adhered to forms, without conſidering the ſtate of things, the council was di- The convention turned into a parliament.

George Treby, attorney-general, John Sommers, ſollicitor-general, and Henry Powle, maſter of the rolls.

(z) Archbiſhop Sancroft refuſed to conſecrate him, but to avoid a præmunire, he granted a commiſſion to any three of the biſhops of his province, in conjunction with the biſhop of London, to exerciſe his metropolitical authority during pleaſure. Thus he authorized others to do, what he ſeemed to think an unlawful act. He was afterwards aſhamed of it himſelf and ſent for the original warrant out of the office, and got it into his own hands. Burnet, vol. II. p. 8.

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vided upon the question, but the majority agreeing in the affirmative, the king went to the house of lords, in great solemnity, and taking possession of the throne, made the following speech to both houses.

Feb. 18. Pr. H. C. II. 276.

My lords and gentlemen,

The king's first speech to both houses.

"I Have lately told you, how sensible I am of your kindness, and how much I value the confidence you have reposed in me; and I am come hither ro assure you, that I shall never do any thing, that may justly lessen your good opinion of me.

"I think it necessary to acquaint you, that the condition of our allies abroad, and particularly that of Holland, is such, that unless some speedy care be taken of them, they run a greater hazard than you would have them exposed to.

"You yourselves must be sensible, that the posture of affairs here, requires your serious consideration; and that a good settlement at home is necessary, not only for your own peace, but for the support of the protestant interest both here, and abroad. And particularly the state of Ireland is such, that the dangers are grown too great to be obviated by any slow methods.

"I must leave it to you to consider of the most effectual ways of preventing the inconveniences, which may arise by delays, and to judge what terms may be most proper to bring those things to pass for the good of the nation, which, I am confident, are in all your minds, and which I on my part, shall be always ready to promote."

This speech was received with a general applause; and pursuant to the last clause of it, the lords immediately brought in "a bill to remove and prevent all questions and disputes "concerning the assembling and sitting of this present parliament:" which was read twice that afternoon, passed the next day, and sent to the commons for their concurrence. Upon which, the commons went into a committee of the whole house, and Mr. Hampden, their chairman, put the question, "whether a king elected and declared by the lords "spiritual, and temporal, and commons, assembled at Westminster, the twenty second of January, 1688-9, coming "to, and consulting with the said lords and commons, did "not make as complete a parliament, and legislative power "and authority, to all intents and purposes, as if the said "king should cause new summons's to be given, and new

"elections

elections to be made by writs?" This occaſioned a long and warm debate; the party, who were for the negative, headed by Sir Edward Seymour, maintaining, "that, according to Sir Edward Coke, a parliament conſiſts of the "king's majeſty ſitting there as in his politic capacity, and "of the three eſtates of the realm; that is to ſay, 1. the "lords ſpiritual; 2. the lords temporal; and 3. the commons. That as to the lords ſpiritual and temporal, every "one of them being of full age, when a parliament is to "be held, ought, of right, to have a writ of ſummons to "come to that parliament. And that as to the commons, "the ſame author ſays, they are reſpectively elected by the "ſhires or counties, cities and boroughs, by force of the "king's writs. That the lords and commons aſſembled at "Weſtminſter the twenty-ſecond of January, were not ſummoned thither by the king's writs; and therefore though "the king afterwards came to them, yet ſuch king, lords, "and commons, could not be a parliament. And that "though the like was done at the reſtoration, yet the convention was then called, when there was no king nor "great ſeal in England; and it was called by the conſent of "the lawful king, and was done upon a true and viſible, "and not on a pretended neceſſity. And after all, even the "convention was not looked upon as a legal parliament; "its acts were ratified in a ſubſequent parliament, and from "thence they had their authority." To this it was anſwered, "that it was generally admitted, that in an hereditary kingdom, if the king ſhould die without an heir, "either lineal or collateral, the crown in that caſe would "devolve; or, as it were, eſcheat to the whole people and "nation; and that hereupon the eſtates and repreſentatives "of ſuch a nation might diſpoſe of the crown, to whom "they pleaſed, or quite alter or change the government into "what form they thought fit; examples of which were "brought out of Germany, Italy, France, and Portugal. "That in like manner, where a king abandoned, forſook, "or deſerted his government, by going or flying out of "the kingdom, without appointing any gurdian to protect "and take care of his people during his abſence, whereby "the throne became vacant, the eſtates of ſuch a people "might appoint another king or governor. That king "James II. having abandoned his people, unguarded and "undefended, at the mercy of a foreign army, even in the "heart of the country, without ſo much as leaving a guardian or great ſeal behind him, his great officers and miniſters

" niſters of ſtate flying ſome one way and ſome another,
" what could the nation do but what they had done? Se-
" veral of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, many of the
" knights, citizens, and burgeſſes of a former parliament,
" the aldermen and divers common council men of the city
" of London, addreſſed themſelves to the prince of Orange,
" deſiring him to take upon him the adminiſtration of pub-
" lic affairs, until the meeting of the intended convention
" of the three eſtates or great council of the realm; and to
" ſend letters ſubſcribed by himſelf both to the lords ſpiritual
" and temporal, who were proteſtants, to meet on the ſaid
" twenty-ſecond of January at Weſtminſter, and to ſeveral
" ſhires, counties, univerſities, cities, &c. for electing of
" ſuch number of perſons to repreſent them, as of right
" were to be ſent to parliament. That accordingly ſuch
" letters were ſent, and elections made; and the convention
" thus aſſembled, after mature deliberations, reſolved, that
" the prince and princeſs of Orange ſhould be king and
" queen of England. That after they were proclaimed
" king and queen, and his majeſty came and conſulted with
" the three eſtates ſo aſſembled, what could be wanting in
" that aſſembly to make them a full and complete parlia-
" ment? Or what could be had more than was in this con-
" vention of king, lords, and commons, if the ſaid king
" ſhould iſſue out writs for calling a new parliament? That
" if, as was agreed by all, the ſubſtanſtial parts of a parlia-
" ment be, and conſiſt of an aſſembly or convention, or
" meeting together of the king and three eſtates, the dif-
" ference of the lords and commons being called by writ or
" by letter was nothing material, ſince both writ and letter
" were to the ſame effect; and ſince in ſome ancient re-
" cords it is mentioned, that parliaments ſhould be ſum-
" moned by letters, particularly in king John's great char-
" ter in the ſeventeenth year of his reign, he promiſes to
" ſummon the biſhops, abbots, earls, &c. by his letter.
" That the prince of Orange's not being king at the time
" of his ſending forth his letters, was of no importance,
" ſince he was the perſon, to whom the adminiſtration of
" the government was then committed. That it was evi-
" dent, that in many parliaments it was not ſo material,
" how the king, lords, and commons came together, as
" that they were together. That the manner of calling to-
" gether the three eſtates of the realm by the prince of
" Orange's letters was a much fairer proceeding, conſider-
" ing the ſtate of affairs, as to the calling of them together,

" than

" there was in ſeveral caſes, wherein they were never doubt-
" ed to be a parliament, when joined with a king. That
" Edward II. being impriſoned by his queen, ſon, and no-
" bles, they iſſued out writs in the impriſoned king's name,
" to ſummon the lords, and to chooſe knights, citizens, and
" burgeſſes to meet at Weſtminſter, the ſixteenth of Janu-
" ary, 1325. That this, one would think, was pretty
" hard, and an abſolute force upon the king, by making
" uſe of his name againſt his will, ſo that it could not be
" ſaid to be his act; yet the lords and commons being met,
" they depoſed Edward II. and declared his ſon Edward III.
" king; and this new king, and the lords, and commons,
" ſo (one might ſay) irregularly convened, made ſeveral
" acts of parliament, and have been ever ſince adjudged a
" good parliament to all intents and purpoſes, without any
" ſubſequent act of confirmation. That in like manner
" Richard II. being taken priſoner by Henry, duke of Lan-
" caſter, the duke iſſued out writs in the king's name (the
" king being then in priſon) to ſummon the lords, and to
" elect repreſentatives for the people, to meet at Weſtmin-
" ſter the thirteenth of September, 1399. That thoſe being
" met, by this irregular ſummons, they depoſed Richard II.
" and declared the duke of Lancaſter king; and that new
" king, and the lords and commons, ſo irregularly con-
" vened, being joined together, were alſo, and are to this
" day, adjudged a good parliament to all intents and pur-
" poſes. Laſtly, that the lords and commons aſſembled at
" Weſtminſter the 15th of April, 1660, were convened by
" writs in the name of the keepers of the liberties of Eng-
" land, who were uſurpers; yet when king Charles II. came
" to them, and they received him as king, he and they to-
" gether were adjudged a parliament, and enacted, that they
" ſhould be ſo eſteemed, and made many laws, which were
" put in execution; and they continued as a parliament un-
" til the twenty-ninth of December following; and though
" moſt or all thoſe acts were afterwards confirmed by a ſub-
" ſequent parliament convened by the king's writs in May
" 1661; yet that confirmation, according to many good
" judgments, was rather to ſatisfy ſome ſcrupuloſity than
" out of neceſſity, moſt of the ſaid acts having in a great
" meaſure had their effects, before the ſubſequent parlia-
" ment began. That if therefore upon the prince of
" Orange's being declared and proclaimed king, he came
" to the convention of lords and commons aſſembled at
" Weſtminſter; if the ſame number of lords was ſum-

"moned, that of right ought to be ſummoned to parliament, and the ſame number of knights, citizens, and burgeſſes duly choſen, that ought to be choſen, to repreſent the commons in parliament; then conſequently there were all the ſubſtantial and eſſential parts of a parliament met together, and being ſo, where was the neceſſity, advantage, or prudence to diſſolve theſe, and thereby give new trouble of new ſummon's and new elections, loſe a great deal of time, ſuffer irrecoverable loſs and damage to Ireland, and the allies abroad, and after all, at the next meeting, be but where they now were, as to the eſſential parts of a parliament, there being nothing more to be had at any other time, but what they had already."

Feb. 23. Upon theſe reaſons the commons agreeing to the bill, it received the royal aſſent, and the convention was from that time called the parliament. This act was to commence from the 13th of February, the day on which the royal dignity was accepted by the king and queen, and inſtead of the old oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, the new oaths were enjoined to be taken by all the members of each houſe, from, and after the firſt day of March next enſuing. Accordingly a day was ſet for the call of both houſes, and for requiring the members to take the oaths. Upon the paſſing this act, ſeveral members who had before proteſted, that they would neither ſubmit to the deciſions of ſuch a parliament, nor ſit in it, abſented themſelves, and retired into the country on frivolous pretences. And when the time came for the members to take the oaths, though they were refuſed by few or none of the commons, ſeveral lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, would not take them. As the duke of Newcaſtle, the earls of Clarendon, Lichfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford, and the lords Griffin, Stawel, and one or two more: theſe were all, at ſeveral times, ſummoned to attend the houſe, but moſt of them continued abſent. The ſpiritual lords that abſented themſelves were Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Turner biſhop of Ely, Lake of Chicheſter, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, (theſe were five of the ſeven biſhops ſent to the Tower by king James) Lloyd of Norwich, Thomas of Worceſter, and Frampton of Gloucester (a). Sancroft had been archbiſhop

Several members abſent themſelves. Kennet.

The oaths refuſed by ſome of the temporal and ſpiritual lords. Pr. H. L. I. 352.

(a) As there were eight biſhops that refuſed the oaths, ſo there was the ſame number that took them; Lamplugh, archbiſhop of York; Compton, biſhop of London; Barlow, of Lincoln; Mew,

biſhop ever ſince the year 1676. He was a man of ſolemn deportment, and conſiderably learned. He lived abſtracted from company, and was fixed in the old maxims of high loyalty. He was named in the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion by king James, but would never go to that court, nor declare againſt it, though he thought it illegal. He joined in the petition againſt reading king James's declaration for liberty of conſcience. He met the privy-counſellors at Guildhall, and invited the prince of Orange to take the government upon him, but refuſed to go with the reſt of the biſhops to welcome him to St. James's, though he had once agreed to it. When the convention met the 29th of January, he came not to take his place among them. He reſolved neither to act for nor againſt king James's intereſt, which was thought very unbecoming in one of his high ſtation. For ſince he believed, as afterwards appeared, that the nation was running into treaſon, rebellion and perjury, it was ſtrange to ſee him, who was at the head of the church, ſit ſilent all the while, and not ſo much as declare his opinion by ſpeaking, voting, or proteſting. But he was a poor ſpirited and fearful man, and acted a mean part in the whole affair of the revolution. He went on afterwards in the ſame unactive ſtate, ſtill refuſing the oaths, but neither acting nor ſpeaking, except in great confidence, to any againſt their taking them. Thomas and Lake, who both died ſoon after, like the archbiſhop, never came to the houſe of lords. When the other five withdrew from the parliament, that they might recommend themſelves by a ſhow of moderation, ſome of them moved for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehenſion, whereby all moderate preſbyterians might be reconciled to the church of England, and admitted to eccleſiaſtical benefices. Theſe bills were drawn and offered by the earl of Nottingham, for which he received the thanks of the houſe (b). From this time may be dated the riſe of the non-jurors, who rejecting the notion of a king de jure and a king de facto, as well as all other diſtinctions, as limitations, Pr. H. L. I. 349.

Mew, of Wincheſter; Sprat, of Rocheſter; Lloyd, of St. Aſaph's; Trelawney, of Briſtol; and Beaw of Landaff; whoſe example was afterwards followed by Smith, of Carliſle; and Watſon, of St. David's.

(b) Theſe bills were the ſame that the earl of Nottingham had prepared for the houſe of commons, in king Charle's time, during the debates of the excluſion. But then things of that kind were looked on as artifices to lay the heat of that time, and to render the church party more popular. Burnet, II. p. 6.

ſtrictly adhering to the principle of the divine right of kings, and were the authors of all the plots and conſpiracies againſt the new ſettlement, which they refuſed to acknowledge.

Some ſuſpected perſons are ſecured by the king. Pr. H. L. I. 305. Mar. 1.

How early they began their deſigns againſt the government was quickly diſcovered. For the king, by ſome intercepted letters, had reaſon to ſuſpect that the earl of Arran, Sir Robert Hamilton, and others, were endeavouring the reſtoration of king James. Upon which, they were all ſent to the Tower. But as this proceeding was not ſtrictly legal, the king ſent a meſſage to acquaint the lords with what he had done, who immediately voted an addreſs of thanks for his care of their liberties, and deſired him to ſecure all diſturbers of the peace till the firſt day of next term. But the commons thinking this addreſs allowed the king a power of diſpenſing with the habeas corpus-act, thought it more proper to proceed by a bill, to impower the king to apprehend and detain all ſuſpected perſons, which in a few days paſſed both houſes. A bill was alſo brought in at the ſame time for removing papiſts from the city of London and Weſtminſter, which having paſſed the lords, the commons added a proviſo to it, by which the queen dowager's articles of marriage were conſiderably reduced. To this proviſo the lords diſagreed, which occaſioned ſeveral conferences, and warm debates; but at laſt it was ſettled, that the queen dowager ſhould have thirty ſervants of the king's Engliſh ſubjects, provided none of them were prieſts, monks or fryars (c). There were alſo in cuſtody at this time the lord

A bill for removing papiſts from London. Pr. H. L.

(c) In the debate upon this act for removing of papiſts, there happened a pleaſant incident, which was an addreſs to the king, to order the ducheſs of Mazarin to depart the kingdom. Colonel Birch, who was one of the oldeſt parliament-men in the houſe, preſented this addreſs; to which his majeſty anſwered, he would take it into conſideration. However, this buſineſs did not paſs without oppoſition. Several members ſpoke in favour of the ducheſs: monſieur Odyck, one of the Dutch ambaſſadors, made uſe of all his intereſts in her behalf, at the deſire of monſieur de St. Evremond, who was a great friend of that lady. Monſieur Odyck engaged his brother monſieur d'Auverquerque to interceed for her; and theſe gentlemen repreſented the aſſemblies at her houſe, which were thought by ſome to be ſo many popiſh cabals, to be only meetings for gaming, and other diverſions, by the former of which ſhe was thought chiefly to ſubſiſt. The marquis de Seifrac ſpoke for her to the king, alledging, that ſhe would ſtarve in any other country. The biſhop of Saliſbury made a motion in the houſe of lords for ſuch an addreſs as that

lord Jefferies, the lord Montgomery, the earl of Saliſbury, the earl of Caſtlemaine, the earl of Peterborough, and the lord Clifford, who were all admitted to bail not long after, except Jefferies. The revolt of a body of troops about the ſame time, gave alſo ſome hopes to the enemies of the government. The royal regiment of Scotch horſe, that was quartered at Abingdon, almoſt totally deſerted; as did alſo five hundred of Dunbarton's regiment, headed by five captains. They all took the rout to Scotland, and are ſuppoſed to have acted in concert with the earl of Arran, who was confined in the Tower. General Ginkle was ordered to purſue them with a ſufficient force of horſe and dragoons, who ſoon obliged them to ſubmit to the king's mercy; and the only puniſhment he inflicted on them, was to ſend them over to ſerve in Holland. 1689.

The oaths to be taken by the preſent and all future parliaments being ſettled, the coronation-oath was next to be eſtabliſhed, as the day for that ceremony drew near. Accordingly, an act was paſſed for that purpoſe, in the courſe of which a proviſo was offered in the houſe of commons, that no clauſe in the act ſhould ſo bind the kings and queens as to prevent their aſſenting to any bill, offered by both houſes, for taking away, or altering any form or ceremony, in the eſtabliſhed church; ſo as the doctrines, liturgy and epiſcopal goverment be preſerved. But this proviſo was thrown out. The coronation oath (as is obſerved in the preamble of the act) which had by ancient uſage, been ſolemnly taken by the kings and queens, to maintain the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, and the rights and liberties of the people, having been hitherto framed in doubtful expreſſions, with relation to conſtitutions now unknown, was worded in a more plain and comprehenſive manner (d), and by directions from the

The coronation oath ſettled. April 9. Pr. H. C. II. 293.

that of the commons; but it not being carried, the ducheſs was permitted to continue her diverſions; and his majeſty, out of regard to her unfortunate circumſtances, allowed her a penſion of two thouſand pounds a year. Des Maizeaux's life of St. Evremond, p. 132.

(d) The form is thus:

"Will you ſolemnly promiſe "and ſwear to govern the people of this kingdom of England; and the dominions "thereto belonging, according "to the ſtatutes in parliament "agreed on, and the laws and "cuſtoms of the ſame?

I ſolemnly promiſe ſo to do.

"Will you, to your power, "cauſe law and juſtice in mercy "to be executed in all your "judgments?

I will.

"Will

1689. the court was to be adminiſtred, either by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or the biſhop of London. The choice of one of theſe two prelates being left to the king, he, fearing to be refuſed by the archbiſhop, who ſtill continued diſcontented, thought fit to appoint the biſhop of London; who accordingly officiated at the coronation, which was performed with all the magnificence and ſplendor uſual on ſuch occaſions. The next day the commons waited in a full body on the king and queen at the banqueting houſe, to congratulate them upon their coronation, which Mr. Powle, their ſpeaker, performed in an elegant ſpeech (e).

The coronation Apr. 11.

" Will you, to the utmoſt of " your power, maintain the " laws of God, the true profeſ- " ſion of the goſpel, and the " proteſtant reformed religion, " as by law eſtabliſhed? And " will you preſerve unto the " biſhops and clergy of this " realm, and to the churches " committed to their charge, all " ſuch rights and privileges, as " by law do or ſhall appertain " unto them, or any of them?"

All this I promiſe to do.

Then the king or queen, laying his or her hand upon the goſpels, ſhall ſay,

The things which I have here before promiſed, I will perform and keep. So help me God.

The coronation oath, it ſeems, had been altered for the uſe of king James, and the care that was taken, in the original oath, of the people's liberties was left out, and inſtead of it great regards had to the rights of the clergy, and prerogatives of the crown. See ſtate-tracts, vol. II. p. 49.

(e) The titles and honours conferred juſt before, or after the coronation, were theſe; prince George of Denmark, now naturalized, was created baron of Oakingham, earl of Kendal, and duke of Cumberland; the marquis of Wincheſter was made duke of Bolton; William Bentinck, eſq; groom of the ſtole to his majeſty, baron of Cirencester, viſcount Woodſtock, and earl of Portland; Thomas, lord viſcount Falconberg, earl of Falconberg; Charles, lord viſcount Mordaunt, earl of Monmouth; Ralph, lord Montagu, viſcount Mount-Hermer, and earl of Montagu; John, lord Churchill, earl of Marlborough; Henry Sidney, eſq; baron of Milton, and viſcount Sidney of Shepey, in the county of Kent; Richard, lord viſcount Lumley of Waterford in Ireland, viſcount Lumley of Lumley caſtle in the county palatine of Durham; Hugh, lord viſcount Cholmondeley of Kellis in Ireland, baron Cholmondeley of Wichmalbank alias Namptwich in Cheſhire. On the 27th of March, the lord Coote was ſworn and admitted into the place of treaſurer and receiver-general to her majeſty; on the 3d of April, Frederic Mareſchal de Schomberg, general of his majeſty's forces, and maſter

1689.

The next thing to be conſidered in relation to the new government was, to ſettle the oaths to be taken by all perſons enjoying any office, place, or benefice. As the proteſtant diſſenters had zealouſly promoted the revolution, and were hearty friends to the new eſtabliſhment; the king was very deſirous, that thoſe among them who were willing and able to ſerve him, ſhould be admitted to offices and employments. It muſt be obſerved, the diſſenters at the time of the revolution were divided into four ſects, preſbyterians, independents, anabaptiſts and quakers. The preſbyterians and independents had not the viſible diſtinction of different rites, and their depreſſed condition had put an end to the diſpute about the conſtitution and ſubordination of churches, which had ſet them at ſo great variance, when power was in their hands. They were now looked upon as one ſect, and were three parts in four of all the diſſenters. The main difference between them was, that the preſbyterians ſeemed reconcilable to the church; for they were ſo far inclined to epiſcopal ordination and a liturgy, that upon ſome amendments they appeared diſpoſed to come into the church, and they liked the civil government and a limited monarchy, but the independents were generally for a commonwealth in the ſtate, and therefore, they put all the power of the church in the people, whoſe choice they deemed a ſufficient ordination: nor did they approve of ſet forms of worſhip. The anabaptiſts were generally men of virtue, and of univerſal charity; and as they were far from being in any treating terms with the church of England, ſo nothing but a univerſal toleration, could make them capable of favour and employments. The quakers had made themſelves particular in the matter of the hat, and ſaying thou and thee, that it became to them a badge of diſtinction, by which they were eaſily known. Theſe were in the ſame ſtate with the anabaptiſts, and a toleration was all they could expect.

The new oaths are ſettled.

State of the diſſenters at the revolution.

From hence it appears, that of all the diſſenters the moderate preſbyterians alone, could upon eaſy terms, be incorporated with the church, and placed on a level with thoſe of the eſtabliſhed religion: that the reſt were at too great a diſtance

maſter general of the ordnance, and William, earl of Devonſhire, lord ſteward of his majeſty's houſhold, in a chapter held at Whitehall, were elected knights companions of the moſt noble order of the garter; into which order likewiſe, on the 5th of the ſame month, the duke of Ormond was inſtall'd at Windſor; and on the 10th, his majeſty conferred the honour of knighthood on Thomas Pilkington, lord mayor of London.

1689. to be reconciled to the church, and therefore as to religion, could be made eaſy only by a toleration; and as to employments, could not be admitted into them, unleſs their conformity to the church was diſpenſed with. This being the caſe, the king had formed three deſigns. 1. By a comprehenſion to unite the moderate preſbyterians with the church: 2. By a toleration to give eaſe to ſcrupulous conſciences: And 3. By removing the obſtacles ariſing from non-conformity, to admit indifferently, all his proteſtant ſubjects into civil employments. How he ſucceeded in theſe his deſigns will quickly appear.

An attempt to remove the ſacramental teſt. Pr. H. L. I. 352. Mar. 16.

As a proper method to execute his third deſign, was by the inſertion of a clauſe to that effect, in the bill for ſettling the oaths, the king not only ſignified in council his deſire for the admiſſion of the proteſtants to offices and employments, but moreover, two days after the bill had been brought into the houſe of lords under the title of, "a bill for the abrogating "of the oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance, and appointing "other oaths," he took the opportunity when he went to give the royal aſſent to a bill for ſuſpending the habeas corpus act, to make the following ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

"NOW I have the occaſion of coming hither to paſs "this bill, which, I hope, will be for all our ſafeties, "I ſhall put you in mind of one thing, which will conduce "much to our ſettlement, as a ſettlement will to the diſappointment of all our enemies.

"I am, with all the expedition I can, filling up the vacancies, that are in offices and places of truſt, by this late "revolution. I hope you are ſenſible, there is a neceſſity "of ſome law to ſettle the oaths to be taken by all perſons "to be admitted to ſuch places, I recommend it to your "care, to make a ſpeedy proviſion for it. And as I doubt "not but you will ſufficiently provide againſt papiſts, ſo I "hope you will leave room for the admiſſion of all proteſtants, that are willing and able to ſerve.

"This conjunction in my ſervice will tend to the better "uniting you amongſt yourſelves, and the ſtrengthening you "againſt your common adverſaries."

A clauſe drawn up to that effect and rejected.

Purſuant to this ſpeech, two clauſes were ordered to be drawn up, one to explain the abrogating of the oaths, and the other "to take away the neceſſity of receiving the ſacra-"ment, to make a man capable of enjoying any office, em-"ployment,

"employment, or place of truſt." But this laſt clauſe was rejected by a great majority. However ſeven lords, Delamere, Stamford, North and Grey, Cheſterfield, Wharton, Lovelace and Vaughan, proteſted againſt limiting offices by the ſacramental teſt, and diſſented for theſe reaſons; "that "a hearty union among proteſtants was a greater ſecurity to "the church and ſtate, than any teſt, that could be invented: that this obligation to receive the ſacrament was now "a teſt on the proteſtants, rather than on the papiſts; and as "long as it was ſo continued, there could not be that hearty "and perfect union among proteſtants, as had always been "wiſhed, and was at this time indeſpenſably neceſſary. "And, laſtly, that a greater caution ought not to be required "from ſuch as were admitted into offices, than from the "members of the two houſes of parliament, who were not "obliged to receive the ſacrament, to enable them to ſit in "either houſe." 1689. ibid. Burnet. March 21. Proteſt of ſeven lords.

Though this attempt failed, the king was reſolved to purſue his deſign, and accordingly another clauſe was propoſed to be inſerted in the ſame bill, namely, "to prevent the "receiving the ſacrament of the lord's ſupper upon any "other account, than in obedience to the holy inſtitution "thereof; and to provide that any man ſhould be ſufficiently qualified for any offices, employment, or place of "truſt, who within a year before or after his admiſſion or "entrance thereinto, did receive the ſacrament of the lord's "ſupper, either according to the uſage of the church of "England, or in any other proteſtant congregation, and "could produce a certificate under the hands of the miniſter "and two other credible perſons." But this clauſe was alſo rejected by a great majority, though ſix lords, Oxford, Mordaunt, Lovelace, Montagu, Wharton, and Paget, entered their diſſent to theſe reaſons: "becauſe it gives a great "part of the proteſtant freemen of England reaſon to com-"plain of inequality and hard uſage, when they are ex-"cluded from public employments by a law; and alſo that it "deprived the king and kingdom of divers men, fit and capable to ſerve the public in ſeveral ſtations; and that for a "mere ſcruple of conſcience, which could by no means ren-"der them ſuſpected, much leſs diſaffected to the govern-"ment. 2. Becauſe his majeſty, as the common and indulgent father of his people, having expreſſed an earneſt "deſire of liberty for tender conſciences to his proteſtant "ſubjects; and the biſhops having divers of them, on ſeveral "occaſions, profeſſed an inclination to, and owned the reaſon-ableneſs Another clauſe for the ſame purpoſe is alſo rejected. Pr. H. L. I. 353. It is alſo rejected. Proteſt of the lords. Pr. H. L. I. 353.

1689. "ableneſs of ſuch a chriſtian temper, we apprehend it will
"raiſe ſuſpicion in ſome men's minds of ſomething elſe than
"the care of religion or the public, and different from a
"deſign to heal our breaches, when they find, that by con-
"fining ſecular employments to eccleſiaſtical conformity,
"thoſe are ſhut out from civil affairs, whoſe doctrine and
"worſhip may be tolerated by authority of parliament;
"there being a bill before, by order of the houſe, to that
"purpoſe; eſpecially when, (without this excluſive rigour,)
"the church is ſecured in all her privileges and preferments,
"no body being hereby let into them, who is not ſtrictly
"conformable. 3. Becauſe to ſet marks of diſtinction and
"humiliation on any ſort of men, who have not rendered
"themſelves juſtly ſuſpected to the government, as it is at
"all times to be avoided by the makers of juſt and equita-
"ble laws, ſo it may be particularly of ill effect to the re-
"formed intereſt at home and abroad in this preſent con-
"juncture, which ſtands in need of the united hands and
"hearts of all proteſtants againſt the open attempts and ſe-
"cret endeavours of a reſtleſs party and a potent neighbour,
"who is more zealous than Rome itſelf, to plant popery in
"theſe kingdoms; and labours with the utmoſt force to
"ſettle his tyranny upon the ruins of the reformation through
"all Europe. 4. Becauſe it turns the edge of a law (we
"know not by what fate) upon proteſtants and friends to
"the government, which was intended againſt papiſts, to
"exclude them from places of truſt, as men avowedly dan-
"gerous to our government and religion; and thus the
"taking the ſacrament, which was enjoined only as a means
"to diſcover papiſts, is now made a diſtinguiſhing duty
"amongſt proteſtants, to weaken the whole by caſting off
"a part of them. 5. Becauſe myſteries of religion, and
"divine worſhip, are of divine original, and of a nature ſo
"wholly diſtinct from the ſecular affairs of politic ſociety,
"that they cannot be applied to thoſe ends; and therefore
"the church, by the law of the goſpel, as well as common
"prudence ought to take care, neither to offend tender
"conſciences within itſelf, nor give offence to thoſe with-
"out, by mixing their ſacred myſteries with ſecular intereſts.
"6. Becauſe we cannot ſee, how it can conſiſt with the
"law of God, common equity, or the right of any free-born
"ſubject, that any one be puniſhed without crime. If it
"be a crime not to take the ſacrament according to the
"uſage of the church of England, every one ought to be
"puniſhed for it; which no body affirms. If it be no crime,

thoſe

"thoſe, who are capable, and judged fit for employ- 1689.
"ments by the king, ought not to be puniſhed with a law
"of exclusion for not doing that, which it is no crime to
"forbear. If it be urged ſtill, as an effectual teſt to diſco-
"ver and keep out papiſts; the taking the ſacrament in
"thoſe proteſtant congregations, where they are mem-
"bers, and known, will be at leaſt as effectual to that
"purpoſe."

Thus the king's deſign for the admiſſion of all his proteſtant ſubjects to offices and places of truſt, not only miſcarried, but it very much heightened the prejudices of the churchmen againſt him, as bearing no great affection to the church of England, when he propoſed the opening ſuch a door which they believed would be fatal to them.

Debate about ſetting the oaths. Pr. H. L. I. Burnet.

The rejecting theſe clauſes, made the bill for ſettling the oaths to be puſhed on with more zeal. The clergy, as has been obſerved, had ſo far entangled themſelves, by preaching up for ſo many years the doctrines of the divine right of kings, and the lineal ſucceſſion; that it was imagined great numbers would follow the example of thoſe biſhops, who had refuſed to acknowledge the government. And therefore as the clergy were known to lie under theſe difficulties, it had been propoſed, in order to make way for the clauſe about the ſacramental teſt, that the clergy ſhould be excuſed from the oaths, provided the diſſenters might be excuſed from the ſacrament. But this propoſal did not take effect, the ſacramental teſt being deemed by the clergy, the chief ſupport of the church. However that be, it was long inſiſted upon in the houſe of lords, that inſtead of the clauſe, poſitively enacting that the clergy ſhould obliged to take the oaths, the king ſhould be empowered to tender them; and then the refuſal was to be puniſhed according to the clauſe as it ſtood in the act. It was thought, that ſuch a power would oblige them to their good behaviour, and be an effectual reſtraint upon them. They would at leaſt be kept quiet by it. Whereas, if they came under deprivation, or the apprehenſions of it, that would make them deſperate, and ſet them on to undermine the government. It was urged, that the clergy by the offices of the church did ſolemnly own to God their allegiance in ſight of all their people; that no oath could lay deeper engagements on them, than thoſe acts of religious worſhip did; and if they ſhould either paſs over thoſe offices, or perform them otherwiſe than as the law required, there was a clear method, purſuant to the act of uniformity, to proceed ſeverely againſt them. It

was

1689. was also said, that in many different changes of government, oaths had not proved so effectual a security as was imagined; distinctions were found out, and senses were put on words, by which they were interpreted so as to signify but little, when a government came to need strength from them; and it ill became those, who had formerly complained of these impositions, to urge this with so much vehemence.

The commons would by no means agree to the excusing the clergy from the oaths, alledging, "That it hath been "the policy of the common law and statute law to oblige "men to swear allegiance to the king. That allegiance is "the common and necessary duty of all the subjects, and is "most strictly to be required of archbishops, and those, "who have ecclesiastical dignities, benefices, or promotions, "in regard they are highly interested in the administration "of the government, draw great dependencies, and are "exemplary to the rest of the people; and several of them "are by law to administer the oath of allegiance to other "persons. That allegiance is also strictly to be required of "all governors, professors, and fellows in universities; and "schoolmasters, because to them the education of the youth "of the kingdom is committed; and therefore they ought "to be persons of known loyalty to the government. That "the taking the oaths publicly in open court would better "manifest allegiance, than the taking them privately before "persons appointed by order in council, and would be much "more safe to the persons who are obliged to take the oaths. "That the best and most certain means to have the oaths "taken was, to impose it upon the persons concerned to "tender themselves to take the oaths under penalties; but "if the oaths were not required to be taken unless ten- "dered, the said persons might, by absence or otherwise, "avoid them with impunity. That the clause, which the "commons sent to their lordships, allowed more favour to "the archbishops, bishops, and those that have ecclesiasti- "cal dignities and promotions, than to any lay-peer or "other persons having offices or employments, and was "more gentle in the penalty than the statutes heretofore "made in the like case. That it was unreasonable and "unsafe to distinguish the archbishops, bishops, and per- "sons, having ecclesiastical dignities, benefices, or promo- "tions, and such as are intrusted with the education of "youth, from the rest of the subjects, in the declaration of "their allegiance, and might tend to make a division in "the kingdom, expose the king's person and government

"to

" to hatred and danger, and occaſion a general diſcon- 1689.
" tent."

To theſe reaſons it was replied by the lords, " That in-
" deed the policy of the law requires men to ſwear allegi-
" ance; and that it is the common and neceſſary duty of
" all ſubjects, and eſpecially of the clergy; and therefore
" the lords did not exempt them from taking theſe oaths,
" but only differed with the houſe of commons about the
" method, by which they ſhould be tendered. That if the
" lords ſhould agree, that it was better to tender the oaths
" in open court than privately, yet that was not a ſufficient
" reaſon againſt tendering them by perſons appointed by the
" king in council, becauſe the officers and judges of the
" court might be ſo appointed by virtue of the clauſe of-
" fered by the lords. That the clergy would be required
" to take the oaths by ſuch order in council, as was propo-
" ſed by the lords; and their not appearing, when ſo ſum-
" moned, would amount to a refuſal; or, if it ſhould not,
" the lords would agree to any ſuch addition, as would
" make it ſo. That the clergy and other members of the
" univerſities were not diſtinguiſhed from the laity, becauſe
" upon the preſenting to any degree or preferment they
" would be, equally with all others, obliged to take the
" oaths, when required by order of council. That it
" ſeemed more to the ſettlement and ſafety of the govern-
" ment, that the king ſhould be impowered to put the fide-
" lity of the clergy to a trial immediately, than leave any,
" who are ill affected to the government, ſo much time, as
" to the firſt of Auguſt, to undermine it. That the clergy
" were obliged by the prayers, which they muſt uſe in the
" daily ſervice, to make ſuch expreſs and ſolemn declara-
" tions of fidelity to the king and queen by name, that the
" putting them to the taking of the oaths was not ſo neceſ-
" ſary to the public ſafety, as in other perſons, who are
" not bound to make ſuch frequent declarations of their fi-
" delity. That in ſo critical a time as the preſent, it was
" not to be doubted, but upon any cauſe of apprehending
" their ill affections to the government, the tendering the
" oaths by order in council, would not only take all impu-
" tations of hardſhip from his majeſty, but juſtify, and even
" require a more rigorous way of proceeding againſt thoſe,
" that ſhould give any cauſe of offence. And laſtly, that
" ſince during queen Elizabeth's long and glorious reign,
" in which ſhe had both the pretended title of the queen of
" Scots, and the depoſing power aſſumed by the popes, to

appre-

1689. "apprehend; this was found to be the ſafeſt way for the "public quiet; and the ill effects of leaving the tendering "the oaths to the queen's diſcretion, not having appeared "in all that time of ſo much danger, the following a pat- "tern taken from the beſt part of our hiſtory, ſeemed more "ſuitable to the preſent time, than the falling into other "methods."

This anſwer being communicated to the commons, they inſiſted that according to the ſtatute of the 7th of James I, all perſons ſhould be enjoined to take the oaths; and that there ſhould be no difference between the clergy and laity as to that point. Then an exception of twelve was propoſed, who ſhould be ſubject to the law, upon refuſing the oaths when required by the king; but neither was that allowed: and after a long debate, all the mitigation that could be obtained, was a power to the king to grant to any twelve clergymen, who ſhould be deprived by this act, a third part of their benefices during his pleaſure. This clauſe being approved by the commons, the bill for ſettling the oaths paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

By this act the oath of ſupremacy, eſtabliſhed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and that of allegiance in the reign of king James I, were abrogated, and others appointed. In the oath eſtabliſhed in the time of king James I, a previous title ſeemed to be aſſerted, when the king was ſworn to, "as rightful and lawful king." And therefore, as theſe words could not be ſaid of a king that had no precedent right, but was ſet up by the nation, the new oaths were reduced to the ancient ſimplicity of ſwearing, to bear faith and true allegiance to the king and queen. The declaration in the act of uniformity, that "it is not lawful upon any "pretence whatſoever to take arms againſt the king, or "thoſe that are commiſſioned by him," was alſo repealed, and another enjoined in its room (f). The clergy were obliged to take the oaths before the firſt day of Auguſt, and in caſe of refuſal or neglect, they were to be ſuſpended from their office for ſix months; and if they took them not before the expiration of that time, they were to be actually deprived of all their eccleſiaſtical promotions. This indulgence to the clergy of ſix months after ſuſpenſion, was, that they might have ſufficient time to ſtudy the point; and if in that time they could not ſatisfy themſelves as to the lawfulneſs of acknowledging the government, it was ſaid, it was not fit

(f) See introduction.

they

they should continue in the highest posts of the church. However, the clergy, before the time was expired generally took the oaths, though with too many reservations and distinctions, which laid them open to severe censures, as if they had taken them against their conscience (g). 1689.

Though the king had failed in his design for the admission of the protestant dissenters into offices and employments, by the removal of the sacramental test, he succeeded however in that of toleration, by the suspension of all penal laws for not coming to church. The king, when prince of Orange, having been applied to by king James for his opinion concerning the repeal of the penal laws and test, his answer was, that no christian, in his opinion, ought to be persecuted for his conscience, or be ill used because he differed from the established religion; and therefore he heartily approved that the dissenters should have entire liberty for the exercise of their religion, and that the penal laws should be repealed, provided those remained in force by which the Roman catholics were excluded from parliament, and public employments; but that as to their religion, they should be allowed the same liberty as in Holland. These were the king's sentiments at that time, and therefore it is not strange he should, now that it was in his power, endeavour to procure a toleration for all his protestant subjects, especially as it was not only agreeable to his principles, but what they had deserved by their steady adherence to the new settlement. Besides, his experience in Holland had made him look upon liberty of conscience as one of the wisest measures of government; as tending to the encouragement of industry, and to the increase of the people; and as affording a sanctuary to all who are oppressed. The act of toleration passed. Pr. H. L. I. 349. Burnet. Fagel's letter to Stuart.

The toleration-bill was brought into the house of lords the 28th of February, and read the first time by the earl of Nottingham, by whom it had been prepared. Some proposed that the act should be only for a time, as a necessary restraint upon the dissenters, that they might demean themselves so, as to merit the continuance of it, when the term of years now offered should expire. But this was rejected, and it was urged, that there was now an universal inclination to pass the act, but it could not be expected that the nation would be in the same good disposition towards the dis-

(g) The oaths and declaration are the same as were inserted in the declaration of rights; which the reader may see vol. XII. of Rapin.

senters

1689. ſenters at another time. So the bill found an eaſy paſſage through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent on the 24th of May, under the title of "An act for exempting "their majeſties proteſtant ſubjects, diſſenting from the "church of England, from the penalties of certain laws."

The reaſon of this act is thus given in the preamble; "Foraſmuch as ſome eaſe to ſcrupulous conſciences in the "exerciſe of religion may be an effectual means to unite "their majeſties proteſtant ſubjects in intereſts and affecti-"ons;" it was therefore enacted, "That none of the pe-"nal laws ſhall be conſtrued to extend to any perſon or "perſons diſſenting from the church of England, that ſhall "take the oaths, to the preſent government, and ſubſcribe "the declaration of 30 Car. II. provided that no aſſembly "of perſons ſo diſſenting ſhould be in any place for religi-"ous worſhip with the doors locked, barr'd, or bolted, "during the time of ſuch meeting together; and provided, "that nothing ſhould be conſtrued to exempt any of the "perſons aforeſaid from paying of tythes or other parochial "duties. If any diſſenter ſhould be choſen or appointed "to bear the office of conſtable, church-warden, over-"ſeer, &c. and ſhould ſcruple the oaths required by law to "be taken in reſpect of ſuch office, he ſhall or may execute "ſuch office or employment by a ſufficient deputy. That "all preachers or teachers of any congregation of diſſenting "proteſtants, who ſhall take the oaths, and ſubſcribe the "declaration aforeſaid, and alſo ſubſcribe the articles of re-"ligion except the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth and thirty-"ſixth, and theſe words in the twentieth article, viz. [The "church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and "authority in controverſies of faith,] ſhall not be liable to "any of the pains and penalties mentioned in Stat. 17. Car. "II. 2. 22. Car. II. 13 and 14. Car. II. cap. 4. Every "ſuch teacher ſhall be exempted from ſerving upon any jury, "or from being choſen and appointed to bear the office of "church-warden, overſeer of the poor, &c. But any juſ-"tice of the peace may require any perſon, that goes to any "meeting for exerciſe of religion, to ſubſcribe the declaration "and to take the oaths; and, in caſe of refuſal is required "to commit ſuch perſon to priſon without bail or main-"prize, &c." The like liberty was given to anabaptiſts, but no papiſt or any that denied the trinity, were to have the benefit of this act. The quakers were alſo admitted to it on condition of promiſing before God, inſtead of ſwearing, to be true and faithful to the king and queen, and ſolemnly pro-

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feſſing and declaring, that they abhorred and renounced, &c. 1698.
They were alſo to ſubſcribe a profeſſion of their chriſtian belief in theſe words. "I A. B. profeſs faith in God the fa-
"ther, and in Jeſus Chriſt his eternal ſon the true God,
"and in the Holy Spirit, one God bleſſed for evermore;
"and do acknowledge the holy ſcriptures of the old and new
"teſtament to be given by divine inſpiration:" "provided
"that all the laws made for the frequenting divine ſervice on
"the lord's day ſhall be ſtill in force, and executed againſt
"all perſons that offend againſt the ſaid laws, except ſuch
"perſons come to ſome congregation permitted by this act.
"Provided, that if any perſon ſhall maliciouſly or contemp-
"tuouſly come into any cathedral or pariſh-church, or other
"congregation, and diſquiet or diſturb the ſame, or miſuſe
"any preacher or teacher, he ſhall, upon conviction, ſuffer
"the penalty of twenty pounds. And finally, provided,
"that no congregation or aſſembly, for religious worſhip,
"ſhall be permitted or allowed by this act, until the place
"of ſuch meeting ſhall be certified to the biſhop of the dio-
"ceſe, or to the archdeacon of that archdeaconry, or to
"the juſtices of the peace at the general or quarter ſeſſions,
"and regiſtered in the ſaid biſhop's or archdeacon's court,
"or recorded at the ſaid general or quarter ſeſſions."

The clergy had begun already to ſhow great hatred to the diſſenters, and ſeemed to wiſh for an occaſion, to renew old ſeverities againſt them, and therefore, the quieting the nation by the act of toleration, was much applauded by men of moderation and goodneſs. It gave the king great content, who was very uneaſy to ſee ſo much ill humour ſpreading among the clergy, and by their means, over a great part of the nation. He was ſo true to his principle of liberty of conſcience, that he reſtrained the heat of ſome, who were propoſing ſeveral acts againſt the papiſts. He made them apprehend the advantage, which that would give the French, to alienate all the papiſts of Europe from us, who from thence might hope to ſet on foot a new catholic league, and make the war a quarrel of religion, which might have very bad effects: nor could he pretend to protect the proteſtants in many places of Germany and Hungary, unleſs he could cover the papiſts in England, from all the ſeverities on the account of their religion. This was ſo carefully infuſed into many, and ſo well underſtood by them, that the papiſts have enjoyed the real effects of the toleration, though they were not comprehended within the act.

1689. Of the king's three deſigns in favour of the diſſenters; that of their admiſſion into employments had miſcarried, but that of toleration had ſucceeded. The other of comprehenſion, for the receiving the moderate preſbyterians into the church and admitting them to eccleſiaſtical benefices, met with the ſame fate, as that for their admiſſion to offices. The king was extremely deſirous of uniting all his proteſtant ſubjects, and had promiſed them to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for ſuch an union, but all his efforts towards it proved ineffectual.

The bill of comprehenſion. Pr. H. L. 355. Debates on it. Burnet.

Purſuant to the motion made by the biſhops when they withdrew from the parliament, a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, under the title of "a bill for uniting their "majeſties proteſtant ſubjects." In the progreſs of this bill, two things were warmly debated. The firſt was, whether kneeling at the ſacrament ſhould be diſpenſed with to ſuch, as, after conference upon it, ſhould ſolemnly proteſt they were not ſatisfied as to the lawfulneſs of it. This occaſioned a vehement debate, for the poſture being the chief exception the diſſenters had to the receiving the ſacrament, the giving that up, was thought to be the opening a way for their coming into employments. However, it was carried, that kneeling ſhould be diſpenſed with (h). The other debate was, whether the laity ſhould be added in the commiſſion, to be given by the king to biſhops and others of the clergy? A proviſo was offered, that in imitation of the acts paſſed in king Henry VIII's, and Edward VI's reigns, a number of perſons both of the clergy and laity, might be impowered to prepare ſuch a reformation of things relating to the church, as might be offered to king and parliament; in order to the healing the diviſions, and correcting what might be amiſs or defective in the conſtitution. This was preſſed with great earneſtneſs by many of the temporal lords, but it was carried for the excluſion of the laity (i). During the debates, biſhop

(h) The queſtion was put, Whether the clauſe about the indifferency of the poſture at receiving the ſacrament ſhould be left out? The votes being equal, (content 28, proxy 1, in all 29; not content 27, proxy 2, in all 29;) and therefore according to the ancient rule in like caſes, it was carried in the negative.

(i) In the ſame manner as the other queſtion by the votes being equal. The marquiſs of Winchester, and the lords Mordaunt, Lovelace and Stamford entered their diſſents in the following reaſons: "1. Becauſe the act "itſelf being deſigned for the "peace of the ſtate, the put-"ting the clergy into commiſ-"ſion,

ſhop Burnet himſelf warmly oppoſed the adding the laity to the commiſſion; imagining that the clergy would have come with zeal and unanimity into ſuch a deſign, and being apprehenſive, that this addition of the laity would be looked upon by them as taking the affair out of their hands. But he was convinced ſoon after, that he had taken wrong meaſures; and 1689.

" tion, with a total excluſion of " the laity, laid the humiliation " on the laity, as if the clergy " of the church of England were " alone friends to the peace of " the ſtate, and the laity leſs " able or leſs concerned to pro- " vide for it. 2. Becauſe the " matters to be conſidered being " barely of human conſtitution, " viz. the liturgy and ceremo- " nies of the church, belong to " both; for in what is of divine " inſtitution, neither clergy nor " laity can make any alteration " at all. 3. Becauſe the pre- " tending, that differences and " delays may ariſe, by mixing " laymen with the eccleſiaſtics " to the fruſtrating the deſign " of the commiſſions, is vain " and out of doors, unleſs thoſe, " that made uſe of this pre- " tence, ſuppoſed, that the " clergy-part of the church had " diſtinct intereſts from the laity- " part of the ſame church, and " would be a reaſon as good, " why one or other of them " ſhould quit the houſe of lords, " for fear of obſtructing the bu- " ſineſs of it. 4. Becauſe the " commiſſion being intended for " the ſatisfaction of diſſenters, " it would be convenient that " laymen of different ranks, " and perhaps of different opi- " nions too, ſhould be united " in it, the better to find expe- " dients for that end, rather " than clergymen alone of the " eſtabliſhed church, who are " generally obſerved to have all " very much the ſame way of " reaſoning and thinking. 5. " Becauſe it is the much readier " way to facilitate the paſſing " the alterations into a law, that " lay-lords and commoners " ſhould be joined in the com- " miſſion, who might be able to " ſatisfy both houſes of the rea- " ſons, upon which they were " made, and thereby remove " all fears and jealouſies, ill " men might raiſe againſt the " clergy, of their endeavouring " to keep up, without ground, " a diſtinct intereſt from that of " the laity, whom they ſo care- " fully excluded from being " joined with them in conſtitu- " tions of common concern- " ment, that they would not " have any part in the delibe- " ration, who muſt have the " greateſt in determining. 6. " Becauſe ſuch a reſtrained com- " miſſion lay liable to this great " objection, that it might be " made uſe of to elude repeated " promiſes, and the preſent ge- " neral expectation of compli- " ance with tender conſciences, " when the providing of it was " taken out of the ordinary " courſe of parliament, to be " put into the hands of thoſe " alone, who were lateſt in ad- " mitting any need of it, and " who might be thought to be " the more unfit to be the ſole

1689. and that the method proposed of joining the laity in the commission was the only one like to prove effectual. But this conduct of his did not so recommend him to the clergy, as to balance the censure, which he fell under, for moving, in another proviso of that bill, that the subscription instead of assent and consent, should only be to submit with a promise of conformity. He declared himself likewise zealous for dispensing with kneeling at the sacrament; for since it was acknowledged, that the posture was not essential in itself, and that scruples, how ill grounded soever, were raised upon it, it seemed reasonable to leave the matter as indifferent in its practice, as it was in its nature. When the bill, after passing the lords, was sent to the commons, it was let lie on the table, and instead of proceeding in it, they made an address to the king for summoning a convocation, wherein "they "rendered to his majesty their most humble and hearty "thanks for his gracious declaration and repeated assurances, "that he would maintain the church of England established "by law, which his majesty had been pleased to recover "from the dangerous conspiracy, that was laid for its de-"struction, with the hazard of his royal person." They added, "That the doctrine and practice of the church of "England had evinced their loyalty beyond the contradiction "of the most malicious enemies; and that the misfortunes "of former princes could be attributed to nothing more than "their endeavours to subvert and disable the members there-"of from contributing to their support and defence. They "therefore prayed his majesty to continue his care for the

Address for a convocation. Pr. H. C. II. 298. Ap. 13.

"composers of differences, when "they were looked upon by "some as parties. 7. Because, "after all, this carried a dan-"gerous suspicion along with "it, as if the laity were not a "part of the church, nor had "any power to meddle in mat-"ters of religion; a suspicion "directly opposite to the con-"stitution both of church and "state, which would make all "alterations utterly impossible, "unless the clergy alone were "allowed to have power to "make laws in matters of reli-"gion; since what was esta-"blished by law could not be "taken away, or changed but "by consent of laymen in par-"liament, the clergy themselves "having no authority to med-"dle in this very case, in which "the laity was excluded by this "very vote, but what they de-"rived from lay-hands. Lastly, "because it was contrary to "three statutes made in the "reign of Henry VIII, and one "in Edward VI, which gave "powers thirty-two commis-"sioners to alter the common "and ecclesiastical laws, &c. "whereof sixteen to be of the "laity, and sixteen of the "clergy."

"pre-

" preſervation of the ſame, whereby he would effectually 1689.
" eſtabliſh his throne by ſecuring the hearts of his majeſty's
" ſubjects within theſe his realms, who could no way better
" ſhow their zeal for his ſervice, than by a firm adherence
" to that church, whoſe conſtitution is beſt ſuited to the
" ſupport of this monarchy." They likewiſe humbly prayed, " that, according to the ancient practice and uſage of
" the kingdom in time of parliament, his majeſty would be
" graciouſly pleaſed to iſſue forth his writs for calling a con-
" vocation of the clergy of this kingdom, to be adviſed with
" in eccleſiaſtical matters; aſſuring his majeſty, that it was
" their intention forthwith to proceed to the conſideration of
" giving eaſe to proteſtant diſſenters."

By this addreſs it appears, that a party was now beginning to be formed, that pretended great zeal for the church and expreſſed their apprehenſions, that it was in danger. This they plainly inſinuated, by their praying the king to continue his care for the preſervation of the church, hinting at the ſame time, how dangerous it would be for him to do otherwiſe. Theſe men, as they went heavily into the toleration, which was the eaſe they here promiſed to give the diſſenters, ſo they were much offended with the bill of comprehenſion, as containing matters relating to the church, in which the repreſentative body of the clergy had not been ſo much as adviſed with; and therefore it was, that they ſo haſtily petitioned for a convocation, under a notion that the buſineſs would be accompliſhed without one. Remark on the addreſs.

The king, who was not well pleaſed with this addreſs as perceiving the tendency of it, did not forbear intimating in his anſwer, that he thought he had already given them ſufficient aſſurances of his intentions to ſupport the church. The anſwer was not returned immediately, but ſent the next day by the earl of Nottingham, who acquainted both houſes (for the lords had concurred in the addreſs) " That though his
" majeſty had had many occaſions of aſſuring them, he would
" maintain the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed; yet
" he was well pleaſed with repeating theſe promiſes, which
" he was reſolved to perform, by ſupporting this church,
" whoſe loyalty, he doubted not, would enable him to an-
" ſwer their juſt expectations. That as his deſign of com-
" ing hither was to reſcue them from the miſeries they la-
" boured under; ſo it was a great ſatisfaction to him, that
" by the ſucceſs God had given him, he was in a ſtation of
" defending this church, which had effectually ſhewn her

1689. "zeal againſt popery, and ſhould always be his peculiar "care. And he hoped the eaſe, they deſigned to diſſenters, "would contribute very much to the eſtabliſhment of this "church; which therefore he earneſtly recommended to "them, that the occaſions of differences and mutual animo- "ſities might be removed; and that as ſoon as might be, "he would ſummon a convocation."

Burnet. Notwithſtanding this anſwer, no farther progreſs was made in the bill. Thoſe who had moved for this bill, and afterwards brought it into the houſe, acted a very diſingenuous part. For while they ſtudied to recommend themſelves by this ſhew of moderation, they ſet on their friends to oppoſe it; and ſuch as were very ſincerely and cordially for it, were repreſented as the enemies of the church, who intended to ſubvert it. Nor was this bill ſupported by thoſe who ſeemed moſt favourable to the diſſenters. They advanced it as a maxim, that it was fit to keep up a ſtrong faction both in church and ſtate; and they thought it was not agreeable to that, to ſuffer ſo great a body as the preſbyterians to be made more eaſy, and more inclinable to unite to the church. They alſo thought, that the toleration would be beſt maintained, when great numbers ſhould need it, and be concerned to preſerve it. So the deſign of a comprehenſion being zealouſly oppoſed and but faintly promoted, fell to the ground. However, the king was ſo deſirous this affair ſhould ſucceed, that it was brought on again the next ſeſſion in a more formal manner, though with no better ſucceſs.

State of the revenue before and after the revolution. The oath to be uſed at the coronation of the king, and thoſe to be taken by the members of both houſes of parliament, as well as by all perſons enjoying office, employment or benefice being ſettled, and the toleration for the proteſtant diſſenters being eſtabliſhed, the next thing to be conſidered was a revenue for the ſupport of the government. It muſt be obſerved, that before the revolution the whole ſtanding income of the ſtate was in the power and diſpoſal of the crown, and was called the revenue of the crown. There was then no diſtinction of what was to be allotted for the king's uſe, and what for the ſervice of the public. By which means the king might reſerve what part he thought fit for his own deſigns, and employ no more than he pleaſed for the purpoſes of the nation. Accordingly it was found, that after the reſtoration, the public revenue had been conſtantly embezzled, and immenſe ſums very often ſunk, without being.

ing applied to the uſes for which they were granted (k) It was therefore wiſely converted, after the revolution, for the ſecurity of the nation from perpetual miſapplications of the public money, to allot a ſeparate income for the maintenance of the king's houſhold, and the ſupport of his dignity, (which is now called the civil liſt) and to put the reſt of the public revenues entirely under the command of the parliament. So that from the time of the revolution the public money has been no more left to the diſcretionary management of the court, but the commons, after examining the current ſervices of each year, have appropriated the ſupplies to thoſe ſervices only, and the king's buſineſs has been to ſee the money applied according to their appropriation, of which an account at the next meeting of the parliament had been conſtantly ſubmitted to both houſes, before any farther ſupplies have been granted (l). In order therefore to introduce this great change in the public income, the commons, in the firſt place, voted that the revenue was expired by the vacancy of the throne, and not devolved on their majeſties; and though by a long courſe, and the practice of ſome ages, the cuſtoms had been granted to the kings for life, it was now laid down as a maxim, not to grant any revenue but from 1689. Feb. 26.

(k) Of this the preceding reigns were one continued inſtance. A gentleman, who lived in the latter end of king Charles II's reign, thus recapitulates ſome circumſtances in the houſe of commons: "I remember when "eleven hundred thouſand "pounds was given for build- "ing of ſhips, and not one "built; and above two millions "given to ſupport the triple "league, and then it was pre- "ſently employed for the break- "ing of it; when twelve hun- "dred thouſand pounds was "given for an actual war with "France, when at the ſame "time we were under all the "obligations for peace, and ſo "continued."

(l) This appropriation of the public revenues (one of the improvements of our conſtitution at the revolution) is the great fence of our liberties, as it deprives the crown of the power of diſpoſing of theſe revenues at pleaſure; as it neceſſarily occaſions the having every article of the public ſervice diſcuſſed and approved by the parliament, and as it is made only from year to year with regard to the ſupplies of the current ſervices; ſo that without the annual meeting of the parliament, the navy, army, ordnance, and all the other wheels of the government are entirely ſtopped. By which means the meaſures of the court are continually examined, and any grievances laid open with ſuch freedom and weight, as will never ſuffer them to be long unredreſſed.

1689. year to year, or at leaſt for a ſhort term of years (m). This the whigs thought, would oblige the king to ſuch a popular method of government, as ſhould merit the conſtant renewal of the grant. The king, who expected the ſame regard ſhould be ſhown for him as for his predeceſſors, was not pleaſed with ſo precarious a revenue, which the tories obſerving, they took the occaſion to beget in him jealouſies of his friends, and with too great ſucceſs. They reſolved to

(m) The annual revenue, clear of all charges in the collection, at the time of king James II's abdication, was as follows:

	l.
1. Tunnage and poundage, with the wood-farm, coal-farm, and ſalt-farm	600,000
2. The hereditary and temporary exciſe, with the additional nine-pence for the year, ending June 24, 1689.	666,383
3. Hearth-money	245,000
4. Poſt-office	65,000
5. Wine licenſes	10,000
6. Impoſition on wines and vinegar, granted for eight years, ending June 24, 1693.	172,901
7. The impoſition on tobacco and ſugar	148,861
8. The impoſition on French linen, brandy, and ſilk	93,710
9. The ſmall branches (which before the crown-lands were ſold, amounted to 130,000 l.	60,000
Total neat revenue of the crown	2,061,855

Annual diſburſements for the public ſervices, during king James II's reign.

	l.
1. Maintenance of ſeamen, and proviſion of naval ſtores	300,000
2. Ordinary of the navy and ordnance	50,000
3. Guards and other diſciplined troops	200,000
4. Garriſons, contingences, &c.	50,000
Total	600,000

This being deducted out of the whole revenue, there remained for his civil liſt 1,461,885 l. by which he was enabled, without any other aid, to ſupport a large army, and maintain great numbers of jeſuits and prieſts of all orders. How eaſy would it have been for him to have ſucceeded in his deſigns, with a revenue that placed him above the neceſſity of applying to the parliament, had he taken proper methods, or had not the revolution intervened? Hence appears the expediency of fixing boundaries to the expences of the civil liſt, and the importance of appropriating the reſt of the public revenue to the particular ſervices of each year, and of ſubmitting an account of the application of the ſupplies for theſe ſervices, to the diſcuſſion of the parliament.

reconcile

reconcile themſelves to the king, by granting a revenue for life; but at preſent only to look on, till the whigs, who carried every thing they pleaſed, ſhould have refuſed it. 1689.

Purſuant to the maxim before-mentioned when the king's revenue was brought into conſideration, it was pretended, that, as there were anticipations and charges upon it, in which many perſons were concerned, they had not time to examine that matter with due care; and therefore, by a proviſional act, they granted the king the revenue but for one year. This touched the king ſenſibly, and was ſo repreſented to him by the earl of Nottingham, that he concluded he was in the hands of perſons that did not intend to uſe him well. Nor indeed was it till the year 1698, that he could prevail to have the revenue ſettled for life.

The civil liſt for this year was ſettled at ſix hundred thouſand pounds, to be paid out of the public revenue, in which was included what was to be allowed to the queen regent, the queen dowager, the prince and princeſs of Denmark; the judges and marſhal Schomberg, to whom the parliament had given a hundred thouſand pounds for the ſervices he had done (n) A revenue of one million two hundred thouſand pounds a year was alſo voted to be ſettled for the conſtant neceſſary charge of ſupporting the crown in the time of peace. But before this was done, and two days after the vote of the expiration of the revenue, four hundred and twenty thouſand pounds had been granted for a preſent aid to be levied by ſix monthly aſſeſſments. Apr. 27. Pr. H. L. II. 305. ibid. p. 288.

The princeſs of Denmark depending entirely on the king for her allowance, was uneaſy that no propoſitions had been made to her of a ſettlement, nor any advance of money ſince the king was on the throne; and therefore while the revenue was under debate, ſome of her friends moved, that a proviſion might be made for her, but being put off for that time, it was propoſed again juſt after the birth of the duke of Gloceſter, that her revenue might be advanced from thirty thouſand (which was what the king allowed her) to ſeventy thouſand pounds, which occaſioned ſome warm expoſtulations from the queen to the princeſs (o); and as this ſum was

A proviſion for the princeſs of Denmark propoſed to the commons, Apr. 28.

(n) The queen dowager was to have 18,209 l. 15 s. 4 d. ½ per annum. The judges, maſters in chancery, and judges of Wales, 13,800 l. per annum. The perpetuities out of the cuſtoms, (except 100 l. a year to the heirs of colonel Fairfax) amounting to 358 l. per annum, were alſo to be paid.

(o) Queen Mary, it ſeems, expreſſed a great deal of diſpleaſure

1689. was to be paid out of the civil liſt, the motion was defeated by the king's prorogation of the parliament; nor was it, as will be ſeen, till the next year, that an act paſſed, allowing her a ſettlement of fifty thouſand a year, which occaſioned a great coldneſs between not only the king, but even the queen and the princeſs.

Hearth-money diſcharged. Pr. H. C. II. 278.

Whilſt the revenue was ſettling, there was one branch of it which the king had a mind ſhould be diſcharged. In his march through the weſtern counties, from his firſt landing, he had been moved to aboliſh the chimney-money, and he had promiſed to recommend it to the parliament. To this end he ſent a meſſage to the commons, acquainting them, "that being ſenſible what a grievous burden hearth-money "was to the people, eſpecially the poorer ſort, he was wil-"ling to agree either to a regulation of it, or the taking it "away, not doubting but they would take care of his reve-Mar. 5. "nue ſome other way." This proved to be an act of great prudence and popularity, for which the commons preſented an addreſs of thanks, expreſſed in very grateful terms, "for "this unprecedented offer for the eaſe of his people, aſſuring "him, that they would make ſuch returns, and be ſo care-"ful of the ſupport of the crown, that the world might ſee, "to the diſcouraging of his enemies, and ſatisfaction of all "good men, that his majeſty reigned in the hearts of his "people."

Oppoſed by the tories. Burnet.

But as popular as this act was, it met with ſuch oppoſition from the tories, that it ran a great hazard in the houſe of lords. They alledged, that it was the only ſure fund, which could never fail in war; ſo that money would be freely advanced upon it; and that a few regulations would take away any grievance, which might ariſe from it. But it was thought, they were not willing, that ſuch an act ſhould paſs, as would render the king acceptable to the body of the nation: It was alſo imagined, that the proſpect they then had of a ſpeedy revolution in favour of king James, made ſome of

pleaſure at this attempt, to ſettle a revenue on the prince and princeſs. Taking her ſiſter one night to taſk for it, ſhe aſked her, 'What was the meaning 'of theſe proceedings?' To which the princeſs anſwered, 'She heard her friends had a 'mind to make her ſome ſettle-'ment.' The queen haſtily replied —— 'Pray what friends 'have you but the king and 'me?' This the princeſs her-ſelf told the ducheſs of Marlborough with great concern and reſentment. Conduct of d. of Marlb. p. 30.

them

them unwilling to paſs an act, which ſeemed to lay an obligation on him, either to maintain it, or by reſuming his revenue to raiſe the hatred of the nation higher againſt him (p). However the act was paſſed at laſt, and this badge of ſlavery (as is expreſſed in the preamble) upon the whole people was removed, which expoſed every man's houſe to be entered into, and ſearched at pleaſure by perſons unknown to him. 1689. April 24.

The friends of king James had indeed ſome reaſon to expect a revolution in his favour at this time; for now it was that the king received intelligence of his having ſailed from Breſt with a conſiderable number of French troops, in order to land in Ireland, which being communicated to the commons, the following addreſs from both houſes was preſented to the king. Advice of king Jame's landing in Ireland. Pr. H. C. II. 277. Feb. 27.

"WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and faithful ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons aſſembled in parliament, being highly ſenſible of our late great and ſignal deliverance from popery and arbitrary power, whereof it has pleaſed Almighty God to make you the glorious inſtrument; and deſiring, to the utmoſt of our abilities, to expreſs our gratitude to your majeſty for ſo great and generous an undertaking, no leſs neceſſary to ſupport the proteſtant intereſt in Europe, than for recovering and maintaining the civil rights and liberties of theſe nations, ſo notoriouſly invaded and undermined by popiſh counſels and counſellors; and being likewiſe fully convinced of the reſtleſs ſpirits and continual endeavours of your majeſty's and the nation's enimies for the extirpation of the proteſtant religion, and the ſubverſion of our laws and liberties, do unanimouſly decare, that we will ſtand by and aſſiſt your majeſty with our lives and fortunes, in ſupporting the alliances abroad, in reducing of Ireland, and in defence of the proteſtant religion and laws of the kingdom." Addreſs of both houſes upon it.

To this addreſs the king returned a remarkable anſwer, ſaid to be drawn up in concert with Mr. Powle, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. The king's anſwer. Mar. 8. Pr. H. C. II. 281.

(p) By the hearth-books it appeared, that the number of houſes, in England and Wales, ſoon after the reſtoration was about 1,230,000, and reckoning ſix perſons at a medium to each houſe, it fixes the number of the people at that time to be 7,380,000.

My

1689.

My lords and gentlemen,

" IF any thing could add to the eſteem and affection I " have for parliaments, and particularly for this, they " would be much increaſed by the kindneſs you ſhew to me, " and the zeal you expreſs for the public good, in the ad- " dreſs you have made, which in the manner as well as the " matter has every thing it, that ought to recommend it " to me.

" I will aſſure you, that I will never abuſe the confidence " you have put in me, being fully perſuaded, that there is " no ſure foundation of a good agreement between a king " and his people, but a mutual truſt; when that is once " broken, a government is half diſſolved.

" It ſhall be therefore my chief care never to give any " parliament cauſe to diſtruſt me; and the beſt methods I " can uſe for that purpoſe, is never to expect any thing from " them, but what ſhall be their own intereſt to grant.

" I came hither for the good of the kingdom; and ſince " it is your deſire that I am in this ſtation, I ſhall perſue the " ſame ends that brought me.

" God has been pleaſed to make me inſtrumental to re- " deem you from the ills you feared; and it is ſtill my de- " ſire, as well as my duty, to ſerve you in your religion, " laws, and liberties; which was the only inducement, " that brought me into England; and to theſe I aſcribe the " bleſſings, that have attended this undertaking.

" When I ſpoke laſt to you, I told you of the neceſſity of " aſſiſting our allies, and more eſpecially the ſtates of Hol- " land, whoſe readineſs to relieve you, at ſo great a haz- " ard and expence, from the extremities you lay under, " needs no other argument to move you to the conſidera- " tion of it.

" As I was then a witneſs of their zeal and affection to " promote the expedition, and to ſecond my endeavours, " even with the neglect of their own ſafety; ſo I am now " ſenſible of the inevitable ruin, they have drawn upon them- " ſelves in giving you their aſſiſtance, if you ſhould not re- " turn it to them.

" They have really exhauſted themſelves to ſuch a degree, " both as to men and money, that it is not eaſily to be " imagined; and I am confident your generoſity will have " as little bounds towards them, as theirs had towards you; " and that you will not only enable me to make good the " treaty with them, and repay what they have actually laid

" out

" out upon this occaſion (of which an account ſhall be gi- 1689.
" ven you) but that you will further ſupport them, to the
" utmoſt of your ability againſt the power of their enemies,
" who muſt be yours too by their intereſt, and their religion,
" and do certainly deſign the ruin of Holland to be a ſtep to
" your deſtruction.

" I need not take pains to tell you the deplorable condi-
" tion of Ireland, which, by the zeal and violence of the
" popiſh party there, and by the aſſiſtance and encourage-
" ment they have from France, is brought to that paſs, that
" it is not adviſable to attempt the reducing of it but by a
" conſiderable force; which I think ought not to be leſs
" than twenty thouſand horſe and foot, which, by the bleſ-
" ſing of God, will make the work ſhorter, and in conſe-
" quence the charge eaſier, though the firſt expence muſt of
" neceſſity be very great.

" You are to conſider, that towards the moſt ſpeedy and
" effectual ſucceſs in relation to Ireland, as well as with re-
" gard to France, there muſt be ſuch a fleet, as may, in con-
" junction with the ſtates, make us ſo intirely maſters of that
" ſea, that nothing may be ſent from France to Ireland,
" or any where elſe, that may give diſturbance to us or our
" allies.

" I muſt alſo recommend to you the conſideration of the
" revenue to me, that it may be ſo ſettled, as that it may be
" collected without diſpute.

My lords and gentlemen,

" Theſe things will amount to a great ſum, and muſt of
" conſequence be a preſent weight upon the people: but
" conſidering neither your religion nor your ſafety can proba-
" bly be ſecured without theſe means, I conclude, nothing
" can be too great a price for their preſervation. And I will
" engage my ſolemn word to you, that whatever you ſhall
" give to theſe public ends, ſhall be ſtrictly applied to them;
" and that as you ſo freely offer to hazard all that is dear to
" you, ſo I ſhall as freely expoſe myſelf for the ſupport of
" the proteſtant religion, and the ſafety and honour of the
" nation."

The king had a juſt ſenſe of what the ſtates of the United Provinces had done towards the preſervation of the religion and liberties of England. He had the very day of his advancement to the throne, ſent them a letter to aſſure them, that his new dignity, inſtead of diminiſhing the affections

The king's regard for the Dutch.

" he

1689. "he ever had, and the care he ever took, for the preſervation and proſperity of their republic, would only ſerve to enable him to diſcharge his office of ſtadtholder with more weight and ſucceſs, towards the good and advantage of their ſtate; and that during his reign, he would make it his conſtant buſineſs and endeavour, to eſtabliſh and maintain a perfect intelligence, alliance and inviolable friendſhip, between his kingdoms and the United Provinces, for the ſafety, welfare and repoſe, of both eſtates; and the ſupport of the proteſtant religion." As the king therefore thought it highly reaſonable, that the ſtates ſhould be repaid, as ſoon as poſſible, what they had laid out in his expedition; he took all occaſions to put the commons in mind of it, and particularly in this ſpeech; purſuant to which, an account of the charges of the expedition was indeed taken, and the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand pounds, voted for that purpoſe, but it was not till the end of the ſeſſion, that a fund was ſettled for raiſing the money (q).

(q) The account of the charges laid out by the Dutch in the expedition, was as follows:

	l.		
The charges of the fleet	2,288,464	00	00
Proviſions for the horſe, &c.	186,000	00	00
Freight of the merchant-ſhips	1,245,000	00	00
Freight of fiſhing-boats for landing the Foot and loſs of ſix	47,888	00	00
Pay to general officers of all ſorts	1,615,989	06	08
Payment of the horſe and dragoons	391,420	12	06
Payment of the Foot	531,205	14	08
Levy-money and other incidents	250,000	00	00
Carts and waggons	169,911	00	00
Loſs of two ſhips, proviſions when the fleet was driven back, wrecks, charges of the artillery and hoſpital, French proteſtant officers, quarters, horſes to make good the loſs in the ſtorm, &c.	2,275,453	07	10
Total	7,301,332	01	08

This account looks as if it was drawn for ſo much ſterling; but by the particulars, and by the ſum granted by the parliament for its diſcharge, it is plain, it muſt be for ſo many guilders, which at one ſhilling and tenpence half-penny each, were equivalent to about 686,500 l. ſterling at that time.

After

After the revenue, an attempt was made concerning the militia. A bill was prepared for ſettling it in ſuch a manner, that the management of it would in great meaſure, be taken both from the king, and from the lord lieutenants. Theſe being generally peers, a bill that ſo much leſſened their authority, could not but be obſtructed in the houſe of lords; accordingly, it was ſuffered to lie on the table. By this proceeding, which was chiefly promoted by the whigs, as well as by that of the revenue, the king came to think, that thoſe who had raiſed him to the throne, intended to depreſs his power, as much as they had exalted his perſon. He ſeemed to grow jealous of his prerogatives, the importance of each being aggravated by the earl of Nottingham, who had given him a ſcheme of all the particular points, and their dependance one on another. He was ſo poſſeſſed with the earl's repreſentations, that many of thoſe who had formerly moſt of his confidence, found a coldneſs growing upon him, which increaſed their diſguſt; and made them apprehend, they ſhould ſee another reign full of prerogative maxims. 1689. A bill concerning the militia. Burnet.

As the whigs were diſappointed in their militia-bill, ſo they could not be brought to another point, though often preſſed to it by the king. This was an act of indemnity, which with proper exceptions of ſome criminals, the king thought would very much ſettle the minds of the nation. Accordingly the king ſent a meſſage to each houſe, expreſſing his earneſt deſire that they would prepare a bill, for a general pardon; with ſuch exceptions only, as to them ſhould ſeem neceſſary for the vindication of public juſtice, in order to free great numbers of people from the guilt, reproaches and penalties, they were liable to. But how zealous ſoever, the king was for an act of indemnity, the warmeſt of the whigs would not promote it. They thought it beſt to keep many under the laſh; they intended ſevere revenges for the blood, that had been ſhed, and for the many unjuſt things, which had been done in the end of king Charles II's reign. They ſaw, that the clogging the indemnity with many comprehenſive exceptions, would create king James a great party, ſo they did not think proper to offer at that: yet they reſolved to keep them ſtill in their power, till a better opportunity for falling on them ſhould offer itſelf. They proceeded therefore ſo ſlowly in the affair, that the bill could not be brought to a ripeneſs during this ſeſſion. It is true, the great mildneſs of the king's temper, and the gentleneſs of his government, which was indeed rather liable to cenſure, An act of indemnity deſired by the king. Pr. H. L. I. 355. Retarded by the Whigs. Burnet.

as

1689. as being too remiſs, ſet people's minds much at eaſe. And if it gave too much boldneſs to thoſe, who begun to ſet up an open oppoſition to him, yet it gained upon the greater part of the nation, who ſaw none of thoſe moving ſpectacles, that had been ſo common in former reigns; and all promiſed themſelves happy days under ſo merciful a prince. But angry men put a wicked conſtruction on the earneſtneſs the king ſhewed for the act of indemnity: they ſaid, he intended to make uſe of a ſet of prerogative men, as ſoon as he legally could; and that therefore he deſired the inſtruments of king James's illegal government might be once ſecured, that ſo he might employ them. The earls of Monmouth and Warrington, were infuſing jealouſies of the king into their party, with the ſame induſtry, that the earl of Nottingham was at the ſame time, inſtilling into the king jealouſies of them; and both acted with too much ſucceſs, which brought great confuſion into the courſe of affairs. For though the earls of Shrewſbury and Devonſhire did all they could to ſtop the progreſs and effects of thoſe ſuſpicions, with which the whigs were poſſeſſed, yet they had not credit enough to do it.

The bill of rights and ſucceſſion. Pr. H. L. 385. Burnet. May 9.

The next thing of importance was to paſs an act, for declaring the rights and liberties of the ſubject, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown (as had been agreed by the convention) to the king and queen and their iſſue, and after them to the princeſs Ann and her iſſue, and after theſe, to the king and his iſſue, by another queen. Accordingly a bill was ſent up by the commons to the lords, for that purpoſe; with a clauſe diſabling all papiſts from ſucceeding to the crown, to which the lords added, or ſuch as ſhould marry papiſts. To this was propoſed by the biſhop of Saliſbury, an additional clauſe abſolving the ſubject, in that caſe, from allegiance. This was ſeconded by the earl of Shrewſbury, and it paſſed without any oppoſition or debate. That prelate was ordered by the king to propoſe the naming of the princeſs Sophia, ducheſs of Hanover, and her poſterity, next in the ſucceſſion; the king ſignified his pleaſure in this alſo to his miniſters. The duke of Hanover was now changing his former meaſures, and ſeparating himſelf from the intereſts of France. The lords agreed to the propoſition, and, amongſt other amendments of the bill, added a proviſo in the princeſs Sophia's favour. The bill thus amended was returned to the commons, where it occaſioned great debates, and the houſe diſagreed to the lord's proviſo: Mr. Hampden preſſed it vehemently, but the tories and alſo Wildman, and all the republican

May 25.

publican party, oppoſed it. Their ſecret reaſon ſeemed to be a deſign to extinguiſh monarchy, and therefore to ſubſtitute none beyond the three who were named, that ſo the ſucceſſion might quickly come to an end. But it not being decent to own this, all that they pretended was, that there being many in the lineal ſucceſſion, after the three that were named, who were then of the church of Rome, the leaving to them the poſſibility to ſucceed, upon their turning proteſtants, might have a good effect on them, and diſpoſe them to hearken to inſtruction; all which would be defeated by a declaration in favour of the houſe of Hanover, beſides, that the mentioning that houſe would give an opportunity to foreigners of intermedling too far in the affairs of the nation; and that a parliament of England had never determined the degrees of ſucceſſion beyond two or three perſons. The king, who wiſhed nothing more earneſtly than to ſee the crown ſettled in the proteſtant line, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to bring the commons to a compliance with the lords, declaring in council, that his queen, and both the prince and princeſs of Denmark, deſired it as well as himſelf. The lords likewiſe warmly inſiſted on their clauſe, alledging July 15. "That though in the inſtrument offered to the king and "queen, the limitation went no farther than to their per"ſons; yet in law, which has reſpect to all ſucceeding "ages; and that ſettles for ever the liberties of the ſubject, "they thought it reaſonable to carry the limitation of the "ſucceſſion of the crown farther than was neceſſary in that "inſtrument, in which the crown was offered to their ma"jeſties, and that had no other view but of the ſucceſſion "of their poſterity. 2. That they could ſee no danger, nor "any ill conſequence, that might follow a further limita"tion, but very much to the contrary. For, this ſecured "the nation effectually from the danger of having a papiſt "to reign in it at any time hereafter, ſince of ſuch a num"ber of papiſts, as ſtood next the crown in the lineal ſuc"ceſſion, ſome might be prevailed on to make a ſhew of "changing their religion, if they had a proſpect of ſucceed"ing to the crown upon it; and no danger being ſo great "as the having one, who is a pretended proteſtant, but in "truth a concealed papiſt, to reign over us; the moſt ef"fectual way to ſecure our religion, was, to declare the "ſucceſſion in a family, that was known to be proteſtant. "In the next place, it was the intereſt of England, at pre"ſent, to do right to that great houſe, by limiting this ſuc"ceſſion according to the proviſo. For ſince this limitation

1689. "had been propoſed, if it ſhould be now laid aſide, it would "look like excluding that houſe, which might provoke "them to take a reſolution, that might be of great preju- "dice to the nation in this preſent conjuncture."

Dropt on account of the birth of the duke of Gloceſter.

Theſe reaſons being communicated to the commons, ſeveral conferences were held between the two houſes, but to no effect; for both houſes adhered, and the bill, after depending two months, was dropt on the birth of the duke of Gloceſter, ſon of the prince and princeſs of Denmark, born the 27th of July, and chriſtened William; the king, and the earl of Dorſet (ſtanding for his Daniſh majeſty) being godfathers, and the marchioneſs of Halifax godmother. The birth of this prince greatly contributed to diſſipate the fears of a popiſh ſucceſſor. Though the bill of rights was thus laid aſide for the preſent, it was reſolved to reſume it at the opening of the next ſeſſion, the ſucceſs of which ſhall be mentioned here, to put an end to this matter at once. When the time came, the king did not think it convenient to renew the motion of the princeſs of Hanover, and ordered the biſhop of Saliſbury to acquaint her with all particulars. It was proper to have a bill paſſed, that enacted the excluſion of all papiſts. For by that means, the ſucceſſion was in a manner brought to her door. And if any in the line before her ſhould pretend to change, as it was not very likely to happen, ſo it would not be eaſily believed. Wherefore it was reſolved to carry the ſucceſſion no farther at this time.

Brought on again the next, ſeſſion, and paſſed.

A clauſe added by the lords. Pr. H. L. I. 392.

The bill paſſed the commons, without any oppoſition; and being ſent to the lords, they juſtly conſidering how far king James had gone towards introducing the popiſh religion into the nation, took ſpecial care to prevent the like for the future, by adding a clauſe to the bill, "That the kings and "queens of England ſhould be obliged, at their coming to "the crown, to take the teſt in the firſt parliament that "ſhould be called at the beginning of their reign; and that "if any king or queen of England ſhould embrace the Ro- "man catholic religion, or marry with a Roman catholic "prince or princeſs, their ſubjects ſhould be abſolved of their "allegiance; and that the crown and government of theſe "realms ſhould from time to time deſcend to, and be en- "joyed by ſuch perſons, being proteſtants, as ſhould have "inherited the ſame, in caſe the ſaid perſons ſo reconciled to "the church of Rome, or marrying a papiſt as aforeſaid, "were naturally dead." This remarkable clauſe paſſed without any oppoſition or debate, which conſidering the great importance of it, was very ſurpriſing; and being a-

The bill is paſſed. Dec. 16. Ibid. p. 366.

greed

greed to by the commons, the whole bill was at laſt pre- 1689.
ſented to the king for the royal aſſent. This act rehearſes not only the foregoing clauſe, but the whole declaration of the rights and liberties of the ſubject, offered on the 13th of February to their majeſties, and eſtabliſhes them to be the rights and liberties of the people of England; recognizes that king James II. having abdicated the government, their majeſties are king and queen; ſettles the ſucceſſion, and obliges every king and queen, at the time of their taking the coronation oath, to ſubſcribe, and audibly repeat the declaration of the 30th of Charles II; and enacts, that no diſpenſation by non-obſtante, of or to any ſtatute ſhall be allowed, unleſs mentioned in ſuch ſtatute (r).

By

(r) It may not be amiſs to repeat here the rights and liberties which by this act are eſtabliſhed:

" 1. That the pretended power of ſuſpending of laws, or execution of laws, by regal authority, without conſent of parliament, is illegal.

" 2. That the pretended power of diſpenſing with laws, or the excution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been aſſumed and exerciſed of late, is illegal.

" 3. That the commiſſion for erecting the late court of commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and all other commiſſions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

" 4. That the levying of money for or to the uſe of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner than the ſame is, or ſhall be granted, is illegal.

" 5. That it is the right of the ſubjects to petition the king, and all commitments and proſecutions for ſuch petitioning, are illegal.

" 6. That the raiſing or keeping a ſtanding army within the kingdom in time of peace, unleſs it be with conſent of parliament, is againſt law.

" 7. That the ſubjects which are proteſtants, may have arms for their defence, ſuitable to their condition, and as allowed by law.

" 8. That election of members of parliament ought to be free.

" 9. That the freedom of ſpeech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or queſtioned, in any court or place out of parliament.

" 10. That exceſſive bail ought not to be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel and unuſual puniſhments inflicted.

" 11. That jurors ought to be duly empannelled, and returned; and jurors, which paſs upon men in trials for high-treaſon, ought to be freeholders.

" 12. That all grants and promiſes, of fines and forfeitures

1689. By theſe acts the new ſettlement in England was completed, as far as the enemies to the revolution would permit. For that the conſtitution was not brought to greater perfection; that the declaration of rights was not more full, and proportionable to the importance of the occaſion and favourable circumſtances of the conjecture; and that all grounds of political and religious diviſions were not removed, was entirely owing to faction, diſcontent, prejudice, diſappointment and the like. Whilſt the event of things was uncertain, men remained under the full influence of their fears, which made them act contrary to their prejudices. But when the revolution was ſecure, and theſe fears calmed, theſe prejudices reſumed their former power, and made them argue and reaſon in contradiction to what moſt of their leaders had acted. This has already appeared, and will more fully appear in the courſe of the hiſtory (s).

It is now time to turn to Scotland, and ſee by what ſteps and how far the revolution was eſtabliſhed in that kingdom. After that, the affairs of Ireland will require the reader's attention.

" feitures of particular perſons, " before conviction, are illegal " and void.

" 13. And that for redreſs " of all grievances, and for the " amending, ſtrengthening, and " preſerving of the laws, par- " liaments ought to be held " frequently.

(s) It was at this time ſuggeſted in all companies, that the preſent ſettlement was illegal and unjuſtifiable: that king James would ſhortly return with a powerful army, and ſettle things on a right foundation: that the intereſt of the church of England was involved with that of king James, and the one could not ſubſiſt without the reſtoration of the other. As theſe inſinuations were countenanced by ſome of the clergy, biſhop Burnet wrote a paſtoral letter to thoſe of his dioceſe, concerning the allegiance due to king William and queen Mary, in which, among other topics, he uſes that of the right of conqueſt, which had been always declined by the king, who choſe to receive the crown by the determination of the people, as more agreeable to his declaration. This paſtoral letter (with another of Charles Blunt, more full to the ſame purpoſe) was burnt three years after, by order of the parliament then ſitting. A little before the publication of the biſhop's letter, a libel was diſperſed by the diſaffected, called, 'A ſhort hiſtory 'of the convention, or new-'chriſtened parliament,' againſt which a proclamation was iſſued, May 7, promiſing the reward of a hundred pounds for the diſcovery of the author, printer or publiſher.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Affairs of Scotland.—The revolution eſtabliſhed there.—Affairs of Ireland.—Siege of Londonderry.—King James lands in Ireland.—His ſpeech to the Iriſh parliament, and his declaration to his Engliſh ſubjects.—Act of ſettlement repealed.—Act of attainder.—War proclaimed againſt France.—Sea-fight at Banty-bay.—Proceedings in the parliament.—Secret attainders and judgments reverſed.—Report of the committee to examine the caſes of the ſtate priſoners.—Miſcarriages in Ireland inquired into.—Letters from king James intercepted.—Acts paſſed this ſeſſion.—The parliament adjourned.

AS to the affairs in Scotland (t) at this time, it will be proper to premiſe, that the declaration which the prince of Orange had cauſed to be diſperſed in Scotland, had a great deal 1689. Affairs of Scotland. Ken. Crawford, p. 234.

(t) The earl of Belcarras, who was a very zealous oppoſer of the revolution, has written, An account of the affairs of Scotland relating to the revolution in 1688, as ſent to the late king James II. when in France, which was firſt printed at London in 1714 in 8vo. From this piece it will be proper to make ſome extracts in theſe notes, in order that they may be compared with the other accounts of the ſame facts given in the body of this hiſtory. Never king, (ſays he) ſucceeded to a crown or throne more with the love and eſteem of his ſubjects than your majeſty did generally to all Scotland, of all profeſſions; nor could any thing have diſturbed your happy reign, but the jealouſies and fears, that were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, as if you had deſigned, by giving a general liberty of conſcience, to ruin the religion then eſtabliſhed. If that had not been too much believed, and the fears of again encouraging by ſuch a liberty the fanatics, then almoſt entirely ruined, there would have been few, that would have refuſed to comply with all your majeſty's demands in parliament. But the fears of bringing back the fanatic party, then ſcattered through the world, that were always lying in wait for every opportunity to ruin the monarchy, and all thoſe, who were faithful in it, made even your faithfulleſt ſubjects comply, but with an unwilling mind, conſidering, that ſuch a toleration would again ſet up a party, that had coſt ſo much care, time, and treaſure, to deſtroy.

The earl of Murray, not ſucceeding in that parliament be-

1689. deal of influence upon the body of the people. But the biſhops and epiſcopal clergy being devoted to the court, had been

cauſe of theſe apprehenſions, and his ſmall ſkill in managing ſuch an affair, where there were ſo many intereſts to unite; your majeſty diſſolved that parliament, and iſſued out a proclamation of indulgence and toleration to all perſuaſions.

This put the epiſcopal clergy in ſuch a rage, that they could not conceal it neither in diſcourſes nor pulpits; and the preſbyterians grew ſo inſolent with it, upon the letter your majeſty wrote to them, then aſſembled at Edinburgh, wherein you told them your predeceſſors had been ſevere, and ruined ſeveral of them, but they might be confident of your protection againſt all their enemies.

This and the earl of Melfort's employing James Stuart to draw moſt of the public papers ſent down, who was known to be a profeſſed and inveterate enemy to the crown and their order, made the epiſcopal clergy at that time ſay and do many things, which afterwards they heartily repented, when it was too late; for their diſlike of the greateſt part of the nation, and their jealouſy misfortunately meeting with the inveterate malice of the preſbyterians, gave the greateſt advantage could have been wiſhed for to the unbounded ambition of the prince of Orange; for nothing ever made him make ſo bold an attempt, but theſe diviſions, and the jealouſies, that were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, few being ſatisfied. The epiſcopal clergy or party, out of fear to loſe what they had long poſſeſſed; and though the preſbyterians for a few months firſt after the getting their liberty ſeemed ſatisfied, yet ſome grew as malicious as ever, being diſappointed of getting the government into their hands, as they hoped, and a revenge on their enemies.

The order your majeſty ſent down commanding all in any office, either civil or military, to give up their commiſſions, and take up new ones, without taking the teſt; this made all employments liable to ſeveral penalties of the laws, and occaſioned a great conſternation; but not near to what by another order all in employments were commanded to take out remiſſions for breaking of the laws, which they had done by your majeſty's command, by which they thought themſelves ſufficiently warranted; as may appear by a letter the council ſent to your majeſty, wherein not only they, but the judges gave it as their opinion, that your majeſty's giving a commiſſion was ſufficient to hinder any being liable to the law, eſpecially conſidering, that the penalty was due to yourſelf. But notwithſtanding of this advice, a ſevere proclamation was ſent down by the earl of Melfort, that all ſhould take out theſe remiſſions in three months, and pay for them three pounds ſterling to himſelf, and twenty pounds to James Stuart, who was to give them out; and ſuch as did not take them out, to be purſued

been drawn into a more than ordinary profeſſion of adherence to king James. For upon the news of the prince's expedition, 1689.

purſued for breach of law, and to be rendered incapable for ever thereafter of your mercy. This was thought very hard, even by the loyalleſt of your ſubjects, to be paying for ſuch remiſſions, and eſpecially to be giving ſo much to Mr. Stuart; that had but ſome months before got a remiſſion for plotting and contriving againſt your majeſty and government, and was generally believed at that time by all that wiſhed well to your majeſty's government, to be under-hand betraying it. Nor have their apprehenſions been falſe; for ſince the revolution he has bragged to hundreds, that he gave ſeveral advices, deſignedly to ruin it, and to advance the intereſt of his friends.

When firſt this order was read in council, all were ſilent; but next day a repreſentation was ſent up to your majeſty, both by the council and ſecret committee, to ſhow how inconvenient it would be, if ſuch an order were proclaimed; nor was there any man more againſt it than your chancellor, [the earl of Perth] and thoſe you truſted moſt. Your majeſty was pleaſed, on theſe repreſentations, to diſcharge its being preſſed; but it gave ſuch bad impreſſions of ſome who were employed, that nothing will ever take it off; and it was generally believed, that nothing but your majeſty's own goodneſs could have hindered a thing, that would have been ſo advantageous to the contrivers, though diſhonourable to all that ſerved you. Nothing vexed the epiſcopal clergy more at that time, than to ſee ſome fanatics put both into council and ſeſſion; but all theſe diſcontents were but like ſmothered fire, until the birth of the prince of Wales, which afterwards broke out more violently; for, after that, ſeveveral of the epiſcopal clergy were ſo far miſled, that they left off in a few weeks the praying for the prince of Wales, and were ſo apt, not only to believe the moſt calumnious reports of that time, but to inſinuate in their people fears of popery and arbitrary government; which did no ſmall prejudice, and made many, that have appeared ſince of a far different temper, extremely ſatisfied at the noiſe of the prince of Orange's coming over, being ſo weak as to believe he had made ſuch an attempt only to ſecure the laws, and relieve them of their fears. But theſe diſcontents of the epiſcopal party, though they cannot be juſtified, yet they proceeded from jealouſies more than any ill deſign againſt your majeſty's government. But the preſbyterians being encouraged from their friends in England, and the rebels, who fled into Holland, growing then more inſolent than ever, being put in hopes again, by another way, of getting entirely the government in their own hands, and a revenge on their enemies, which were the two things they ſo long wiſhed to have an opportunity for, but would never have attained the

1689. tion, they were induced to write the following letter to the king:

May

ſame, if the indulgence granted them had not brought them together from the Weſt-Indies, ſo that they appeared in far greater numbers, than could well have been believed to be yet remaining after ſo long a tract of diſcouragement, they not only were joined together, but many, that never were of that profeſſion before, joined with them, as all the diſcontented of the nation has ever done ſince the revolution; making religion always the pretext of gaining their other ends.

The jealouſy of the catholics did not a little heighten the diſcontents of both theſe parties likewiſe; and though they were not ſo afraid of them as of each other, becauſe of their ſmall number; yet with very uneaſy eyes they beheld them coming into the chief poſts both in civil and military employments. And though the preſbyterians, by the liberty granted to all, had their ſhare; and were alſo admitted into employments, which they had never before; but when neceſſity compelled former kings; yet they were ſo far from being thankful for it, that both in their pulpits and converſation they openly declared, they thought themſelves nothing obliged to any toleration they had, it being given to introduce the catholics, and ruin proteſtants among themſelves. Nor were theſe jealouſies and apprehenſions only among the clergy; for after your majeſty had given warrant to the chancellor, viſcount of Tarbat, and myſelf, to inquire of all the officers of ſtate, judges, and officers of the army, their opinion and conſent for taking off the penal laws and teſts; moſt of them, though they conſented to it, yet had ſuch a cruel apprehenſion of other things further to be preſſed upon them, that it made them extremely uneaſy. And the turning out Sir George Mackenzie from being your advocate, and the lord Harrus and Edmiſtoun from the ſeſſion, for refuſing to conſent to what was offered, heightened extremely the humour; for they were eſteemed of the greateſt integrity and learing of that judicatory; and it ſeems not without reaſon; for though they were humorous, yet after, and ſince the revolution, they both behaved themſelves exactly well, and refuſed all the offers of employment which were made them.

Except for theſe fears and jealouſies, that were ſpread like a plague through the land; and the too covetuous taking of money by ſome of your ſervants, (but that I will not meddle with, being reſolved to ſay nothing here but what conſiſts with my own knowledge) all other things in the government were as eaſy, and managed with as much juſtice as was ever known in any age. For never was a treaſury and exchequer more favourable in all ſorts of compoſitions, which your majeſty allowed us to do; nor was there ever before in the council or ſeſſion more juſtice and quick diſpatch of buſineſs, nor ſoldiers better paid,

and

May it please your most sacred majesty,

"WE prostrate ourselves to pay our most devote thanks and adoration to the sovereign majesty of heaven and earth, for preserving your sacred life and person, so frequently exposed to the greatest hazards, and as often delivered, and you miraculously prospered with glory and victory, in defence of the rights and honour of your majesty's august brother, and of these kingdoms; and that by his merciful goodness the raging of the sea, and madness of unreasonable men, have been stilled and calmed; and your majesty, as the darling of heaven, peaceably seated on the throne of your royal ancestors, whose long, illustrious, and unparallelled line is the greatest glory of this your ancient kingdom. Letter of the bishops to king James.

"We pay our most humble gratitude to your majesty for the repeated assurances of your royal protection to our national church and religion, as the laws have established them; which are very suitable to the gracious countenance, encouragement, and protection, your majesty was pleased to afford to our church and order, whilst we were happy in your presence among us.

"We magnify the divine mercy in blessing your majesty with a son, and us with a prince, whom we pray heaven may bless and preserve, to sway your royal sceptres after you; and that he may inherit, with your dominions, the illustrious and heroic virtues of his august and most serene parents.

"We are amazed to hear of the danger of an invasion from Holland, which excites our prayers for an universal repentance from all orders of men, that God may yet spare his people, preserve your royal person, and prevent the effusion of christian blood; and to give such success to your majesty's arms, that all, who invade your majesty's just and undoubted rights, and disturb or interrupt the peace of your realms, may be disappointed, and cloathed with shame, so that on your royal head the crown may still flourish.

"As, by the grace of God, we shall preserve in ourselves a firm and unshaken loyalty; so we shall be careful and zealous to promote in all your subjects an intrepid and

and with less trouble in the country; which the worst of your enemies must acknowledge.

"stedfast

1689. "ſtedfaſt allegiance to your majeſty, as an eſſential part of "their religion, and of the glory of our holy profeſſion; not "doubting, but that God, in his great mercy, who hath "ſo often preſerved and delivered your majeſty, will ſtill "preſerve and deliver you, by giving you the hearts of "your ſubjects, and the necks of your enemies. So pray "we, who in all humility are, &c." (u)

Edinburgh, Nov. 3, 1688.

Fatal to epiſcopacy in Scotland.

This letter was fatal, not only to the Scotch biſhops, but even to epiſcopacy itſelf in Scotland; for the diſtinction was very apparent, the preſbyterians fell in with the revolution (x), and the epiſcopal party uſed their utmoſt endeavours

(u) This letter was ſigned by,

The lord archbiſhop of St. Andrews.
The lord archbiſhop of Glaſgow.
Lord biſhop of Edinburgh.
Lord biſhop of Galloway.
Lord biſhop of Aberdeen.
Lord biſhop of Dunkell.
Lord biſhop of Brechen.
Lord biſhop of Orkney.
Lord biſhop of Murray.
Lord biſhop of Roſs.
Lord biſhop of Dunblain.
Lord biſhop of the Iſles.

This letter was publiſhed in the Gazette at London as a pattern for the Engliſh biſhops, but they did not think fit to copy after it.

(x) Lord Belcarras gives the following account of the circumſtances of the revolution in Scotland. In this condition [mentioned in the preceding note] was the kingdom till September 1688, when your majeſty ſent down an expreſs to your ſecret committee, which conſiſted of your chancellor, marquis of Annandale, viſcount Tarbat, archbiſhop of Glaſgow, Sir George Lockhart, and myſelf, to let us know, you expected an invaſion from Holland; which at firſt was thought by the generality of the nation to be abſolutely impoſſible, and only a pretext to raiſe money, or draw the army together for other deſigns, which added ſtill to former jealouſies. But theſe miſtaken fears were quickly ſuppreſſed, when they knew of ſuch preperations, as your majeſty was making in England, and were likewiſe affirmed by ſeamen coming daily from Holland of great preparations there, and noiſe of a war quickly to break out. Your majeſty's council appeared all of them ready and willing to concur in every thing, that could be offered for making the nation as capable as could be for ſerving you. And it ſeemed for a time the noiſe of foreign war had baniſhed their jealouſies and fears from among them; and from all quarters of the country the gentlemen and burgeſſes ſent to the council new offers of duty. The militia was ordered to be raiſed and modelled to a fourth part; and the forty days pay, which the country is obliged to of the whole, would have

vours to obſtruct and oppoſe it. Hence, upon the news of king James's being withdrawn, the lord chancellor (the earl of 1689.

have paid this fourth part ſix months. The caſtle of Edinburgh, Stirling, &c. furniſhed; the gentry modelled into troops with arms, and orders ſent to the chiefs of the highland clans, to have their men in readineſs; which with the ſtanding forces would have made a conſiderable army.

On the firſt notice of the invaſion, captain Mackay, nephew to the major-general, was taken up upon ſuſpicion of having laid down his employment in Holland, to be the better able to ſerve the prince of Orange in what he intended; which was reaſonable to believe by a letter found upon him, written by himſelf to his uncle, wherein he expreſſed great affection to the ſervice of the prince of Orange, and deſired his uncle to let him know, that though he had quitted his ſervice, yet he hoped, in the condition he was now in, he could be more uſeful; which he was willing to do with the hazard of his life; and that he wanted only to know, how he might put his intention in execution. He was examined by a ſecret committee ſeveral times, but gave his oath frankly, he knew nothing of any deſign, nor meant nothing by theſe expreſſions but a compliment to the prince, who had concerned himſelf in getting him a rich marriage. But after the prince of Orange's coming over, he bragged of knowing all the deſign, and valued himſelf for ſwearing frankly rather than diſcover.

There was likewiſe taken one Blackadder, a doctor of phyſic, who was ſent over by the baniſhed lords and gentlemen in Holland, to encourage their friends, and give them an account of the inclinations and affections of the people to the prince of Orange's intereſt. The only traffic could be made out againſt him (for he likewiſe would diſcloſe nothing, but rather perjure himſelf of what he knew) was betwixt lord Murray, ſon to the marquis of Annandale, and one Murray of Tippermoore. For by a letter taken on him from Mr. Murray to the lord Murray, he told him he had delivered his meſſage to the prince of Orange, who received it very kindly, and deſired Blackadder to give him an account weekly of all that paſſed, and to let him know, how the nation ſtood affected to the prince of Orange. More might certainly been known from the doctor, if the marquis of Annandale, who had been laying in wait from the firſt noiſe of the invaſion, for a pretext to appear diſcontent, had not taken this opportunity. He complained highly, that any, who belonged to him, ſhould be ſuſpected; and that all the work made againſt Blackadder, was only deſigned againſt his family. So, to ſatisfy him, the doctor was no farther meddled with, that he might not have the leaſt ground, at ſuch a time, to complain. But all this did not ſatisfy him; for in all meetings, both in ſecret committee and council, he affected an air chagrin and diſcontent; though, to pleaſe him, we were

1689. of Perth) reſigned immediately the great ſeal, and endeavoured to eſcape into France, but being taken was confined

were too indulgent to his humours. Yet a little while after, pretending ſickneſs, he retired into the country, until he was aſſured of the landing of the prince of Orange; and then he returned and acted a part more to the prejudice of your intereſts, than the moſt inveterate of your enemies was then able to do. The chief reaſon he gave for his diſcontent, was family piques betwixt him and the earl of Perth, and fears of his doing him ill deeds. But it was known to all the nation, that his hopes of advancing his intereſt by the prince of Orange, on the account of his relation by his lady, was the chief motive of all his actions, or at the leaſt, by his ſeeming diſcontent with the preſent government, he thought he would ſecure himſelf of all that your majeſty had beſtowed on him too prodigally. After he withdrew, every thing went on ſmoothly in council; and even the weſtern and fanatic gentry were contending for employments in the militia troops; but by what afterwards appeared, it was with a deſign to betray.

Nor was there any of them more forward in offering their ſervice than Sir James Montgomery, though at the ſame time he was aſſiſting the lord Lorn to borrow a conſiderable ſum of money to carry him to Holland. The reaſon given for borrowing this money, was to make a preſent to the counteſs of Melfort; nor could they have found a pretext that would have paſſed more eaſily; for it was reaſonably believed; otherwiſe, the lending ſuch a ſum by ſuch diſaffected perſons, at ſo critical a time, could not have miſſed to be ſuſpected, and his journey ſtopped. One Mr. Campbell was ſent over by the lord S***, to invite him over by warrant from the prince of Orange, but I believe told little of the deſign, though Sir James bragged after the revolution, of his knowing all, and of his having meſſages from the prince of Orange, but was contradicted by all who were intruſted in it, who were few enough. This was the firſt appearance of Sir James Montgomery; nor had he any manner of influence, except with ſome few of the moſt bigotted fanatics, who had made a party, and exclaimed againſt the reſt of their profeſſion for accepting of the indemnity, or taking any favour from the government; nor would any thing pleaſe them, nor could any ſix of them agree, being left to their diſcretion. But notwithſtanding all theſe diviſions, all parties kept within bounds, until the calling away of the ſtanding forces, when the government was left bare, and at the diſcretion of their enemies.

About the beginning of September your majeſty ordered the earl of Perth to let you know, how the preſbyterian miniſters intended to behave themſelves at the juncture, judging, as they behaved, their followers would follow their example. But he believing very juſtly, that they would not uſe freedom with him, deſired me to employ ſome

perſon

in Stirling caſtle; and the populace of Edinburgh inſulted, not only the papiſts, but alſo the epiſcopal party. The prince of 1689.

perſon to try their pulſe. Sir Patric M—— was one then, that had not attached himſelf apparently to any party, but was generally well with all parties. I deſired him to go to ſome of the leading men, that were then aſſembled in town, and tell them, from whom he was ſent, and that your majeſty, conſidering the many favours you had ſhewn them, expected they would now ſhew their gratitude in influencing their people to join heartily againſt the unnatural invaſion; and that, according to their preſent behaviour, they might expect favour and protection from you for the future. They anſwered him dryly, they were but a few then, but in a fortnight there would be a general meeting of them all; that then they doubted not but they would give your majeſty ſatisfaction, with ſuch anſwers. When the time came, they put off giving any poſitive anſwer, until they had new aſſurances from their friends in Holland, and made high with expectations, that the prince of Orange would put all the government both of church and ſtate in their hands; and then they ſent me word by Sir Patric M——, that they owned God had made the king an inſtrument of ſhewing them ſome favour; but ſince they were convinced that what favour was ſhewn them, was only with a deſign to ruin the proteſtant religion, they would meddle no more with him, nor have any communion with any that belonged to him, eſpecially ſince he had employed in the chief offices papiſts or perſons popiſhly inclined; and ſo deſired to be excuſed giving any farther anſwer, but that they would behave in this juncture as God would inſpire them. This anſwer ſhewed plainly, what was to be expected from them; and from that time forward, both they and the gentry of their party took little pains to diſguiſe their reſolutions. But ſtill fears of accidents kept them from doing any thing the government could publicly puniſh; nor were any of them thoroughly in the affair, or truſted in it ſo much as to make them venture any thing for what they ſo much deſired. If any was thoroughly truſted, it was the earl of A——le then at London. At the beginning of the indulgence he turned fanatic; but in a few months was wearied of it, and came to the earl of Perth, and told him, it was only his youth that miſled him, in joining with ſuch rebellious, mutinous pack; but henceforward he would ſerve the king heartily; and that he intended to go for London immediately, and to offer his ſervice. Therefore he deſired his recommendation, which he got, and was very kindly entertained by your majeſty, and at firſt was to have the earl of A——y's troop of horſe; but the earl of A——y coming up, and not being willing to part with it, he had the promiſe of a regiment, which he was to raiſe in the ſouthern counties;

1689. of Orange being informed of theſe things, and having firſt diſpatched major-general Mackey, with ſome troops under his

ties; but finding your majeſty's affairs in greater diſorder than he imagined, he choſe rather to join with ſome of the diſaffected lords in England. The firſt he propoſed to was the earl of D———k. He told him, he found by the company he kept conſtantly, that he was not ſatisfied with the preſent government, and that he was as much diſſatisfied himſelf as any, tho' he was forced to diſſemble it, until he had got ſomething done he came for: that he was reſolved never to draw ſword againſt the prince of Orange; and that if he and his friends would truſt him, he would ſerve them faithfully, and run their fate. The earl of D———k told him, he was joined with others, and could not act without their liberty, but he ſhould ſpeak to them of it, and give an anſwer. The next day he appointed him to meet him in the city with the duke of Ormond, Mr. B———ll and Mr. Maul, who belonged to the princeſs of Denmark. After they had dined, the earl of D———k told him, he had ſpoke to prince George, and the reſt then with him, of what he had offered: that they all accepted willingly of it, but expected, that he would give an oath of ſecrecy the moſt binding way they could demand, which he alſo readily promiſed. So Mr. Maul officiated, and gave him the ſacrament, and he took the oath, that he would go in with them to the prince of Orange, whenever he landed. But when it came to the puſh, his heart failed him, and he excuſed himſelf, that he had got a misfortune, for which, when he prince of Orange came to London, he was for ſome days [illegible] he meſſenger's hands, which made him immediately quit them, and join with thoſe intended to ſerve your majeſty in the following convention.

What more of this kind of treachery was carried on, I cannot be poſitive, for I believe very few Scotſmen were concerned in it; for I doubt not, if they had, but they would have valued themſelves in it with the reſt, for ſeveral did ſo that were not concerned; nor could any ſuch treacherous deſigns have been concealed, conſidering the pains both the ſecret committee and council took to find them out. And how entirely well affected to your majeſty was the little army you had in Scotland, which was ſo advantageouſly poſted through the kingdom, that even the moſt diſaffected lived peaceably expecting the event? but ſo ſoon as your majeſty ſent your orders that they ſhould be brought together, and be in readineſs to march into England, then all diſcontented people and fanatics in the nation thought they had hit on their own time, believing your majeſty's affairs in England muſt be in a miſerable condition, when you had need of ſo ſmall a force, and for it to leave a government naked, and loſe a whole country, which otherwiſe might have been ſo uſeful to you.

When firſt the earl of Melfort,

his command, into that kingdom, he aſſembled ſuch of the Scotch lords and gentlemen, as were in London on the 7th of January, and made this ſpeech to them: 1689.

My

fort, by your majeſty's order, wrote of it to the ſecret committee, they immediately ſent an expreſs to lay before your majeſty the inconveniency of it: and likewiſe to propoſe a deſign they had with it, and modelled the militia, and a detachment of the highlanders, to make an army of thirteen thouſand men, with half year's pay, to have lain either upon the borders of Scotland, or in the north of England; which certainly would have hindered all thoſe riſings in the north of England, which made a noiſe ſo far above what really they were, and proved ſo prejudicial to your affairs. But inſtead of following this advice, which was the unanimous advice of the whole council, the earl of Melfort wrote down an order, not ſubſcribed by your majeſty, but only in your majeſty's name, ordering, that the army ſhould immediately march, and that if any of your ſervants were afraid to ſtay behind, they might go along with the army. With a ſorrowful heart your majeſty's orders were obeyed, for the conſequences were too evident; ſo about the beginning of October they began their march. The council, after that, ordered the modelled militia to be brought together about Edinburgh, and ſome to be quartered in the ſuburbs; but the new raiſed men that would quickly have been brought into order, if mingled with modelled troops, ſignified little to keep up the face of authority; nor was their commander, Sir George Monro, better at his trade than the reſt, having loſt any thing he had learned in Germany long ago, nor had he retained any thing, but affected naſtineſs, brutality, and fanaticiſm. Neceſſity, and the recommendation of ſome, more out of friendſhip to him than the ſervice, perſuaded the council to give him a commiſſion, until your majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known, which afterwards you confirmed.

The preſbyterians and diſcontented party ſeeing the miſerable and abandoned condition your affairs were in, took their opportunity accordingly; for ſo ſoon as the army paſt the borders, Edinburgh was filled with numbers of them of all degrees, from all places in the kingdom, who then thought it ſafe to take off their maſks, and meet publicly in ſeveral clubs, where they deliberated, as formerly, what was fit for them to do in that juncture, as if they had been allowed by authority. And the council and ſecret committee knew, from ſome ſpies they had amongſt them, all that paſt at their meetings; yet they were forced to overlook what they had not force to ſuppreſs. The chiefs of theſe meetings were the earl of G——n, earl C——d, earl D——d, earl T——s, lord R——s, lord M——n, a fanatic, a few months before put into the ſeſſion; Sir J——s M——y, A——r younger, Mr. ——n

1689.

My lords and gentlemen,

King William's speech to the Scotch lords. Kennet.

"THE only reaſon, that induced me to undergo ſo great an undertaking, was, that I ſaw the laws and liberties of theſe kingdoms overturned, and the proteſtant religion in imminent danger. And ſeeing you are here ſo

W——mH——n, Mr. W——m L——t, M——y of Philiphaugh, R——n, D——d, B——e, of Grenock, M——m, L——n, maſter of Burley, Mr. F——s, M——y, major B——n, of Baillie-hall, G——e S——g, chirurgeon, one M——s, a merchant, B——e of Broomhall, P——r, R——y, L——t, the maſter of Melvil, lord B——y, Sir P——k M——y, O——n, &c. Several joined with them afterwards, but theſe were the chief beginners and headmen among them, until the baniſhed rebels from Holland met them at London, and eclipſed them. The preſbyterian miniſters did not publicly meet them, but, according to their ancient cuſtom, nothing was determined without their advice and approbation. One of the firſt things they took into conſideration, was, how to hinder all correſpondence betwixt your majeſty and your council, which Sir James Montgomery undertook, and did it ſo effectually, that few packets miſſed him, which was eaſy to be done, having correſpondence both about Berwick and the north of England. Yet notwithſtanding all the care they took, ſome poſts came thro', until the riſing of the northern countries in England with the earl of Danby and lord Lumley: then they opened all packets, and only ſuffered ſuch letters to paſs as they thought fit: ſome expreſſes were ſent down by the earl of Melfort to his brother; but for fear of diſcouraging, always made things ſo much better than what was reported by theſe meetings at Edinburgh, or other letters that came down; that the ſecret committee was in great perplexity to know the truth. This obliged them alſo to ſeize the packet, and open the letters; but it had ſo often been done before, both by the diſcontented party in Scotland, and the lords in the north of England, that there was little or nothing learned by it. For ſeveral weeks after there came neither packets nor expreſs; at laſt one came with an account of the landing of the prince of Orange, and that your majeſty had marched down to meet him. Still the earl of Melfort gave his brother all the hopes imaginable; but the earl of D——e wrote in ſo different terms to me, that my lord chancellor reſolved to ſend one to receive your majeſty's commands, to let him know the truth of what was doing; for which one Baillie Brand, merchant in Edinburgh, was ſent expreſs, and recommended by the viſcount of Tarbat as one moſt proper, being accuſtomed to travel that road about his own affairs, and ſo might be the leſs capable of ſuſpicion. The chancellor by him gave

" ſo many noblemen and gentlemen, I have called you toge- 1680.
" ther, that I may have your advice, what is to be done for
" ſecuring

gave you an account of the bad ſtate this nation was in ſince the calling away the forces, and the preſbyterians declaring entirely againſt you. But the meſſenger betrayed his truſt, and went ſtrait into the prince of Orange's camp, and was introduced by Dr. Burnet. He told the prince, he was ſent by ſeveral to offer his highneſs their ſervice. This was no ſooner known, but the viſcount of Tarbat was extremely ſuſpected to be one of theſe; but I am convinced he had not at that time any correſpondence; for there was no man in the nation in ſuch apprehenſions of dangers, after he read the prince of Orange's declaration, and ſaw by it he intended to ſacrifice all to ſatisfy the preſbyterians, and thoſe rebels, that did come over with him, and who were for the moſt part the viſcount of Tarbat's perſonal enemies.

This way failing of having your commands, the council ordered three of their number to wait on your majeſty, viz. the viſcount of Tarbat, the preſident of the council, and myſelf. The other two fearing to get through, and not being able to ride, excuſed themſelves; ſo I was ſent alone.

Some days before I left Edinburgh, it was ſpread abroad, that the rabble of the town deſigned to make an uproar, which was purpoſely ſet about by theſe meetings to frighten thoſe you truſted, and by ſome, who had a mind to be rid of my lord chancellor, to have the government in their own hands, that they might be in a better condition to make their court to the prince of Orange. The chief of thoſe was the marquis of Annandale, who thought, that ſo early an appearance for the prince of Orange could not but be extremely meritorious; nor could they have done it more effectually, than by ſtirring up the rabble againſt the government, and making a public mutiny and exclamation againſt thoſe things mentioned by him in his declaration.

The news of the treachery of your army, and of your majeſty's being come back to London, was no ſmall encouragement to them, that deſigned to make their court, eſpecially to the viſcount of Tarbet, and Sir J. Dalrymple, who, though the marquis of Annandale appeared the head of all, yet they were the ſprings, by which every thing was moved and ordered ſo well, that he was ſatisfied with the vanity of the name, whereas they were ſure of the profit without hazard. For if your majeſty had ſucceeded contrary to their expectation, all the ſtreſs of the diſorders they could fairly put upon him; and if the prince of Orange proſpered, they knew, they had ſuch friends about him, that they would keep all the honour of ruining the government, and getting the council to declare for them. Their chief deſign to get this accompliſhed was to get rid of the lord chancellor. The marquis of Annandale deſigned it; both out of family-pique, and to get the government into

1689. "ſecuring the proteſtant religion, and reſtoring your laws "and liberties, according to my declaration."

As his hands, as falling due to him after the chancellor's departure, he being next officer of ſtate. The way he propoſed for this was to have all the troops diſbanded, which he knew would have all been at the chancellor's devotion, except their miſerable general, and, bad as they were, would have been better than could have been brought againſt them; for the council having kept ſome inferior officers of the earl of D——s regiment, that came down for recruits, put them in tolerable order. The viſcount of Tarbat propoſed in council, that theſe troops might be diſbanded, being an unneceſſary charge, ſince he believed there would be no more to do with ſoldiers, and the prince of Orange had declared in his declaration the illegality of keeping up forces in the time of peace. The earl of Perth, who was deſirous to do every thing to ſatisfy them, and not conſidering their deſign, too eaſily conſented to it, and truſting ſome of theſe he ſaw moſt earneſt for it, the next day they were all diſmiſſed except four companies of foot and two troops of horſe, for bringing in the public money. So ſoon as they had got them diſmiſſed, the marquis of Annandale, and the reſt of the counſellors that were of his party, came to my lord chancellor's own lodging, and told him, they thought themſelves no longer in ſafety to meet in council where he was, and ſeveral others, incapacitate by law. But if he and they would retire, it would ſoon be ſeen how rigorouſly they would act in the king's ſervice, and get all the rabble pacified, and the diſcontented meeting diſmiſſed. Before he gave them any poſitive anſwer, he retired into another room, where the duke of Gordon, and all the catholic counſellors, were met upon the noiſe of this advice of the marquis of Annandale; and he told them what had paſſed. All unanimouſly adviſed him to be gone; and that it would look better to do it voluntarily than to be compelled, as certainly they would do now when they had begun, and had all the rabble and diſcontented meetings on their ſide. Several others likewiſe, out of concern for him, gave him the ſame advice, thinking it dangerous for him to truſt an enraged multitude. Theſe adviſes of his friends determined him; ſo he returned to theſe lords, and took his leave of them, and went ſtrait to the country.

The earl of Belcarras then gives an account of the riots at Edinburgh, and the demoliſhing the popiſh chapel there, and plundering of ſeveral houſes belonging to the papiſts, the council not doing any thing to hinder their diſorders; for ſuch as abhorred theſe barbarities, thought themſelves happy to eſcape the rage of the rabble; others were ſo far from diſcouraging theſe abuſes, that it was generally known they were the chief promoters of them. After the noiſe of the rabble, adds he, was a little abated, the marquis of Annandale, as next officer of ſtate, called.

As ſoon as the prince had retired, the lords and gentlemen went to the council chamber at Whitehall, and having choſen called the council, and propoſed an addreſs to be ſent up to the prince of Orange, with the higheſt acknowledgments of gratitude for his generous undertaking of freeing them from popery and tyranny, and offers of future ſervice; but there were ſo many, who oppoſed it, that it was ſtopped. Thoſe, that hindered for a while the violences of the marquis of Annandale, and his party, were the two archbiſhops, the preſident of the ſeſſion Sir George Mackenzie, maſter of B——o, Mr. C——s, H——re, now earl, and the lord L——e. But though they got the addreſs firſt offered ſtopt, yet they were out-voted, when it was debated, if it was proper to find a way at all; and ſo lord G——s was ſent up with an addreſs very ſhort, and in general terms, which was very coldly received, a ſtranger one being promiſed and expected.——The marquis and moſt of the council began to prepare for going up to make their court; but that they might do it the better, it was voted in the council, that they ſhould deſire the lord of the treaſury to pay their expences, which was likewiſe carried. The marquis and viſcount of Tarbat were very ready to comply, ſince they were to have their ſhare; but the earl of Tweedale (who with theſe two were all that were in town of the treaſury) was not then in a condition to go up himſelf, and abſolutely refuſed it; ſo for want of a quorum the whole project was broke, and they were forced to go on their own charges. After the viſcount of Tarbat, Sir George Mackenzie, and the preſident of the ſeſſions were gone, the marquis of Annandale took upon him abſolutely the government. While they ſtaid, there was at leaſt ſome decency kept; but they were no ſooner gone, but the marquis, like another Meſſinello, ordered all at his pleaſure, turned out ſeveral from their employments about the treaſury, cuſtoms, and other places, and put in creatures of his own; and when he had ordered all he thought fit, he followed the reſt of the council, and left the earl of S——e, and ſome others of the council of his own party, to manage in his abſence.

1689. They meet and conſult. ibid.

Never was ſuch a confluence ſeen on the road of all ſorts, degrees, and perſuaſions, as at that time going up; for no ſooner was it known, that your majeſty was gone, and the prince of Orange come to London, but all that could ſcrape ſo much money together, went up; the preſbyterians and diſcontented noblemen, gentlemen, and miniſters, to receive the fruit of their labours and great promiſes; the epiſcopal party, to endeavour to ſave themſelves from the ruin they ſaw inevitably coming upon them by their enemies getting the abſolute diſpoſal of the government both in church and ſtate. But their number was nothing to be compared to the others, after they had met with their friends from Holland. Every night, after they were once gathered together, they kept their

1689. choſen the duke of Hamilton their preſident, conſulted what advice was proper to be given his highneſs in this conjuncture;

meetings in St. James's-ſtreet, at the ſhip-tavern. Then they conſulted what was next to be done, both to get the government in their hands, and how to hinder all others, who were not of their party.

One of the firſt things propoſed was, who ſhould be for ever incapacitated for all public employments. Five only were named at firſt, and ſent with monſieur Beaton to the prince of Orange, at the deſire of the whole meeting; and theſe were the duke of Queenſberry, viſcount of Tarbat, Sir George Mackenzie, viſcount of Dundee, and myſelf. But the prince of Orange abſolutely refuſed, being reſolved to put nobody in deſpair, till once he knew, how they intended to behave for his intereſt; which ſtop made us go on no further in that affair, though they intended (as was mentioned) next parliament, that all ſhould be incapacitated, whoever had ſerved your majeſty in any employment whatſoever. But that took ſo many in, and ſo many of themſelves and friends being concerned, it was likewiſe hindered, not only by the prince of Orange, who deſired not to be confined to them, but by moſt of the leading men among them, who accepted the chief employments, and particularly the duke of Hamilton, whom I cannot paſs by, without giving your majeſty ſome account of his behaviour, not only in this affair, but a little before; and eſpecially what I was moſt concerned in myſelf.

The day after your majeſty's firſt going from London I came there; and hearing the unhappy news I thought it was reaſonable to deſire the advice of the other counſellors who were there, what I ſhould write to the council, who had ſent me up to receive your commands, and let your majeſty know the condition of the kingdom, and give you new aſſurances of loyalty and fidelity, in terms very different from what was alledged by ſome, before your majeſty went away, as if the council of Scotland had been ſending ſome of their number to join with thoſe, that had petitioned you for the called a new parliament. After I had got together all the counſellors, which were the earl of A——y, lord I——n, viſcount of Dundee, lieutenant general D——s, we went to the duke of Hamilton's lodging, where I told them on what account I was ſent; and now that your majeſty was gone, deſired their advice what I ſhould write home, (for all that time we knew nothing of what troubles had happened,) and gave the duke a letter from the council, wherein they deſired he might aſſiſt me in receiving your majeſty's commands, and telling you the condition they were in. So ſoon as he read his own, he deſired to ſee the letter I had brought to your majeſty; otherwiſe he would not meddle in our affairs. To ſatisfy him, I gave him a double of it; and though he preſſed with all the paſſion his natural fire and inſolent temper could permit; that I might give him

ture; and after some hours debate, they agreed upon the subſtance of it; and appointed the clerks, with ſuch as were to aſſiſt 1689.

him the principal, I abſolutely refuſed to do it at all; and I had no reaſon, ſince he was not to deliver it, and that your majeſty was gone. This put him into ſuch a fury, that he no more could conceal his deſign of deſiring the letter, and told, that if he had the principal letter, he ſhould give it to the lords met at Whitehall, to ſhew them what a letter I had brought up, ſubſcribed by a chancellor and ſeveral other counſellors ſtill ſitting there contrary to law: that he would meddle in nothing, wherein they were concerned; and that he was free himſelf, having never acted ſince the laſt indemnity; but that he would conſult with the Engliſh lords, what was proper next to be done; and ſo in a rage left us in his own houſe. But three days after, when he heard of your majeſty's coming back from Feverſham, and that things were like not to go on as he expected, he ſent for the viſcount of Dundee, and made great excuſes for his paſſion, and deſired him to go to us all, and offer his friendſhip, and in his own lodging prays and intreats us, that we might make no more of it. After your majeſty's coming back, no man, for the ſhort time you ſtaid, appeared more concerned for your ſervice. But your majeſty had no ſooner come to Whitehall, than he had his coach ready, and went ſtrait to the ſeſſion houſe to the prince of Orange, and offered him his ſervice, and was received more kindly than any other, not out of affection, but that he ſaw him the fitteſt tool to manage the different intereſts of the nation; for with the diſcontented noblemen and gentlemen none appeared more diſſatisfied with all that had been done in the former reign, though none had a greater hand in all that was done. With the preſbyterians he always pretended he had been in their intereſt; and what he did, that looked like compliance with the government againſt them, was only to keep them from greater misfortunes. With the epiſcopal clergy, at leaſt with ſuch as truſted him, who were very few, he begged they might ſuſpend their judgment of him, until a convention, and then it ſhould be ſeen, who were moſt for the intereſt of the king and nation. With theſe pretexts, which is no hard taſk for men that will abandon for their intereſts all truth, honour and religion, he cajolled a vaſt number of all perſuaſions, and made himſelf thought abſolutely neceſſary; which was the only thing he aimed at, both in your brother's reign and your own. And to carry on this the better among the different parties, in appearance he meddled with none of their meetings, for that would declare him too much a party, until he got all things ready for their great meeting at Whitehall, whereof he was choſen preſident. He propoſed the great diſorders at home; that all the nation was caſt looſe without any ſhadow, or order of government. Therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary, that the government ſhould be

1689. Jan. 8. aſſiſt them, to draw up in writing, what the meeting thought expedient to adviſe the prince, and to bring it to them the next day in the afternoon. Accordingly the writing was preſented to them; and ſome time being ſpent in conſultation about the fitteſt way of convening a general meeting of the eſtates of Scotland, at laſt they agreed in their opinion, and ordered the advice to be tranſcribed fair with the amendments. But as they were going to break up for that time, the earl of Arran propoſed to them, "that they ſhould move "the prince of Orange, to deſire the king to return, and

lodged ſomewhere until a convention of eſtates were called: the great diſorders that had fallen out, and the licentious liberty the mob had taken, made many comply to that propoſition, though extremely againſt their inclinations. And what made it paſs the eaſier was the time of this convention being prefixed to ſo ſhort a day as the fourteenth of March 1689. Beſides it could hardly be avoided without being impriſoned, all the roads being ſtopped, and paſſage abſolutely denied, and ſo would have rendered them incapable of appearing for your intereſt. In the convention met then, the earl of Arran did read over a ſhort paper, wherein he told them, he believed there could be no other means to reſtore peace and happineſs in Britain, but to ſend to your majeſty, and deſire you would return. There were a great many there, who would willingly join in ſuch a propoſition; but his lordſhip brought it in without letting any of your friends know it. Beſides, at that time the earl of Arran was extremely ſuſpected, both for his going in to the prince of Orange on the firſt noiſe of your majeſty's going away, and the great intereſt his father had for the prince of Orange, and the fanatic diſcontented party. The moſt ſenſible and beſt of your friends judged likewiſe, that though this propoſal ſeemed juſt and bold, yet it was then ill timed, conſidering, if any had joined with him, the prince of Orange would immediately have ſent down troops to Scotland; which would inevitably hinder all appearance for your intereſt in the convention, which was believed to be the only place proper to appear in; and that at that time no wiſe man ought to do more, but to get out of the claws of their enemies. In this meeting there was nothing elſe done, but an offer of ſigning the aſſociation, which all refuſed, who intended to act for your intereſt. After that was over, both parties made what haſte they could to get home, but ſtill the prince of Orange denied paſſage until he was declared king; which was thought he did, that all the Scots here might kiſs his hand, which would be a kind of acknowledgment. But notwithſtanding that duke Hamilton, and all thoſe who came over from Holland, and ſeveral others went and did ſo; yet many of the Scots, even of thoſe, who were as violent as any, refuſed it; which was extremely ill taken. Acc. of the aff. of Scot. p. 16, &c.

"call

" call a free parliament, which would be the beſt way to 1689.
" ſecure the proteſtant religion and property, and to heal
" all breaches." This propoſal ſeemed diſagreeable to the whole meeting, and eſpecially to the duke of Hamilton, their preſident, the earl's father; but they immediately broke up. The next day, they met at three of the clock in the ſame Jan. 9.
place, and Sir Patrick Hume took notice of the propoſal made by the earl of Arran, and deſired to know, whether any perſon there would ſecond it; but none appearing to do it, he ſaid, " that what the earl had propoſed was evidently
" oppoſite and inimicous to his highneſs the prince of O-
" range's undertaking, his declaration, and the good inten-
" tions of preſerving the proteſtant religion, and of reſtoring
" their laws and liberties expreſſed in it"; and farther deſired,
" that their meeting ſhould declare this to be their opinion
" of it." The lord Cardroſs ſeconded Sir Patrick's motion. It was anſwered by the duke of Hamilton, their preſident, " that their buſineſs was to prepare an advice to be offered
" to the prince; and the advice being now ready to go to
" the vote, there was no need, that the meeting ſhould give
" their ſenſe of the earl's propoſal, which neither before nor
" after Sir Patrick's motion any had pretended to own or
" ſecond, ſo that it was fallen out of doors; and that the
" vote of the meeting upon the advice brought in by their
" order, would ſufficiently declare their opinion." This being ſeconded by the earl of Sutherland, the lord Cardroſs, and Sir Patrick Hume acquieſced in it; and the meeting voted unanimouſly the advice following:

" We the lords and gentlemen of the kingdom of Scot- Advice of
" land, aſſembled at your highneſſes deſire in this extraor- the meet-
" dinary conjuncture, do give your highneſs our humble and ing to the
" hearty thanks for your pious and generous undertaking prince of
" for preſerving the proteſtant religion, and reſtoring the Orange.
" laws and liberties of theſe kingdoms. Kennet.

" In order to the attaining theſe ends, our humble advice
" and deſire is, that your highneſs take upon you the admi-
" niſtration of all affairs, both civil and military; the diſ-
" poſal of the public revenues and fortreſſes in the kingdom
" of Scotland; and the doing every thing, that is neceſſary
" for the preſervation of the peace of the kingdom, until a
" general meeting of the ſtates of the nation; which we
" humbly deſire your highneſs to call, to be holden at Edin-
" burgh the 14th day of March next, by your letters or
" proclamation, to be publiſhed at the market-croſſes of

1689. "Edinburgh, and other headboroughs of the ſeveral ſhires "and ſtewartries, as ſufficient intimation to all concerned, "and according to the cuſtom of the kingdom. And that "the publication of theſe your letters or proclamation be by "the ſheriffs or ſtewart-clerks for the free-holders, who "have the value of lands, holden according to law, for "making elections, and by the town-clerks of the ſaid bo-"roughs, for the meeting of the whole burgeſſes of the re-"ſpective royal boroughs, to make their elections at leaſt "fifteen days, before the meeting of the eſtates at Edin-"burgh, and the reſpective clerks to make intimation there-"of, at leaſt ten days before the meeting for the elections; "and that the whole electors and members of the ſaid "meeting at Edinburgh, qualified as above expreſſed, be "proteſtants, without any other exception or limitation "whatſoever; to deliberate and reſolve what is to be done "for ſecuring the proteſtant religion, and reſtoring the laws "and liberties of the kingdom, according to your high-"neſs's declaration,

"Dated at the council-chamber the 10th day of "January 1689."

This addreſs being ſubſcribed by above thirty lords and about eighty gentlemen, was preſented in their preſence at St. James's by the duke of Hamilton to the prince of Orange, who thanked them for the truſt they repoſed in him, and deſired a time to conſider upon ſo weighty an affair. And accordingly upon the 14th of January the prince met them again at St. James's, and ſpoke to them as follows:

My lords and gentlemen,

The prince's ſpeech. "IN purſuance of your advice I will, until the meeting of "the ſtates in March next, give ſuch orders concerning "the affairs of Scotland, as are neceſſary, concerning the "calling of the ſaid meeting, for the preſerving of the peace, "the applying of the public revenue to the moſt preſſing "uſes, and putting the fortreſſes in the hands of perſons, in "whom the nation can have a juſt confidence. And I do "further aſſure you, that you will always find me ready "to concur with you in every thing, that may be found ne-"ceſſary for ſecuring the proteſtant religion, and reſtoring "the laws and liberties of the nation."

The

The earl of Crawford then deſired of his highneſs, that himſelf, the earl of Lothian, and others, who came to town ſince the addreſs had been preſented, might be allowed to ſubſcribe it; which was accordingly done; after which the Prince retired, and all ſhewed great ſatisfaction with his anſwer. 1689.

On the 14th of March the convention of Scotland met (y); and after public prayers performed by the biſhop of Edinburgh, The convention meets.

(y) The earl of Belcarras obſerves, that how to behave in the convention, puzzled not a few, but all the loyal party: ſome thought they could not in conſcience go to any meeting called by the prince of Orange; that it was a breach of their oath in the teſt to ſit in any meeting not called by regal authority. But others judged, ſays he, that ſince your majeſty was not in a condition at that time to call a convention, they might very lawfully go, ſince it was only to ſerve you, that they expoſed themſelves to a victorious and inſulting enemy. But your majeſty ſending over George H—y juſt at the time when theſe reſolutions were forming, made all your friends reſolve to go down; and ſince they knew you allowed them, to endeavour to make all the intereſt they could, that members might be rightly choſen.

The marquis of Annandale was come up a little before me, to receive the rewards of his ſervice; but he was drily received, and there were ſo many enemies about the prince of Orange, that he began again to look to his old friends, and make great apologies for what was paſt in Scotland, and promiſed his aſſiſtance in the convention. There was ſo much need for help, that he was received, and all your friends joined to go down to Scotland to prepare your friends in the ſeveral counties and towns for the election of commiſſioners. But it was too long before it was reſolved on, and many of the loyal gentlemen abſolutely refuſed to meet on call, which gave the prince of Orange's party and fanatics great advantage. Yet notwithſtanding of theſe diſadvantages, if forces had not been ſent down, and all the aforeſaid perſons admitted, without any repeal, a thing never heard of before, your intereſt had been aſſerted in the convention.

The firſt, that came down of either parties, was the viſcount of Dundee and myſelf. When we came to Edinburgh about the end of February, we found that city in a great quiet, and generally well affected. The college of juſtice, to free themſelves, after the marquis of Annandale left the government, armed themſelves, and made up a battalion of very good men, which kept all the diſaffected in great awe. But duke Hamilton believed they would not be for his purpoſe, got an order ſent down with commiſſary M———o to diſband them. On our firſt coming we waited on the duke of Gordon, who was capitulating to render up the caſtle of Edinburgh. At our entry into the caſtle,

1689. Edinburgh, (wherein he prayed for the ſafety and reſtoration of king James) the firſt thing, which they entered upon, was

caſtle, we met all the duke's furniture coming out; which gave us ſmall hopes of his keeping it; but we had the good fortune to convince him, that it would be ſo much for your majeſty's intereſt, and his own honour, that he promiſed to keep it out until he ſaw what the convention would do. I ſay not this in the leaſt to diſparage any thing he did, for I ſaw him have very good inclinations to do for your intereſt. But his never having orders from you, and his hearing all other ſorts and places given up, diſcouraged him extremely. He had likewiſe a great temptation from the prince of Orange, for he wrote to him a very obliging letter, with full aſſurance of indemnity and protection. But notwithſtanding of that, and of ſeveral advices of ſuch as he believed wiſhed him well, and who haunted him conſtantly to get him to deliver up the caſtle, yet he reſolved to hold out. But the great error he committed (though ſeveral others were laid to his charge, that were not true,) was, after he had reſolved it, he did not get it provided; for then the city of Edinburgh would not have denied him any thing; or, if they had, he could eaſily have compelled them.

Some days before the convention ſat down, the duke of Hamilton and other weſtern lords and gentlemen, brought publicly into town ſeveral companies of foot, and quartered them in the city; beſides great numbers, that they kept hid in cellars and houſes below the ground, which never appeared until ſome days after the convention was begun, though they were generally believed to be thrice as many as there were. This was the firſt error committed by your friends, for in reaſon they ought all to have left the convention, and gone, and ſitten in ſome other town by themſelves, which they might have done ſafely; but there was ſo great hopes of doing well in that meeting, that it made many unwilling, notwithſtanding of their hazard, to leave it. Nor can I ſay, wanted there probability for this opinion; for if ſeveral had not left us after all the reiterated oaths imaginable, and others admitted into the convention by abſolute force, we would have been by far the major part. But ſuch injuſtice was never heard of as was committed in their judging of elections; for if any of their party had had ſix voices, the other that had had an hundred, ſignified nothing. Beſides, the manner of elections was out of all rules ever before heard tell of, and a new way taken, which was propoſed by the lord Stair, that all proteſtants, without diſtinction, ſhould have votes in the election; which put it intirely in the hands of the rabble, which they managed ſome by promiſes, and others by a little money. Nor could even all theſe ſiniſtrous arts and tricks have compaſſed their ends, if your friends could have had an honeſt man to be preſident, that was not publicly obnoxious to the fanatics, which forced them, notwithſtanding of all that was

paſſed.

was the chuſing of a preſident. The marquiſs of Athol was propoſed by the biſhops, and the party which ſtill adhered to Duke Hamilton 1689.

Duke Hamilton choſe preſident.

paſſed to pitch upon the marquis of Annandale not that they had confidence either in his parts or honeſty, but that he was the only man could be ſet againſt duke Hamilton. Both parties were extremely concerned, looking on the choice of a preſident as a deciſive ſtroke; for by it they could know, whom to reckon on. Nor had they ſmall reaſon for their judgment; for the firſt day the duke of Hamilton was choſen preſident, contrary even to their own expectation, above twenty left us, that had engaged to us, and voted for us, ſeeing we were the weakeſt party, and that the others would have both forces and ſhew of authority on their ſide. The next thing they voted was a committee of elections, which they got filled with their own party, and ended the affair; for by that they ſaw themſelves ſo ſtrong, nothing could be heard among them, but put it to the vote, which they always carried without debate, and ſo ſcandalouſly, that even duke Hamilton, who, to give him his due, underſtood reaſon and the law of the nation at another rate than this tumultuous carriage, and ſeveral times endeavoured to hinder it. Nor can I ſay, if his cauſe had been good, but he behaved himſelf, until it came to the chief matter, with a great deal of prudence and moderation, inſomuch that ſome of their own party began to repent of their choice. Some few days were taken up in judging of elections, which would have taken much longer time, if ſeveral, who ſaw there was no manner of juſtice ſo much as pretended to among them, had not given it over and yielded, which made them grow ſtronger every day. None concerned in that affair of elections behaved ſo well as Mr. C——s H——e, after his brother the earl of H——s's death, the title fell to him; but by reaſon of the debts of the family, he did not take on him the title, fearing to loſe a conſiderable intereſt, that was left him, with this proviſion, that if the eſtate of H——e came to him, then that eſtate ſhould go to his younger brother. So not pretending to be a peer, he was choſen one of the commiſſioners for the ſhire; but when it was brought before the convention, he was caſt, as one they expected would be none of their friends. So ſoon as the ſentence was pronounced, he told the preſident, ſince they had taken away one way of his ſitting in that convention he had a right to, he ſhould try another, which they could not refuſe him; and ſo went out, and took place as earl of H——e, with the hazard of loſing the beſt part of his eſtate.

There was likewiſe another extraordinary affair of that kind. One Mr. B——e of Tarwoodhead, that had pretended ſome years before to be lord foreſter, but was ſummoned before the council for uſurping a title he had no right to, and diſcharged under a conſiderable penalty never more to pretend to it. But thoſe at London, who had the writing

1689. to the abdicated King; but the duke of Hamilton, who was ſet up in competition with him by thoſe who were friends to

writing of letters not knowing his title, or, more likely, believing he would be of their intereſt, procured him a letter from the prince of Orange to come to the convention. So ſoon as he was challenged by Sir George Mackenzie, he produced his letter, which was voted a ſufficient right to ſit. Several as unjuſtly as theſe were received; I only inſtance them, to ſhew how that convention was conſtituted, moſt of the commiſſioners having no right. The firſt thing they took into conſideration, after the houſe was thus conſtituted, was the getting the caſtle of Edinburgh into their hands. That which preſſed them moſt to it, there was two pretending to have the government of it, the earl of L————n and the earl of L————n likewiſe. It being the firſt of any conſideration in Britain holding out, the prince of Orange was very deſirous to have it reduced. The earl of L————n and T————e were ſent up to capitulate with duke Gordon, who promiſed them he would comply with their deſire, and give it up the next day at ten a clock. So ſoon as the viſcount of Dundee and I heard them give this anſwer to the convention, we were mightily alarmed, and ſent up one immediately to remember his grace of his engagement to us, and to lay before him the ruin of your affairs, if once they got the caſtle into their hands. As irreſolution was the cauſe of his promiſe to them, ſo what arguments were uſed to him on the other ſide meeting with his deſire to ſerve you, brought him about again. His greateſt obſtacle then was, how to come honeſtly off. The earl of T————e with his flattering inſinuating way had got him to go too great a length, for that, it was adviſed, that next day, when they came to demand the caſtle, he ſhould tell, he would willingly give it up, but he could not ſee how he could be ſafe himſelf from the rabble of the town, and thoſe that were brought into it. But to free them from all fear that he ſhould give the convention any diſturbance, he ſhould offer bail for twenty thouſand pounds to live peaceably in it. But though he was very well ſatisfied with this advice, yet that night he grew again irreſolute, and ſent to tell us, that except we came to him immediately, he would not keep his word. This was impoſſible to do, for they having placed the town companies of Edinburgh upon the caſtle-hill, ſuffered none they ſuſpected to go up; yet one ventured to him, to know what he had to ſay to us. He ſent us word, that notwithſtanding of all that was paſt, he would deliver it up, except we both gave it under our hands, that it was of abſolute neceſſity for your affairs not to yield it up; which we both did that night; and the next morning the viſcount of Dundee got into the caſtle, and confirmed him abſolutely in his reſolution of keeping it out, by telling him the reſolutions were taken by your friends of leaving Edinburgh,

to king William, carried it by near forty voices. The next thing they did was to appoint a committee of five out of every 1689.

burgh, and ſetting up at Sterling. So next day, when they expected to have the caſtle at the hour appointed, he refuſed again, and hoſtilities went on.

Being thus left by many of thoſe we truſted, and deſpairing of doing any thing in that convention, next day we reſolved in our general meeting, that we would quit it, and call a convention at Sterling; which your majeſty had given power to the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the viſcount of Dundee, and myſelf, to do by a letter you ſent us from Ireland by one Mr. B———n. But before we could determine that, it was abſolutely neceſſary to be ſecure of the earl of M———r and marquis of Annandale, the one having command of Sterling caſtle, and the other, that he might bring us highlanders to be a guard to the town. The earl of M———r had all along appeared one of the firmeſt in your intereſt from the time he came to London; for he gave us all the aſſurances imaginable, that he would do according as the major part thought fit. The marquis of Annandale alſo conſented to leave Edinburgh, and go ſtrait to Sterling; but he never continued ſix hours in one reſolution, which broke all our deſign: for his wavering made our departure be put off, ſtill expecting he would be brought about to do it. At laſt a poſitive hour was condeſcended on, and ſeveral made themſelves ready, whom we hardly expected. After it was reſolved to be gone, it was thought fit by all your friends, that one ſhould be ſent to let you know the reaſon of our leaving the convention, and receive your commands, which the laird of Cullin undertook.

Before we were to go off, juſt as the convention was ſetting down, there came one to the viſcount of Dundee, telling him, that there were ſix or ſeven men in a houſe intended to murther him and Sir George Mackenzie; and that if he would get a warrant, he might inſtantly carry them to the houſe where they were. So ſoon as the convention met, he told this to the duke of Hamilton, who propoſed it to the convention; but they abſolutely refuſed to meddle in it, but went to other affairs. This made the viſcount of Dundee preſs yet the more to be gone than before, ſo evident a piece of juſtice being refuſed him, though he offered to prove it at the bar. Neither was there any of your friends, who could think themſelves longer ſafe; which certainly the other party was extremely glad to ſee, for all they deſired was to have the houſe alone. It is not to be doubted but they made ſeveral ſuch things to paſs purpoſely to frighten us; but it was hard truſting men, who had the power in their hands, that they would ſtop to put in execution what ſo many of them have profeſſed, and at leaſt not condemned by the moſt moderate of the party, when their intereſt or revenge was concerned. But after all of us were fully determined to make the beſt of our

way

1689. every ſtate, for examining controverted elections, which happened to be not above twelve. After that, for the ſafety of

way the next morning to Sterling, the marquis of Annandale's heart failed. So ſome, who went down to him, thinking to get him to go along, he deſired we might go to the place we ordinarily met in, and ſtay yet another day, which we all conſented to; and that we might the better cover our deſign of going away, we reſolved to go for that day to the convention. Juſt as we were almoſt diſperſed and gone to the houſe, the viſcount of Dundee came in, who knew nothing of the marquis of Annandale's delay, nor of your friends reſolution to ſtay a little longer for him, but expected all were juſt a going. He was mightily ſurpriſed at their reſolution, and told me, notwithſtanding of that, he would go before; and if any got out of town, he would wait for them. It was very evident his going away would give the alarm, which made me extremely earneſt, that he might ſtay one day longer; but he had before made an appointment with ſome to go with him, ſo he went ſtrait away with about fifty horſe. As he was riding near the caſtle of Edinburgh, the duke of Gordon made a ſign to ſpeak with him at the weſt ſide of the caſtle, where, though it be extremely ſteep, yet he told the duke all that was reſolved upon, and begged he might hold out the caſtle till your friends might get him relieved, which he poſitively promiſed to do. Whilſt they were ſpeaking, ſome of thoſe, who were ſet to blockade the caſtle, perceived them, and came running into the convention, and told them, that there was a great number of horſe gathering together, and that the viſcount of Dundee was talking with duke Gordon, which they looked on as a horrid crime, after they had outlawed him. Their fears alſo increaſed, believing it was a general deſign againſt them; and that which augmented their fright the more, was that ſeveral meſſengers brought word after each other, that they were ſtill increaſing. At laſt the duke of Hamilton in a mighty fury told the convention, that now it was time to look to their own ſafety, ſince the papiſts and enemies to the ſettling the government were ſo bold as to gather together. That he doubted not but there were ſeveral there among them who were on the deſign. Therefore it was his opinion, that the door ſhould be immediately bolted, and the keys laid on the table: That ſome of their number ſhould be ſent out to beat the drums, to gather together all thoſe well affected to religion and liberty. That he had brought ſome foot from the Weſt country, fearing the deſigns of their enemies, to defend them. What he ſaid was approved of by all their party: ſeveral of them alſo bragged of the numbers they had brought, and called them, thrice as many as they were. The earl of L——n was pitched upon to go out and gather them together; which when he had done, there was never ſo miſerable a parcel ſeen; nor is it to be

of the aſſembly, they took into conſideration the caſtle of Edinburgh, which was yet commanded by the duke of Gordon, 1689.

be doubted, if your friends had known their own ſtrength, and not believed your enemies to be far ſtronger than they really were, they might, with all the eaſe imaginable, that day have effectually vindicated your right and defeated your enemies.

Such of your friends as were locked within the houſe, and guarded likewiſe without, looked on themſelves as undone; and the thing, that ſaved them, was, that they could come to no reſolution among themſelves. But I cannot ſay much of their intentions, having it from ſome, that changed parties ſo often, that I can aſſert nothing on their credit. The fear being a little over, and that they ſaw they had moſt of your friends in their power, and that there was no tumult in town, nor that the viſcount of Dundee grew any ſtronger, but was marching away; ſo they ordered major B———n to gather all he could together, and follow him, which he did, but never come within ſight of him.

After that they had ſecured the town, and thought themſelves out of hazard, duke Hamilton diſmiſſed the convention, to the great ſatisfaction of all your friends, little expecting they would come off ſo eaſily, and all this noiſe ended in nothing. But with that alſo ended all hopes of ſetting up another convention at Sterling, for the marquis of Annandale gave it quite over, earl of M—r made a feint to get out of the town, but went by the only poſt, that was guarded, and was ſtopped there, and brought back, and gave his parole not to ſtir out of Edinburgh without leave of the convention. Theſe two giving it over, every body, that was apprehenſive, ſhifted for themſelves, and lurked in Edinburgh; next day there was a mighty change; for ſeveral, either out of fear or intereſt, left us. Thoſe of note were the earl of M———r and Annandale who changed thoroughly, and went along with every thing, that could be propoſed. Several alſo both of barons and burgeſſes did the like; ſo that by ſuch of their friends, as left the houſe, which did likewiſe ſome of the biſhops, they got their meeting almoſt unanimous.

The night thereafter they ſearched the town for ſome officers they ſuſpected, yet found none, but one, that had a mind to be taken, lieutenant-general D——s. When he went to England with the army, he certainly knew nothing of any deſign among them; but he had not converſed long with the lord C———ll, K——k, and ſome others, but he grew one of the hotteſt of the party, inſomuch that he propoſed to my lord to betray and carry in his regiment, as I was informed by the viſcount a while after. Before he made the propoſition, he told him, he had an affair of great conſequence to them both to tell, if he would give him his oath never to reveal it; which when he had done, though he abhorred the motion, yet he thought it

1689. don, a papiſt whom they required to put that caſtle into their hands. The duke deſired an indemnity for all that was paſt, and thought himſelf obliged in honour to conceal it. So ſoon as he had cleared himſelf to duke Hamilton of any deſigh he had againſt them, he was diſmiſſed. This he could eaſily do; for none in all the revolution acted a blacker part, for he not only ſent in a battalion of the Scots guards, but was in all the deſigns of betraying, and above all laid down his employment to get the greater credit with your friends, and at the ſame time was engaged to the prince of Orange, to let him know what paſſed and was deſigned by his enemies.

Being now free of moſt of thoſe that obſtructed them, ſome having quitted the houſe, and others joined with them, they fell heartily to work with the affair, upon which they had met; but fearing, leſt the prince of Orange ſhould think they went ſlowly on, they ſent up the lord R——s, with a letter containing the reaſons of their delay; which were, that now they were free from thoſe, that had oppoſed the ſettling the nation, and doubted not but to come ſhortly to concluſion to his ſatisfaction. Next they choſe a committee for ſettling the government, and another for conſidering the preſent ſtate of the nation. What was done or failed in either, I cannot give a full account; having firſt left the houſe; for can ſay little but from other hands. And both parties being concerned, the one againſt the other at that time, a conſiderable allowance muſt be given to both their reports; if one deſire to know the truth impartially. But ſtill there remained ſome of your friends, that gave them ſome trouble, particularly Sir George Mackenzie, the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and Mr. O——e, who behaved themſelves extremely well, when the chief affair came in of ſettling the government. But reaſon ſignified little to men that were reſolved to go through with what they had begun; nor could it have ſignified much upon another account: for among them all, generally ſpeaking, there was never ſeen ſuch a ſett of men gathered together; for they had few, ſave Sir James Montgomery, and John Dalrymple, that could make the leaſt reply, but only put it to the vote, which they were ſure to carry among themſelves. Likewiſe there were ſome diviſions: ſome would have the crown declared immediately vacant, as was done in England, and the prince of Orange proclaimed. Others, who were cautious, and would willingly have ſeen a little better about them before they made ſo bold a ſtep, propoſed an union with England, and took all pains imaginable to engage your friends to it, and ſo bring them back to the houſe, alledging there would be nothing ſo much for your intereſt as the gaining of time; and if that this propoſal did not go on, the government would be preſently ſettled; but if it were once ſet on foot, and your friends aſſiſt in ſeveral months would be ſpent before any ſuch treaty could be ended.

The

and ſecurity for the future; which the convention condeſcending to, ſo far as he had acted as a papiſt, they ſent the earls of Tweedale and Lothian to him with a pardon in writing, both for himſelf and all who were with him; whereupon he deſired twenty-four hours time to conſider of it, which was likewiſe granted. On the 15th, the two earls were again ſent to require him to deliver the caſtle upon the terms demanded by him, and agreed to by the convention; but inſtead of ſtanding to that, he demanded twelve days more, both to conſider of it, and to receive an anſwer to the propoſals he had ſent to the prince of Orange; and after ſeveral meſſages had paſt on both ſides, he at laſt declared, that he would not ſurrender the caſtle. Upon this, the convention ſent the heralds at arms, to charge him immediately to deliver that fortreſs; which he perſiſting to refuſe, the heralds went to the market-croſs, and ſolemnly proclaimed him a traitor and rebel. 1689.

The 16th, one Crane, an Engliſhman, who was ſaid to be a ſervant to king James's queen, delivered a letter from that prince to the convention; and at the ſame time the preſident acquainted the aſſembly, that the lord Levin was arrived expreſs with another letter from king William. This occaſioned a debate, which of the two letters ſhould be read first.

A letter from king James to the convention. Another from king William, which was read first.

The chief of theſe, who managed the affair, were the viſcount of Tarbat, and the lord S——s. Your friends ſoon perceived, that they only deſigned to do this as effectually for the prince of Orange by an union; for all, that were for this, have conſented to the prince of Orange's being king, and to all that was done in England. Thus to free themſelves of the odium of ſuch a deed, your majeſty's buſineſs ſucceeded and ended. Then they wanted not apprehenſions; for your affairs in Ireland were vaſtly magnified both by your friends and by your enemies. This proſpect took extremely with thoſe, that had a mind to trim, or were not in hopes of employments. But there were two different intereſts in the houſe againſt it; for duke Hamilton, and all he had influence upon, who expected the great employments for himſelf and children, as the reward of his ſervice; then the bigotted fanatics, who feared that ſuch an union, where the church of England was the ſtrongeſt party, might be of ill conſequence to their kirk, which they deſigned not only to eſtabliſh upon the old foot, but, according as they did before, endeavour the reformation of their brethren in England. The two parties were by far ſtronger than the trimmers, eſpecially ſince your friends would not meddle; ſo that they never ventured to propoſe it publicly. Account of the affairs of Scotland, p. 56, &c.

1689. first; but it being repreſented, that they were convened by the king of England, and that king James's letter might enjoin the diſſolution of their aſſembly, the majority carried it for king William, whoſe letter was read with great applauſe in manner following:

My lords and gentlemen,

"WE are very ſenſible of the kindneſs and concern, "which your nation has evinced towards us, and our "undertaking for the preſervation of your religion and li- "berty, which were in ſuch imminent danger. Neither "can we in the leaſt doubt of your confidence in us, after "having ſeen how far ſo many of your nobility and gentry "have owned our declaration, countenancing and concur- "ring with us in our endeavours, and deſiring us, that we "will take upon us the adminiſtration of affairs civil and "military, and to call a meeting of the eſtates, for ſe- "curing the proteſtant religion, and the antient laws and "liberties of your kingdom, which accordingly we have "done.

"Now it lies in you to enter into ſuch conſultations, as "are moſt probable to ſettle you on ſure and laſting founda- "tions; which we hope you will ſet about with all conve- "nient ſpeed with regard to the public good, and the gene- "ral intereſt and inclinations of the people; that, after ſo "much trouble and great ſuffering, they may live happily "and in peace; and that you may lay aſide all animoſities "and factions, that may hinder ſo good a work.

"We are glad to find ſo many of the nobility and gentry, "when here in London, were ſo much inclined to an union "of both kingdoms; and that they did look upon it as one "of the beſt means for procuring the happineſs of both na- "tions, and ſettling of a laſting peace among them; which "will be advantageous to both, they living in the ſame "iſland, having the ſame language, and the ſame common "intereſt of religion and liberty; eſpecially at this juncture, "when the enemies of both are ſo reſtleſs, endeavouring to "make and increaſe jealouſies and diviſions, which they "will be ready to improve to their own advantage and the "ruin of Britain. We being of the ſame opinion as to the "uſefulneſs of this union, and having nothing ſo much be- "fore our eyes as the glory of God, eſtabliſhing the re- "formed religion, and the power and happineſs of theſe

"nations,

" nations, are reſolved to uſe our utmoſt endeavour in ad- 1689.
" vancing every thing, that may conduce to the effectua-
" ting the ſame. So we bid you heartily farewel."

From our court at Hampton-court, the 7th day of March 1688.

After the reading of this letter, a committee was named to draw up an anſwer to it in the moſt thankful and dutiful manner; and then, before they would admit of the letter from king James to be opened, an act paſſed by the almoſt unanimous conſent of the houſe, aſſerting and maintaining the lawfulneſs of the convention, notwithſtanding any thing, that might be alledged in the letter to the contrary; and declaring, that they would not diſſolve, but continue ſitting, until the government, religion, laws, liberties, and properties were ſecured and eſtabliſhed. After this king James's letter was read, containing, " That having been informed, " that the peers and repreſentatives of ſhires and boroughs " of this his ancient kingdom, were to meet together at " Edinburgh, by the uſerped authority of the prince of " Orange, he thought fit to let them know, that as he had " at all times relied upon the faithfulneſs and affection of " them, his antient people, ſo much, that in his greateſt " misfortunes heretofore he had recourſe to their aſſiſtance, " and that with good ſucceſs to his affairs; ſo now again he " required of them to ſupport his intereſt, and expecting " from them what became loyal ſubjects, generous and ho- " neſt men, that they would neither ſuffer themſelves to be " cajoled and frightened into any action miſbecoming true- " hearted Scotſmen; and that to maintain the honour of the " nation, they would contemn the baſe example of diſloyal " men, and eternize their names by a loyalty ſuitable to the " many profeſſions they had made to him. That in doing " of this they would chuſe the ſafeſt part, ſince thereby " they would avoid the danger they muſt needs undergo, " the infamy and diſgrace they muſt bring upon themſelves " in this world, and the condemnation due to the rebellious " in the next. And that they would likewiſe have the op- " portunity to ſecure to themſelves, and their poſterity, the " gracious promiſe he had ſo often made of ſecuring their " religion, laws, properties, liberties, and rights; which he " was ſtill reſolved to perform, as ſoon as it was poſſible for " him to meet them ſafely in a parliament in that his an- " tient kingdom. In the mean time he exhorts them, not " to fear to declare for him the lawful ſovereign, who would

After a declaration king James's letter was alſo read.

1689. "not fail, on his part, to give them ſuch ſpeedy and pow-
"erful aſſiſtance, as ſhould not only enable them to defend
"themſelves from any foreign attempt, but put them in a
"condition to aſſert their rights againſt his and their ene-
"mies, who had depreſſed the ſame by the blackeſt of uſer-
"pations, the moſt unjuſt as well as moſt unnatural of at-
"tempts; which though Almighty God might for a time
"permit, and let the wicked proſper, yet the end muſt
"bring confuſion upon ſuch workers of iniquity. He far-
"ther let them know, that he would pardon all ſuch,
"as ſhould return to their duty before the laſt day of
"that month [March] incluſive; and that he would
"puniſh with the rigour of his laws, all ſuch, as ſhould
"ſtand out in rebellion againſt him or his authority. So
"not doubting, that they would declare for him, and ſup-
"preſs whatever might oppoſe his intereſt; and that they
"would ſend ſome of their number with an account of their
"diligence and the poſture of his affairs there, he bid them
"heartily farewel."

But without any effect. St. Tr. III. 358.

This menacing letter, which was dated from on board the St. Michael, March 1, 1689, was the more ungrateful by being counterſigned by the earl of Melfort, a perſon odious to all the preſbyterians of Scotland, who made up the major part of the convention; ſo that, inſtead of ſerving the intereſt of king James, it rather provoked that aſſembly to be the more unanimous and forward in ſettling the government after the example of England. The meſſenger, who brought the letter, was firſt ſecured, and then, not being thought worth detaining, diſmiſſed with a paſs inſtead of an anſwer.

Kennet. Boyer.

The next care of the convention was to put the kingdom in a poſture of defence; for which purpoſe they ordered a proclamation to be publiſhed, requiring all perſons from the age of ſixteen to ſixty to be in readineſs to take arms. They likewiſe changed a great many officers of the militia all over the kingdom; appointed Sir Patric Hume, who came over with king William from Holland, to command the militia of the ſhire of his county, notwithſtanding his attainder for the buſineſs of the earl of Argyle was not yet taken off; and ordered eight hundred men to be levied under the command of the earl of Leven, who came alſo over with his majeſty; and theſe were raiſed and armed in a few hours, and appointed to guard the city of Edinburgh.

On

On the 19th of March they paſſed an act, approving the addreſs of the Scots nobility and gentry in London; by which they thankfully 'acknowledged the great benefit done to 'their nation by the prince of Orange, in delivering them 'from the eminent encroachments on their laws and fundamental conſtitution, and from the near dangers, which 'threatned an overturning of the proteſtant religion; and 'alſo deſired his highneſs to accept the adminiſtration of the 'government of that kingdom.' The ſame day, upon reading of ſome letters from ſeveral lords and gentlemen in Ireland, deſiring aſſiſtance of the convention, they ordered two thouſand muſkets and twenty barrels of powder to be immediately ſent them; that a further proviſion of arms and ammunition ſhould be bought up for them in Holland; and that two ſmall frigates ſhould cruize between Scotland and Ireland, for mutual intelligence betwixt both kingdoms. 1689.

Whilſt the convention was thus providing for their own ſecurity, and the relief of their proteſtant brethren in Ireland, the lord viſcount Dundee held a private conference with the duke of Gordon at the poſtern-gate of the caſtle of Edinburgh, at which they concerted meaſures to diſturb the public tranquillity. The convention being informed of his violation of their orders, by which they had forbid all manner of correſpondence with the duke, ordered Dundee to appear before them; but he retired with thirty or forty horſe to Linlithgow (z). Upon this a party of horſe was ſent after him; and the convention apprehending, that he might ſurprize Dundee retires to raiſe a rebellion. Ibid.

(z) He had been ſome time before at London, and had fixed a correſpondence both with England and France, though he had employed Dr. Burnet to carry meſſages from him to king William, to know what ſecurity he might expect, if he ſhould go and live in Scotland without owning his government. The king's anſwer was, that if he would live peaceably and quietly, he ſhould be protected; which he replied, that unleſs he were forced to it, he would live quietly. But he returned to Scotland with other reſolutions; and all the party determined to ſubmit to his command; and upon his retiring from Edinburgh, he went up and down the highlands, and ſent his agents about to bring together what force they could collect. Burnet II. 22. The earl of Belcarras tells us, that a few days after the convention were certain, that the viſcount of Dundee had gone by Sterling to his own houſe, they ſent an herald and a trumpet to command him and my lord L—n to return, under pain of being denounced rebels to the ſtate. My lord L——n obeyed, and was immediately diſmiſſed, being then no member of the houſe,

1689. ſurprize the caſtle of Sterling, they immediately diſpatched away the governor thereof, the earl of Mar, to ſecure that important fortreſs. And the houſe finding, that the attorney-general Mackenzie, five biſhops, the earls of Hume, Dumferling,

and they having nothing to lay to his charge. The viſcount of Dundee wrote a letter, excuſing his not obeying their orders, wherein they gave the reaſons, for which he left the convention, which were, That he could ſtay no longer in that place, after that he had told in full convention of ſo many of his enemies, who deſigned to murder him, yet could have no juſtice. He told alſo, he could not think that convention any more free, wherein there were ſo many brought in from the weſtern countries to overawe its members, nor where they were guarded with foreign troops; (for juſt at this time Mackay was come down from England with four Dutch regiments;) but if they would do him juſtice, and give him aſſurance of liberty, he promiſed to return immediately. I have given this account the more full, becauſe it was inſinuated, after my lord Dundee went to the highlands, that ſeveral of your friends broke their engagemento to him, and did not go along, but were ſo far from being in any ſuch engagements, that they would have diſobeyed you, if they had gone; for your poſitive commands were ſent with George H——y, that if we ſaw there could be nothing done in the convention, then we ſhould quit it, and keep as quiet as we could till farther orders, and until you could ſend us aſſiſtance from Ireland; but the deſign of going to Sterling made the one go for the other; ſo that was ruined by the faintheartedneſs of the marquis of Annandale and ſome others. All that knew your commands, endeavoured to retire home and ſave themſelves; nor did ever the viſcount of Dundee reſolve to meddle until he had your orders, except he had been obliged to ſave himſelf from a party, that came to apprehend him. Notwithſtanding of the difficulties your friends had met with, ſome of them did not give over hopes of breaking the deſign of the convention, and get another to meet in ſome ſafe place. That which raiſed this, was the coming down of the duke of Queenſberry. The duke, upon the noiſe of the invaſion, had appeared ſincerely in your intereſt; and I muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, I never ſaw any man more concerned than he was for the ſteps his ſon made in England, after your majeſty was gone. He joined in all the meetings we had for your ſervice, and employed what intereſt he could to get commiſſioners for the ſhires he was concerned in chooſing, as we wiſhed; nor could any thing be complained of him, but his too long ſtay at London, for if your friends had appeared, as they promiſed the firſt day of the convention, they had been by far the ſtrongeſt; and if Scotland had then declared for you, when you was almoſt maſter of Ireland, the

ferling, Lauderdale, Birley, and Callender, the viſcounts Dundee, Stormont, and ſeveral other diſaffected members, to the number of fifty, did abſent themſelves, ſent their maces to require their attendance; and it was propoſed, that ſuch as had refuſed to ſign the act, aſſerting the lawfulneſs of their aſſembly, ſhould be expelled the houſe. But theſe being few in number, that motion was not purſued. 1689.

On the other hand, the duke of Gordon, in order to cover his real deſign, having beat a parley and deſired to capitulate, ſome perſons were appointed to treat with him. But it appeared at laſt, that he only intended to amuſe the con-

the prince of Orange had paſſed his time ill in England, conſidering he had [illegible]e to deal with on the other ſide. This made us extremely concerned, ſince that we could do no more in that convention, either to get another to counter-act them, or to get them forced from Edinburgh, which would have made a great delay before the time they could have another convention eſtabliſhed, and which they intended to ſet up at Glaſgow, if they had been forced from Edinburgh. The only thing could be thought of by all your friends to get this done, was to engage the duke of Gordon to fire upon the town, which certainly would have broke up the conventſon; for they always ſuſpected ſome deſign of forcing them from Edinburgh. In this reſolution no man ſeemed ſo forward as the marquis of Annandale, for it was of great concern to have him ſo, for after the earl of M——r had intirely quitted us, and [illegible] that they had got Stirling in their hands, there was no man [illegible] conſidering how well [illegible]ed his highlands were) could be ſo uſeful, if your friends had retired northwards, as was intended, till they had received your orders from Ireland. And that, which made us depend on him (for all the eſcapes he made) was the great influence the earl of D——e had with him; and he applied all his endeavours to keep him to his duty, and acted in all your concerns with as much zeal and affection, till he was made priſoner, as any ever ſerved you.

The counteſs of E——l, who had kept intelligence with duke Gordon from the time the caſtle was blocked up, undertook to let him know our advice; which accordingly ſhe did; but he abſolutely refuſed to do any thing but defend himſelf until he had your majeſty's orders. So our [illegible] deſigns were broke; for ſince there was no way found out to make them leave Edinburgh, all of us ſeeing that there was no [illegible] to be expected, either from the convention, or from thoſe, that pretended to be our friends, left the town, and retired home, ſuch as the earl of H——e, viſcount of S——t, viſcount of O——d, lord S——r, earl of S——k, earl of P——e, Mr. Henry Maul his brother, the ſheriff of B——e, and ſeveral others. Acc. of aff. of Scot. p. 77, &c.

1689. vention, and did not design to quit the possession of the castle, till he should be forced to it. For on the 22d of March he acquainted the magistrates of Edinburgh, that he had received advice from Irelandof king James's being landed there; and that to express his joy upon the occasion, he should be obliged to fire all his cannon; but bid them not be alarmed at it, since he designed no hurt to the city. The convention being informed of this message, ordered the castle to be blocked up; and upon the 23d, an act was passed and proclaimed for securing all suspected persons. The same day the answer of the convention to king William's letter was read and signed in a meeting of the whole house, very few excepted, and ordered to be sent away immediately by the lord Ross, who took post, and presented it to his majesty, importing:

Answer to king William's letter. Ibid.

"That as religion, liberty, and laws, are the deepest "concerns of mankind, so the deep sense of the extreme "hazard, these had been exposed to, must produce suitable "returns from the kingdom to his majesty, whom in all "sincerity and gratitude they acknowledged to be, under "God, their great and seasonable deliverer; and they "heartily congratulated, that as God had honoured his ma"jesty to be an eminent instrument for the preservation of "his truth, so he had rewarded his undertaking with suc"cess, in the considerable progress, which he had made in "delivering them, and in preserving to them the protestant "religion. That they returned their most dutiful thanks to "his majesty for his accepting the administration of public "affairs, and convening the estates of that kingdom. That "they should with all convenient diligence take his gracious "letter into their consideration; hoping shortly, by the "blessing of God, to fall upon such resolutions, as might "be acceptable to his majesty; secure the protestant reli"gion, and establish the government, laws, and liberties "of that kingdom upon solid foundations, most agreeable "to the general good and inclinations of the people. That "as to the proposal of the union, they doubted not but "his majesty would so dispose that matter, there might "be an equal readiness in the kingdom [illegible] to ac"complish it, as one of the best means [illegible] securing the hap"piness of these nations, and settling a lasting peace. That "they had hitherto and still should endeavour to avoid ani"mosities or prejudice, which might disturb their councils: "that as they designed the public good, so it might be

"done

" done with the general concurrence and approbation of 1689.
" the nation. And that in the mean time, they desired the
" continuance of his majesty's care and protection towards
" them in all their concerns, whereof the kind expressions in
" his gracious letter had given them full assurance."

The forces, which king William had sent into Scotland under major-general Mackay, and which consisted of four regiments of foot and one of dragoons, being arrived there, Mar. 25. the convention ordered them to be quartered in Leith and the suburbs of Edinburgh; and gave a commission to that Mar. 28. general to be commander in chief of such militia, or other forces, as should be raised for the safety of that kingdom in the present juncture. And at the same time the lord Levingston and viscount Dundee, with design to amuse the convention, wrote letters to the duke of Hamilton, their president, giving an account of their withdrawing from Edinburgh.

On the 26th of March a committee was named for settling the government, which was composed of eight lords, eight knights, and eight burgesses, and out of which the bishops were left, and having disgusted the generality of the state, by their former compliance with king James's arbitrary government, by their prayers at the beginning of the session, and other passages in their behaviour, that discovered their disaffection to king William, and the settlement then about to be made. This committee, after five or six days sitting, followed the precedent of the English convention, in declaring the throne vacant (a); and to support this assertion, had recourse to king James's violations of the fundamental laws and

A committee for settling the government. Ibid.

(a) The earl of Belcarras observes, that a few days after, many of king James's friends had left the convention, the committee prepared all that was intended in the convention, but found great difficulties how to declare the throne vacant. Some were for application, as had been done in England, but that could not pass among the most violent of them, for it could not be imagined, that your majesty had left Scotland. Others were for making use of an obsolete word forefaulting, used for a bird's forsaking her nest. But Sir John Dalrymple ended the debate by such reasons against both, that they agreed to his new proposal, which was, that your majesty, by committing such acts as he named, forefaulted your right to the crown; making this childish distinction, that they intended not to forefault you as a traitor, but only declare you forefaulted; which

1689. and conſtitutions, and appointed a ſub-committee to draw up an account of the particular inſtances of thoſe violations. Upon this, three parties were formed; one compoſed of all the biſhops and ſome of the nobility, who affirmed the proceedings to be contrary to their laws and oaths. Others thought, that their oaths were only to the king, as having the executive power to ſupport him in that; but that if he ſet himſelf to invade and aſſume the legiſlature, he renounced his former authority, by ſubverting that, upon which it was founded; for which reaſon they were for a declaratory judgment. The third party was of thoſe, who agreed with the former in their concluſion, but not in coming to ſo ſpeedy a determination. They were of opinion, that it was the intereſt of Scotland to be brought under the laws of England, and to be united to the parliament of England; and that this was the propereſt time for doing that to the beſt advantage.

Three parties formed. Burnet.

which would make the affair clear, and take off any pretenſions the prince of Wales might afterwards have. This immediately was taken and voted the next day by by all preſent, except five, the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, Sir George Mackenzie, lord B——e, Mr. O——e and one B——h. All the reſt, which did intend to go along, had left the houſe.

After the throne was declared vacant, duke Hamilton propoſed filling it again, (although as preſident he was not obliged to vote,) and that the humble offer thereof ſhould be made to the prince and princeſs of Orange. This was done more unanimiouſly than the other; for the duke of Queenſberry and marquis of Annandale, who had been abſent from the firſt vote, came and aſſented to the ſecond, and told the houſe, that they were not fully convinced of their right in declaring the throne vacant; but ſince they had done it, they acquieſced, and none deſerved ſo well to fill it as the prince of Orange; and afterwards went with the reſt to the market croſs of Edinburgh, where they were declared king and queen of Scotland, where the duke of Hamilton, to ſhew his zeal, did the meaneſt action, that ever could be heard tell of in a duke, for he officiated as clerk, and read from the croſs to the people the act of convention. Next they voted lord L——n, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir John Dalrymple to carry up their offer, with their grievances and claim of right, which were the conditions pretended as giving him the crown. And that they might be in greater ſafety during the adjournment, which they were to make, until they knew, whether the prince and princeſs of Orange had accepted of their preſent, they voted full power to duke Hamilton to impriſon whomſoever, until the return [illegible] come back, fearing if ſuch a power were lodged in many, ſome advertiſements might be given. Acc. of the aff. of Scot. p. 82.

ſince

since England would be obliged, by the present state of affairs, to receive them upon good terms. They were therefore willing to proceed against king James; but they thought it not reasonable to make too much haste in a new settlement, and were for maintaining the government in an interregnum, till the union should be perfected, or at least put in a probable way. This was specious, and many went into it; and since it tended to the putting a stop to a full settlement, all, who favoured king James, joined in it, because by this more time was gained. To this project it was objected, that the union of the two kingdoms must be a work of time, since many difficulties would arise in any treaty about it; whereas the present circumstances were critical, and required a speedy decision, and quick provision to be made for their security; since, if they continued in such a neutral state, they would have many enemies, and no friends; and the zeal, that was now working amongst them for presbytery, must raise a greater aversion than ordinary in the body, that was for the church of England, to any such treaty with them. At last the whole house, except twelve, approved of what the committee had done, and passed the following act: 'The estates 1689. The throne is declared vacant.
'of the kindom of Scotland find and declare, that king
'James VII. being a professed papist, did assume the royal
'power, and acted as a king, without ever taking the oath
'required by law, and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of
'this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary despotic power, and had governed
'the same to the subversion of the protestant religion, and
'violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting
'all the ends of government, whereby he had forefaulted
'the crown, and the throne was become vacant.'

Immediately after this the estates ordered, that the committee for settling the government should bring in an act for settling the crown upon their majesties William and Mary; and to consider the terms of the destination of the crown; and likewise to prepare an instrument of government, to be offered with the crown, for redressing the grievances, and securing the liberties of the people (b).

The

(b) According to this vote the committee drew up an act, reciting the methods, by which king James had invaded the constitution of that kingdom: "1. "By erecting public schools and "societies of the jesuits; and "not only allowing mass to be "publicly

1689. The ſmall number of thoſe who adhered to king James, endeavoured to prevent the paſſing of this act; and among the reſt, the biſhop of Edinburgh repreſented, that it related many unlawful acts, of which that king was innocent, and which

" publicly ſaid, but alſo converting proteſtant chapels and churches to public maſs-houſes, contrary to the expreſs laws againſt ſaying and hearing maſs. 2. By allowing popiſh books to be printed and diſperſed by a patent to a popiſh printer, deſigning him printer to his majeſty's houſhold, college, and chapel, contrary to law. 3. By taking the children of proteſtant noblemen and gentlemen, ſending them abroad to be bred papiſts, and beſtowing penſions upon prieſts to pervert proteſtants from their religion by offers of places and preferments. 4. By diſcharging proteſtants, at the ſame time he employed papiſts in places of greateſt truſt, both civil and military, &c. and intruſting the forts and magazines in their hands. 5. By impoſing oaths contrary to law. 6. By erecting without conſent of parliament or convention of eſtates. 7. By levying and keeping up a ſtanding army in time of peace, without conſent of parliament, and maintaining them upon free quarter. 8. By employing the officers of the army as judges throughout the kingdom; by whom the ſubject were put to death without legal trial, jury, or record. 9. By impoſing exorbitant fines to the value of the parties eſtates, exacting extravagant bail and diſpoſing of fines and forfeitures before any proceſs or conviction. 10. By impriſoning perſons without expreſſing the reaſon and delaying to bring them to trial. 11. By cauſing ſeveral perſons to be proſecuted and their eſtates to be forfeited, upon ſtretches of old and forfeited laws, upon weak and frivolous pretences, and upon lame and defective proofs; as particularly the late earl of Argyle, to the ſcandal of the juſtice of the nation. 12. By ſubverting the rights of the royal boroughs, the third eſtate of parliament, impoſing upon them not only magiſtrates, but alſo the whole town-council and clerks, contrary to their liberties and expreſs charters, without any pretence of ſentence, ſurrender, or conſent. So that the commiſſioners to parliament being choſen by the magiſtrates and councils, the king might in effect as well nominate the eſtate of parliament. Beſides that many of the magiſtrates by him put in were papiſts; and the boroughs were forced to pay money for the letters impoſing thoſe illegal magiſtrates upon them. 13. By ſending letters to the chief court of juſtice, not only [illegible] judges to ſtop fine [illegible] manding [illegible] proceed in cauſes depending before them, contrary to the expreſs laws; and by changing the nature of the judges patents ad vitam

" or

which were wholly to be charged on his miniſters: That ſuppoſing him to be guilty, they were not competent judges of his miſdemeanors, being illegally convened; and therefore that the beſt method the convention could follow for the good 1689.

" or culpam in a commiſſion de
" bene placito, to diſpoſe them
" to a compliance with arbitrary
" courſes, and turning them out
" of their offices, if they refuſed
" to comply. 14. By granting
" perſonal protections for civil
" debts, contrary to law.

" All which were miſcarriages
" of king James; utterly and
" directly contrary to the known
" laws, liberties, and ſtatutes
" of the realm of Scotland.

" Upon which Grounds and
" reaſons the eſtates of the king-
" dom of Scotland did find and
" declare, that king James VII,
" being a profeſt papiſt, did aſ-
" ſume the regal power, &c.
" whereby he had forefaulted
" the rights of the crown, and
" the throne was become vacant.

" Therefore in regard his
" royal highneſs, then prince of
" Orange, ſince king of Eng-
" land, whom it pleaſed God to
" make the glorious inſtrument
" of delivering theſe kingdoms
" from popery and arbitrary
" power, by advice of ſeveral
" lords and gentlemen of the
" Scots nation then at London,
" did call the eſtates of this
" kingdom to meet upon the
" fourteenth of March laſt, in
" order to ſuch a ſettlement,
" as that their religion, laws,
" and liberties might not again
" be in danger of being ſub-
" verted; the ſaid eſtates being
" at that time aſſembled accord-
" ingly in a full and free repre-
" ſentative of the nation, taking
" into their moſt ſerious conſide-
" ration the beſt means for at-
" taining the ends aforeſaid,
" did in the firſt place, as their
" anceſtors in like caſes had uſu-
" ally done, for the vindicating
" and aſſerting their ancient
" rights and liberties, declare,
" that by the law of Scotland
" no papiſt could be king or
" queen of the realm nor bear
" any office therein; nor that
" any proteſtant ſucceſſor could
" exerciſe the regal power, till
" they had ſworn the coronation
" oath. 2. That all proclama-
" tions aſſerting an abſolute
" power to null and diſable laws,
" in order for erecting ſchools
" and colleges for jeſuits, con-
" verting proteſtant churches and
" chapels into maſs-houſes, and
" the allowing maſs to be ſaid,
" and the allowing popiſh books
" to be printed and diſperſed,
" was contrary to the law. 3.
" That the taking the children
" of noblemen and gentlemen
" from their parents and keeping them
" abroad to be bred papiſts; the
" making funds and donations
" to popiſh ſchools and colleges;
" the beſtowing penſions on
" prieſts; and the ſeducing pro-
" teſtants from their religion by
" offers of places and prefer-
" ments, was contrary to law. 4.
" That the diſarming of proteſ-
" tants, and employing papiſts in
" the greateſt places of truſt, both
" civil and military &c. was con-
" trary to law. 5. That the impo-
" ſing an oath without authority
" of parliament, was contrary to
" law. 6. That the raiſing of
" money

1689. good of the nation, was to desire and favour his majesty's return into his dominions, who out of gratitude would not fail to redress all their grievances. This speech was answered with great force and spirit by one of the members; so that the

" money without consent of parliament or convention, was contrary to law. 7. That employing the officers of the army as judges, &c. was contrary to law. 8. That the imposing extraordinary fines, &c. was contrary to law. 9. That the imprisoning of persons without expressing the reasons, &c. was the same. 10. That the prosecuting and siezing men's estates as forfeited, upon stretches of old obsolete laws, &c. was contrary to law. 11. That the nominating and imposing magistrates, &c. upon boroughs, contrary to their express charter, was the same. 12. That the sending letters to the courts of justice, ordaining the judges to desist from determining of causes, and ordaining them, how to proceed in causes depending before [illegible] was contrary to law. 13. That the granting of personal protections was the same. 14. That the forcing the subjects to depose against themselves in capital causes, however the punishments were restricted, was contrary to law. 15. That the using torture without evidence or in ordinary crimes was contrary to law. 16. That the sending of an army in a warlike manner into any part of the kingdom in time of peace, and exacting locality and free quarters, was the same. 17. That charging the subjects with law-boroughs at the king's instance, and imposing bonds without authority of parliament, and the suspending advocates for not appearing, when bonds were offered, was contrary to law. 18. That the putting garrisons into private men's houses, in time of peace, without authority of parliament was illegal. 19. That the opinions of the lords of the sessions in the two cases following were illegal, viz. that the concerting the demand of the supply of a forefaulted person, although not given, was treason; that persons refusing to discover their private thoughts in relation to points of treason, or other men's actions, are guilty of treason. 20. That the fining husbands for their wives withdrawing from church, was illegal. 21. That prelacy, and superiority of an office in the church above presbyters, is and has been a great and insupportable burthen to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the reformation, they having reformed popery by presbytery, and therefore ought to be abolished. 22. That it is the right and privilege of the subject to protest for remedy of law to the king and parliament against sentences pronounced by the lords of the sessions, provided the same do not stop executions of the said

" sen-

the act being read and agreed to in the convention, the ſame day their majeſties were crowned king and queen of England, they were alſo proclaimed king and queen of Scotland. 1689.

The

" ſentences. 23. That it is the " right of the ſubject to petition " the king; and that all proſe- " cutions and impriſonments for " ſuch petitioning were contrary " to law.

" Therefore for the redreſs of " all grievances, and for the a- " mending, ſtrengthening, and " preſerving the laws, they " claimed, that parliaments " ought to be frequently called " and allowed to ſit, and free- " dom of ſpeech and debate al- " lowed to the members.

" And then they further " claimed and inſiſted upon all " and ſundry the premiſes as " their undoubted rights and " liberties, and that no declara- " tion or proceedings to the pre- " judice of the people in any of " the ſaid premiſes ought, in " any wiſe, to be drawn here- " after into example; but that " all forfeitures, fines, loſs of " offices in impriſonments, ba- " niſhments, proſecutions, and " rigorous executions be conſi- " dered, and the parties re- " dreſſed.

" To which demand of their " rights, and redreſs of their " grievances, they took themſelves to be encouraged by " the king of England's declaration for the kingdom of " Scotland in October laſt, as " being the only means for ob- " taining a full redreſs and re- " medy therein.

" Therefore foraſmuch as " they had an entire confidence, " that his majeſty of England " would perfect the deliverance " ſo far advanced by him, and " would ſtill preſerve them from " the violation of the rights, " which they had aſſerted, and " from all other attempts upon " their religion, laws and liber- " ties; the ſaid eſtates of the " kingdom of Scotland had re- " ſolved, 'That William and " Mary, king and queen of " England, be declared king " and queen of Scotland, to " hold the crown and royal dig- " nity of the ſaid kingdom to " them the ſaid king and queen " during their lives, and the " longeſt liver of them; and " that the ſole and full exerciſe " of the power to be only in " and exerciſed by him the ſaid " king, in the names of the " ſaid king and queen during " their lives. And after their " deceaſe that the ſaid crown " and royal dignity be to the " heir of the body of the ſaid " queen; which failing, to the " princeſs Anne of Denmark, " and the heirs of her body; " which alſo failing, to the heirs " of the body of the ſaid Wil- " liam king of England.'

" And then withal they pray- " ed the ſaid king and queen to " accept the ſame accordingly."

It was alſo declared by the inſtrument, that the following oath,

" I A. B. do ſincerely pro- " miſe and ſwear, that I will be " faithful, and bear true allegi- " ance

1689. The fatal blow, which by a clauſe in this act was given to epiſcopacy, not only occaſioned great diſcontents in Scotland, but very much increaſed thoſe of England, and rendered the union of both nations deſperate. And indeed it was thought an abſurd thing, that this clauſe, whereby it was declared, that 'prelacy in the church was a great and inſupportable 'burthen to the nation,' ſhould be inſerted in a claim of rights, for which not only there had no law, but which was contrary to many laws then in being; ſo that tho' they might have offered it as a grievance, there was no colour for pretending it was a national right. But they had a notion among them, that every article, that ſhould be put into the claim of rights, became an unalterable law, and a condition, upon which the crown was to be held; whereas grievances were ſuch things, as were ſubmitted to the king and parliament to be redreſſed, or not, as they ſhould ſee cauſe. But the biſhops, and thoſe, who adhered to them, having left the convention, the preſbyterians had a majority of voices to carry every thing as they pleaſed, how unreaſonable ſoever, and upon this the aboliſhing of epiſcopacy was made a neceſſary article of the new ſettlement.

Remark on the claim of rights. Burnet.

It may here be obſerved, that ſoon after the king came to St. James's, the epiſcopal party in Scotland had ſent up the dean of Glaſgow, to know what the prince of Orange's intentions were with relation to that party; and the prince anſwered, that he would do all he could to preſerve them, granting a full toleration to the preſbyterians. But this was in caſe they concurred in the new ſettlement of the kingdom; for if they ſhould oppoſe that, and if by a great majority in parliament, reſolutions ſhould be taken againſt them, he could not make a war for them, though he would do all that was in his power to maintain ſuch of them, as ſhould live peaceably in their functions. This the prince ordered Dr. Burnet likewiſe to write back, in anſwer to what ſome biſhops and others had written to him upon that ſubject. But the viſcount Dundee, when he returned into Scotland, poſſeſſed them with ſuch an opinion of another ſpeedy revolution, that would be brought about in favour of king James, that

"ance to their majeſties king "William and queen Mary. "So help me God."

ſhould be taken by all proteſtants, by whom the oaths of allegiance, or any other oaths and declarations, might be required by law inſtead of it; and that the oath of allegiance and all other oaths and declarations ſhould be abrogated.

they

they reſolved to adhere firmly to his intereſts; and thus de- 1689.
claring in a body, with ſo much zeal, in oppoſition to the new ſettlement; it was not poſſible for king William to preſerve epiſcopacy there; all thoſe, who expreſſed their zeal for him, being equally zealous againſt that order.

Amongſt thoſe, who appeared in this convention, none diſtinguiſhed himſelf more than Sir James Montgomery, a gentleman of good parts, but of a moſt unbridled heat and of a reſtleſs ambition. He bore the greateſt ſhare in the whole debate, and promiſed himſelf a conſiderable poſt in the new government. The duke of Hamilton preſided with remarkable diſcretion and courage; to that the bringing the ſettlement ſo ſoon to a calm concluſion was chiefly owing to him.

On the 19th of April the convention ordered a proclamation to be publiſhed, forbidding all perſons to own the late king James VII. for their king, or obey, aſſiſt, or accept any commiſſions, that might be given out by him, or any way to hold correſpondence with him; and requiring all the miniſters of the goſpel within the kingdom publicly to pray for king William and queen Mary. This proclamation was partly occaſioned by the coming over of one Braday from Ireland, with commiſſions from king James, and letters from his ſecretary the earl of Melfort to the earl of Belcarras, and others (c), diſcovering the deſigns of his maſter and Proclamation againſt king James. Boyer. Kennet.

(c) The firſt, ſays the earl of Belcarras, that found the effects of this power [of the duke of Hamilton to impriſon whomſoever he pleaſed] was the viſcount of Dundee and myſelf, occaſioned by your majeſty's ſending over one Mr. Braday with letters from Ireland, wherein you gave us the ſame orders, that before you had done with Mr. H——y; which was to do nothing until your further orders, and that five hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, which you had ready to ſend, were landed. Theſe letters were taken by the folly of Mr. Braday, for he had told all his buſineſs to one Mr. T——n, who came over with him out of Ireland on purpoſe to betray him; and even after he had diſcovered him to duke Hamilton, and that he was ſeized on and ſearched, they could find nothing about him, all his letters being hid in a falſe bottom of his wallet; nor had they any ſuſpicion where they were, until he eaſed all their minds, by telling all he knew of the matter from whom and to whom he came, which had never been known but by him, the letters having no directions. Duke Hamilton, by virtue of the power given him, immediately ordered the earl of L——n to ſend over one hundred foot to my lord Dundee, and as many

1689. and his adherents. Braday being taken and examined, ſome expreſſions were found in theſe letters, which highly offended the convention. 'You will aſk me, without queſtion, ſays 'Melfort to Claverhouſe, how we intend to pay our army; 'bu

to me; but his houſe being twenty miles farther off than mine; beſides having the river of Tay betwixt him and them, and having a good party of his own regiment conſtantly with him, they found it not ſo ſafe to apprehend him. But I was taken and brought to Edinburgh, and put in a common goal. I had the liberty of it at firſt, for ſome days that the convention did not ſit; but as ſoon as they met, and read the letters, there were never men in greater rage, than generally the whole houſe was againſt me. Upon reading of one from the earl of Melfort to me, wherein after he had given us aſſurance of ſpeedy relief, he expreſſed himſelf much after this manner; 'That he wiſhed ſome 'had been cut off that he and 'I ſpoke about, and then things 'had never come to the paſs 'they are at; but when we 'get the power again, ſuch 'ſhould be hewers of wood and 'drawers of water.' This duke Hamilton took as meant of himſelf; but what the earl of Melfort's intentions were in theſe expreſſions, I cannot determine; but to juſtify him and myſelf, I do declare, that he never in his life made the leaſt inſinuation to me of any ſuch propoſition. But whatever he intended by them, nothing could have been more to the prejudice of your affairs, nor for my ruin, than this, which did ſhew, that nothing but cruelty would be uſed, if ever your majeſty returned. Theſe letters were printed both in Scotland and England, and were like to have their deſigned effect; for when they were read in the convention, though I had many relations there; yet few appeared my friends, except the duke of Queenſberry, which was the more generous in him, for we had been in very ill terms, and until your majeſty's departure, I ſaw his inclinations ſincerely to follow you. He told the houſe, he doubted not but the earl of Melfort had writ thoſe letters on purpoſe to ruin me; and if letters coming to me could be made criminal, it was in the power of every man's enemies to expoſe him to what they pleaſed. That which inclined the duke of Queenſberry to believe this the more was, that he knew of my concurring with many of your faithful ſervants, (notwithſtanding of my friendſhip and relation to the earl of Melfort) to deſire your majeſty by Mr. L——y, capt. C——n, and C——n, who were ſent to you to intreat, that the earl of Melfort ſhould not come along with you, for at that time there was never a man in any nation ſo abhorred; inſomuch that whatever came from your majeſty, if he was thought to be the leaſt concerned in it, there needed no more to give all the iſle of Britain a prejudice againſt it. This I confeſs made many of us deſire your majeſty, that

he

'but never fear that, ſo long as there are rebels eſtates. 1689.
'We will begin with the great ones, and end with the little
'ones, &c.' In another to the lord Belcarras he ſays,
'The eſtates of the rebels will recompenſe us. Experience
'has taught our illuſtrious maſter, that there are a good
'number of people, that muſt be made Gibeonites, becauſe
'they are good for nothing elſe. You know that there are
'ſeveral lords, that we marked out, when we were both
'together, that deſerve no better. Theſe will ſerve for
'example to others.' After the reading of theſe letters, the preſident of the eſtates addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, ſaid, 'You hear, gentlemen, your ſentence pronounced;
'and that it behoves us either to defend ourſelves, or die.'
Upon which the lord Belcarras, the lord Lochore, and lieutenant-colonel Balfour were committed to priſon, and ſeveral others bound to their good behaviour on ſufficient ſecurity. And being thus made ſenſible of their danger, the eſtates ordered four new regiments of foot and ten troops of horſe to be immediately levied, beſides the forces, which ſeveral of the nobility offered to raiſe. Garriſons were put into the caſtle of Dunnator, Ardmillian, and Arran; and a ſhip ſent

he might not come along with you. That there were ſome, that did this out of perfect ſpite, I cannot deny; but theſe were, but a few to the vaſt number, that did otherwiſe ſincerely for your majeſty's ſervice, finding how obnoxious he was to all parties: nor had he greater enemies in the nation, than the generality of the Roman catholics. Though what the duke of Queenſberry ſaid did ſhew his inclinations, yet it did ſignify nothing to allay the heat, for duke Hamilton told him, he had as little reaſon as any to ſatisfy me, for he doubted not but he himſelf was alſo meant. And generally all of them thought they were comprehended under hewers of wood and drawers of water. So I was voted cloſe priſoner, where I was kept fourteen weeks, till after the caſtle of Edinburgh was ſurrendered, at which time I was put in there. Nor did they limit their rage and malice to me; only by all they thought I was concerned in this, and likewiſe muſt feel it; and to make the greater noiſe, they apprehended ſeveral gentlemen, whom they thought my friends, and put them likewiſe in a common goal; and it was propoſed by the earl of C—d, that the lord Lochore, who was one of thoſe taken with me, ſhould be made cloſe priſoner; he ſaid, he was ſure, (conſidering the friendſhip I had for him) he knew all, that was deſigned, or had been acted in the late civil government. But this even duke Hamilton did not incline to; but the other urging, it was brought to a vote, and carried in the negative only by three. Acc. of the aff. of Scot. p. 84.

1689. from Ireland with six thousand arms, which were designed for the rebels in the north of Scotland, was seized on the western coast, whither she was driven by a storm.

The tender of the crown to king William. Ibid.

After the estates had received the king's answer to their letter, they gave another to their commissioners for tendering the crown to king William and queen Mary; wherein they desired their majesties to sign and swear the oath, which the law had appointed to be taken by the kings and queens at their accession to the crown, till such time as affairs should allow that kingdom the happiness of their presence, in order to their coronation. They declared, that they were sensible of his majesty's kindness and extraordinary care in promoting the union, which they hoped was reserved for him to accomplish. They thanked their majesty for sending those troops, that might help to preserve them; and assured him, that as it was the interest of England to contribute towards the security of Scotland; so they should not be wanting on their parts to give their assistance for the reducing of Ireland.

Burnet.

The commissioners from the convention, who were the earl of Argyle for the lords, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, or, as they call them, the barons; and Sir James Dalrymple for the boroughs, being arrived at London upon the 11th of May, met in the council-chamber, and from thence were conducted by the master of the ceremonies to the banqueting-house, where their majesties were prepared to receive them, sitting on their thrones. They first presented the letter from the estates to his majesty; then the instrument of government; next, a paper containing the grievances, which they desired might be redressed; and lastly, an address to his majesty for turning the convention into a parliament. All these being read to their majesties, the king returned to the commissioners the following answer: "When I engaged in this undertaking, I had a particular "regard and consideration for Scotland; and therefore I did "emit a declaration in relation to that, as well as to this "kingdom, which I intend to make good and effectual to "them. I take it very kindly, that Scotland hath expres- "sed so much confidence in, and affection to me. They "shall find me willing to assist them in every thing, that "concerns the weal and interest of that kingdom, by mak- "ing what laws shall be necessary for the securing of their "religion, property, and liberty, and to ease them of what "may be justly grievous to them."

After

After this the coronation-oath was tendered to their majeſties, which the earl of Argyle ſpoke word by word diſtinctly, and the king and queen repeated it after him, holding up their right hands all the while, after the manner of taking oaths in Scotland. The commiſſioners, by the authority of the eſtates, repreſented to his majeſty, "That the clauſe of "the oath, in relation to the rooting out of heretics, did "not import the deſtroying of heretics; and that by the law "of Scotland no man was to be perſecuted for his pri- "vate opinion; and even obſtinate and convicted heretics "were only to be denounced rebels, or outlawed; whereby "their moveable eſtates are confiſcated." Hence his majeſty, at the repeating that clauſe in the oath, did declare, that 'he did not mean by theſe words, that he was under 'obligation to become a perſecutor.' To which the commiſſioners made anſwer, that 'neither the meaning of the oath, 'nor the law of Scotland did import it.' Then the king replied, that he took the oath in that ſenſe, and called the commiſſioners there preſent, to be witneſſes of his ſo doing. 1689. King William and queen Mary take the coronation oath for Scotland. Kennet.

On the 5th of June the duke of Hamilton acquainted the convention, that his majeſty had been pleaſed to appoint him his commiſſioner; and that he was impowered to give his conſent to an act for the turning the meeting of the ſtates into a parliament, in which his majeſty's farther pleaſure was, that the earl of Crawford ſhould preſide. This act was accordingly paſſed the ſame day; and the parliament was prorogued to the 17th of June. The convention turned into a parliament.

His majeſty being now king of Scotland, as well as of England, reſolved to form a miniſtry for that kingdom (d). He determined to rely chiefly for advice on Dalrymple the father, A miniſtry in Scotland. Burnet.

(d) During the adjournment of the convention, ſays the earl of Belcarras, all appeared very quiet, though at that time humours and diſcontents began to ariſe among themſelves, the prince of Orange not being able to ſatisfy the pretenſions and avarice of them all. And thoſe, that had appeared early for his intereſt, and had been the chief inſtruments of raiſing the rabble in Edinburgh, and had ſhewn their zeal for him in the convention, thought they had better pretenſions than thoſe, who came over with him, they having only acted what they had done out of neceſſity, being for the moſt part forfeited perſons.

The prince of Orange, till he had got his buſineſs done, managed both parties, ſo that each believed he had all to expect; but after the convention, they quicly found their miſtake, for his own inclinations were intirely for thoſe that came over with him

1689. father, who had been recommended to him, before he left the Hague, by the penſioner Fagel. And though he had heard great complaints of him, (as indeed there was ſome ground for them,) yet ſince his ſon Sir John Dalrymple was one of the three commiſſioners from the ſtates of Scotland, he concluded from thence, that the family was not ſo much hated, as he had been informed; and therefore continued ſtill to be adviſed by him. The epiſcopal party were afraid of Sir James Montgomery's being made ſecretary of ſtate, from whom they expected nothing but extreme ſeverities; for which reaſon they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevent his preferment to that poſt; and the lord Melvil, who had married the duchеſs of Monmouth's ſiſter, and had continued from the year 1660 firm to preſbytery, and had been of late forced to leave the kingdom, being looked on as an eaſy man, who would have credit enough to reſtrain the fury of that party, he was made ſole ſecretary. But this proved a very unhappy ſtep; for as he was by his principles bigotted to preſbytery, and ready to ſacrifice every thing to the humours of that party; ſo he proved to be in all reſpects a narrow-hearted man, who minded his own intereſts more than either that of the king or of his country. This choice gave a great diſtaſte; and that was followed by a miniſtry, in the

him, he got the lord Melvil, a creature of his own, made ſole ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, and the council named as he had a mind, at leaſt of ſuch as he, if they could do him no good, they could ſignify as little againſt him, by which his power would be the greater. In it were named ſome, more for ſhew of their families, than any kindneſs for their perſons or eſteem for their parts; ſuch as the marquis of D——s, earl of M——n, earl M——l, earl of E——l, and earl of E——n, who, though they were not fanatics, yet were ſure not to contradict any thing, that was to be done. Yet this diſſatisfied extremely the preſbyterians, who now thought none ſhould have been admitted, but ſuch as had given proof of their converſion, and ſo inraged ſeveral, that had pretenſions, particularly Sir James Montgomery, who thought nothing leſs due to his merit than to be ſecretary. Duke Hamilton was little better ſatisfied to ſee, that all the employments were neither at his diſpoſal, nor given to his children and friends, for whom he had made ſo many fruitleſs attempts both in your brother's reign and in your own. But the diſcontents and jealouſies were generally known, yet they did not publicly declare againſt one another till at the firſt ſeſſion of the parliament in June 1689, where duke Hamilton was commiſſioner and the earl of Crawford preſident. Acc. of the aff. of Scotland, p. 96.

framing

framing of which he had the chief hand, who were weak and paſſionate men. All offices were ſplit into commiſſions, that many might have ſome ſhare; but it rendered them all contemptible. And though Montgomery had a conſiderable poſt offered him, yet his miſſing that, which he aimed at, ſunk deep in his mind, and began to work in him an averſion to the king, which broke out afterward into much fury and plotting againſt him. Nor did the duke of Hamilton think, that he was conſulted, in the new model of the miniſtry, as he had deſerved, and might juſtly have expected. 1689.

The parliament in Scotland was opened, on the ſeventeenth of June with much ill humour; and they reſolved to carry the redreſs of grievances very far. Lord Melvil hoped to have gained the preſbyterian party, by ſending inſtructions to the duke of Hamilton, to open the ſeſſion with an act in favour of preſbytery; but the majority reſolved to begin with their temporal concerns; and the firſt grievance, to which redreſs was deſired, was the power of the lords of the articles, that relating ſo immediately to the parliament itſelf. The king conſented to a proper regulation, as that the number ſhould be enlarged and changed, as often as the parliament ſhould deſire it; and that the parliament might bring matters before them, though they were rejected by the lords of the articles. This anſwered all the juſt complaints, that had been made of that part of the conſtitution; but the king thought it was the intereſt of the crown to preſerve it thus regulated. Yet it was pretended, that, if the name and ſhadow of that were ſtill kept up, the parliament would in ſome time be inſenſibly brought under all thoſe reſtraints, that were now to be provided againſt; for which reaſon they moved to take it quite away. The duke of Hamilton wrote long letters both to the king and to the lord Melvil, giving a full account of the progreſs of an ill humour, that was got among them, and of the ill conſequence it was like to have. But he had no anſwer from the king, and lord Melvil wrote him back dark and doubtful orders; upon which the duke took little care how matters went, and was not ill pleaſed to ſee them go wrong. The revenue was ſettled on the king for life; and they raiſed the money, which was neceſſary for maintaining a ſmall force in Scotland, though the greateſt part of an army of ſix thouſand men was paid by England. But even the preſbyterians began to carry their demands high; they propoſed to have the king's ſupremacy, and the right of patronage, taken away; and they aſked ſo high an

A faction raiſed in Scotland. Burnet.

1689. authority to their church government, that the duke of Hamilton, though of himſelf indifferent as to thoſe matters, yet would not agree to them. He thought theſe broke in too much on their temporal concerns, and would eſtabliſh a tyranny in preſbytery, that could not be eaſily borne. He wrote to biſhop Burnet, who ſpoke ſometimes to the king on thoſe ſubjects, his deſign being chiefly to ſhelter the epiſcopal clergy, and to keep the change that was now to be made, on ſuch a foot, that a door might ſtill be kept open. But the torrent was ſo ſtrong, that it was not poſſible for the king, had he been ever ſo zealous for epiſcopacy to have preſerved it at that time, and all the king's enemies in England, continually charged him for the alterations then made in Scotland.

A new debate was likewiſe ſet on foot in that parliament concerning the judges. By the law there, when the king names a judge, he ought to be examined by other judges, whether he is qualified as the law directs. But in the year 1661, becauſe the bench was to be filled with a new ſet of judges, ſo that there was none to examine the reſt, the nomination, which the king then made, was read in parliament; and no objection being made to any of them, they did upon that ſit and act as judges. It was expected, that the ſame method ſhould be followed at this time. But, inſtead of that, the king continued ſuch a number of the former judges, as was ſufficient to examine thoſe, who were now to be advanced; ſo that was ordered to be done. Upon this, thoſe, who oppoſed every thing, pretended, that the nomination ought to be made in parliament; and they had prepared objections againſt every one, who was in the liſt; intending by this to put a public affront on one of the firſt and moſt important acts of the king's government. But the duke of Hamilton had a poſitive inſtruction ſent him, not to ſuffer this matter to be brought into parliament; yet he ſaw the party was ſo ſtrong, that they had a clear majority. Nor did he himſelf very much approve of the nomination, eſpecially that of the elder Dalrymple, ſoon after made lord Stair, to be preſident. And therefore he diſcontinued the parliament.

A riſing in Scotland. Burnet.

While theſe animoſities were thus fomented, viſcount Dundee had got together a conſiderable body of gentlemen, with ſome thouſands of Highlanders. He ſent ſeveral meſſengers over to Ireland, preſſing king James to come either to the north of England, or to Scotland; but at the ſame time deſired, that he would not bring the lord Melfort over with

with him, or employ him in Scots buſineſs; and that he would be contented with the exerciſe of his own religion. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed, that all this was very diſagreeable to king James; and that the lord Melfort diſparaged all the viſcounts undertakings. In this he was much ſupported by the French about that king, who had it given them in charge, as a main inſtruction, to keep him to an high owning of his religion, and of all thoſe, who were of it; and not to ſuffer him to enter into any treaty or conditions with his proteſtant ſubjects, by which the papiſts ſhould in any ſort ſuffer, or be ſo much as diſcouraged. The Iriſh were willing enough to croſs the ſea to England, but would not conſent to the going over to Scotland. The viſcount therefore was only furniſhed from Ireland with ſome ſmall ſtore of arms and ammunition, and had kind promiſes encouraging him, and all who joined with him. 1689.

Lieutenant-general Mackay commanded their majeſties forces in Scotland. He followed the viſcount Dundee's motion's, who were leſs incumbered with cannon and baggage, and ſo marched quicker than it was poſſible for Mackay to follow. His men were for the moſt part new levied, and without experience; but he had ſome old bodies, on whom he depended. The heads of the clans among the Highlanders promiſed to join him; but moſt of them went over to the viſcount Dundee. At laſt, after many marches and motions, they came to an engagement on the 26th of May, at Killikranky, ſome few miles above Dunkell. The ground was narrow, and lord Dundee had the advantage. He broke through Mackay's army, who fled; and probably if the viſcount had out-lived that day, the victory might have been purſued very far. But a random ſhot put an end to his life, and to the whole deſign (e); for Mackay rallied his men, and Dundee killed.

(e) Your affairs, ſays the earl of Belcarras to king James, ſuffered prejudice by the victory, conſidering the great loſs of the viſcount of Dundee, who was the man the moſt proper for any ſuch undertaking in the nation; for he well underſtood the different tempers of thoſe he had to deal with, and knew well when and to whom it was fit to ſhew kindneſs, and alſo when to uſe roughneſs without ſeverity. And though he was naturally more ſparing of his money, than profuſe, yet wherever your majeſty's ſervice or ambition prompted, he ſtuck at nothing, but diſtributed frankly whatever he could command, which gained him intirely the hearts of thoſe who followed him, and brought him into ſuch a reputation, that if he had ſurvived that day, in all probability he

1689. and made ſuch a ſtand, that the other ſide fell into great diſorder, and could never be formed again into any conſiderable body. And a fort was ſoon after built at Innerlochy,

he would have given ſuch a turn to your affairs, that the prince of Orange could neither have gone nor ſent into Ireland; by which, your majeſty would have been intire maſter of that kingdom, and in a condition to have landed what forces you pleaſed in Scotland, which was the only thing all your friends moſt deſired. Next day after the fight, an officer riding by the place, where my lord Dundee fell, found lying there a bundle of papers and commiſſions, which he had about him. Thoſe, who ſtripped him, thought them but of ſmall concern, ſo they left them there lying. This officer a little after did ſhew them to ſeveral of your friends, among which there was one paper did no ſmall prejudice to your affairs, and would have done much more, had it not been carefully ſuppreſſed. It was a letter of the earl of Melfort's to my lord Dundee, when he ſent him over your majeſty's declaration, in which was contained not only an indemnity, but a toleration for all perſuaſions. This the earl of Melfort believed would be ſhocking to Dundee, conſidering his hatred to fanatics; for he writes, that notwithſtanding of what was promiſed in your declaration, indemnity and indulgence, yet he had couched things ſo, that you would break them when you pleaſed; nor would you think yourſelf obliged to ſtand to them. This not only diſſatisfied him, but alſo many of your friends, who thought a more ingenuous way of dealing better both for your honour and intereſt.

Never were men in ſuch a conſternation as duke Hamilton and the reſt of the parliament then at Edinburgh, when they heard from thoſe that fled, of the defeat of Mackay. Some were for retiring into Ireland; others into the weſtern ſhires of Scotland; nor knew they whether to abandon the government, or ſtay a few days, until they ſaw if my lord Dundee came nearer, for they never imagined he was killed. Then they conſidered whether to ſet at liberty all priſoners, or to make them more cloſe; the laſt was reſolved on. So we were all ſhut up; but though all liberty was diſcharged us of ſeeing our friends, yet we never had ſo many viſits of your enemies, all making excuſes for what had paſſed, proteſting they always wiſhed us well, as we ſhould ſee, whenever they had the opportunity. The fright of thoſe who fled, augmented their own loſs, for col. L——r and ſeveral others, to excuſe themſelves, told all was cut off, when a few days after ſeveral came to Edinburgh, who, they ſaid, had been killed; and there being no noiſe of the viſcount Dundee's advancing forwards, they began to take a little more heart, and ſoon after they got notice of his death, which put them out of all apprehenſion; for they knew very well there was none in the army could make uſe of the victory, which ſoon appeared. Acc. of the aff. of Scot. p. 107.

which

which was called for William, and ſerved to cut off the communication between the northern and ſouthern Highlanders. 1689.

The ſiege of Edinburgh-caſtle was likewiſe carried on with ſuch vigour, that the duke of Gordon ſeeing his ammunition ſpent, his houſe entirely ruined by the bombs, great breaches made in the walls by the cannon, and the beſiegers advanced to the pitch; and deſpairing of relief, ſince the lords Dundee, Tarbat, and Lovat, with whom he held intelligence, were ſecured, he delivered up that important fortreſs on the 13th of June to Sir John Lanier, and ſurrendered himſelf and his whole garriſon to king William's diſcretion, upon condition that their lives ſhould be ſecured. Edinburgh caſtle ſurrenders. Boyer.

Thus the whole iſland of Great Britain acknowledged the ſovereignty of king William, and ſubmitted to his government; but Ireland was far from following the example of Scotland, and it was more than two years before that kingdom was entirely reduced to obedience,

The earl of Tyrconnel had been made lord lieutenant of Ireland in the beginning of king James's reign, on purpoſe to carry on his deſigns for the eſtabliſhment of popery in that kingdom (f). The earl of Clarendon (whom Tyrconnel ſucceeded) had given public and ſolemn aſſurance that king James would maintain their act of ſettlement. But Tyrconnel went roundly to work. He turned all the Engliſh proteſtant officers out of the army, and placed Iriſh papiſts in their room. So an army paid by virtue of the act of ſettlement to ſecure it, was put into the hands of thoſe who were engaged both in religion and intereſt to deſtroy the ſettlement, and thoſe concerned in it, which was ſuch a violation of the law, as could not be any way palliated. Upon this the proteſtants of Ireland looked on themſelves as at mercy, ſince the army was now made up of their enemies. Fitton, a zealous papiſt, and who knew no other but the king's plea- Affairs of Ireland. King. Burnet. Boyer.

(f) He had been named by Oates, in his narrative, for that very employment; and therefore when the proteſtants ſaw him put into it, many who believed nothing of a plot before, gave credit now to that narrative; and the common ſaying was, that if Oates was an ill evi- "dence, he was certainly a good "prophet." He exerciſed at the ſame time ſo much falſhood and barbarity, that if the army had not been the beſt principled with loyalty and obedience of any in the world, they would have mutinied, or at leaſt have diſpatched him. King's ſtate of proteſtants in Ireland, p. 59.

ſure,

1689. ſure, was at the ſame time made lord chancellor. This ſtruck all people with great terror, to ſee a man of Tyrconnel's temper, entirely depended on by the Iriſh, capable of the boldeſt undertakings, and of the moſt cruel execution, in full poſſeſſion of the government. It was viſible, father Peter and the jeſuits were throwing king James into deſperate meaſures, and that in caſe all other methods failed, and his Engliſh army deſerted him, he ſhould think of accompliſhing his deſigns by the aſſiſtance of France and an Iriſh army. In theſe circumſtances was Ireland, when the prince of Orange landed in England. Tyrconnel gave out new commiſſions for levying thirty thouſand men; and reports were ſpread all over the iſland, that a general maſſacre of the proteſtants was deſigned in November. Terrified at this, the proteſtants began to run together for their defence both in Munſter and Ulſter. They had no great ſtrength in Munſter, having been diſarmed; nor any ſtore of ammunition for the few arms they had. So deſpairing of defending themſelves, great numbers came over to England, full of diſmal apprehenſions for thoſe left behind. They moved earneſtly that a ſpeedy aſſiſtance might be ſent them. In Ulſter the proteſtants had more ſtrength, but they wanted a leader. The lords of Granard and Montjoy, in whom they moſt confided, kept ſtill ſuch meaſures with Tyrconnel, that
1688. they would not take the conduct of them. However, Lon-
Dec. 9. donderry, the chief town in the north of Ireland, had taken arms before the prince of Orange reached London, as had alſo Inniſkillin, Sligo, Coleraine, Kilmore, and ſome others of leſs note. As ſoon as the prince came to St. James's, the nobility and gentry of Ireland, who were then in London, met at the duke of Ormond's houſe, and drew up an addreſs to be preſented to him, with draughts of the chief ports of that kingdom, praying him to take them into his protection, which the lords and commons of England had before deſired.

There was at this time, a great variety of opinions about the affairs of Ireland. Some thought that the leaving Ireland in ſo dangerous a ſtate, might be a means to bring the convention, to a more ſpeedy ſettlement of England, and that therefore the prince ought not to make too much haſte to relieve Ireland. This advice was generally believed to be given, by the marquis of Halifax. The truth was, the prince did not know whom to truſt: The Engliſh army was diſcontented, and probably, if he had ſent any of them they would have joined Tyrconnel: nor could he ſend away any

of

of his Dutch troops, on whom he chiefly truſted for maintaining the quiet of England. Then the magazines were ſo exhauſted, that till new ſtores were provided, there was little ammunition, to ſpare. The raiſing new troops was a work of time, nor were there any ſhips of war in thoſe ſeas to ſecure the tranſports. And to ſend a ſmall company of officers with ſome ammunition, which was all that could be done on a ſudden; ſeemed to be expoſing them to the enemy. Theſe conſideration inclined him to take another method. It was thought by ſome, that Ireland would certainly follow the fate of England. This was managed by an artifice of Tyrconnel's, who, by deceiving and threatning the moſt eminent proteſtants in Dublin, got them to write over to London, and give aſſurances that he would deliver up Ireland, if he might have good terms for himſelf. The earl of Clarendon was much depended upon by the proteſtants in Ireland, who made all their applications to the prince by him. Thoſe who were employed by Tyrconnel to deceive the prince, ſaid, Tyrconnel would never reſign, unleſs he was aſſured, that Clarendon was not to ſucceed. Upon which the prince avoided ſpeaking to Clarendon about the Iriſh affairs, who having poſſeſſed himſelf with the hopes of Tyrconnel's poſt, and ſeeing them fruſtrated, became a violent oppoſer of the new ſettlement, reconciled himſelf to king James, and remained ever after a warm promoter of his intereſt. The prince being under difficulties how to relieve Ireland, hearkened to a propoſition made him; which was to ſend over lieutenant general Hamilton, one of the officers that belonged to Ireland, and a ſort of priſoner of war to the prince. Hamilton who had ſerved in France with reputation, had great credit with Tyrconnel, and though a papiſt, was believed to be a man of honour. He undertook to prevail with Tyrconnel to reſign, and promiſed to return in caſe he did not ſucceed. But inſtead of perſuading Tyrconnel to ſubmit, Hamilton adviſed him to ſtand out, for that all things in England were turning very faſt in favour of king James. This ſtep had a very ill effect, for before Hamilton came to Dublin, Tyrconnel was in ſuch deſpair, as looking on all as loſt, that he ſeemed to be very near a full reſolution of getting the beſt terms he could. This appears the more probable from what paſſed at an extraordinary council, to conſider the ſtate of affairs, held by Tyrconnel in the caſtle of Dublin the day after king James retired from Rocheſter into France, which he could not have heard of. At this council chief Juſtice Keating, the only proteſtant judge in the kingdom, 1689.

1689. dom, made a ſpeech to this purpoſe; "That it would be "in vain to contend with the forces, which the prince of "Orange had brought to England, and which had maſtered "all oppoſition, or rather had met none in their march from "the weſt to London; and that they would certainly find "their work as eaſy in Ireland. That they ſhould call to "mind the misfortunes they lay under by their laſt rebel-"lion, and the conſequences, that would attend another by "the utter forfeiture of all their lands and eſtates. That in "the north the proteſtants were already in arms, and would "readily join with any other proteſtants, who ſhould be ſent "to their aſſiſtance. That the government of England be-"ing in the prince of Orange's hands, there was no ſuccour "to be expected from that kingdom; nor had they any fund "of money to maintain a war, the revenue of Ireland not "being ſufficient to diſcharge the public expence: and that "this revenue would decreaſe daily. Therefore, concluded "he, as I am called to give my advice on this extraordinary "occaſion, ſo I will not be anſwerable for any of the miſe-"ries, that may enſue upon your non-compliance, but ex-"hort your excellency to make a wiſe, timely, and honour-"able accommodation, which I doubt not you may obtain "for yourſelf and people. May almighty God direct your "intentions for the good of the public."

St. of pr. in Ir. p. 112.

Tyrconnel heard the judge with patience, who was ſeconded by ſome of the more moderate papiſts; and at length moved in council, that if they would ſtand by and declare for the king and the proteſtant religion, he would immediately make the earl of Granard, preſident of that council, lieutenant general, and the lord Montjoy, major general of the army of that kingdom; which the earl of Granard declining, Tyrconnel left the council abruptly without coming to any reſolution. But Hamilton's arrival and perſuaſions ſecured him to king James, though he ſaw he muſt manage ſo as to gain as much time as he could, that the prince might not make too much haſte before a fleet and ſupplies came from France. Accordingly ſeveral letters were ſent over to England, giving aſſurances that Tyrconnel was fully reſolved to treat and ſubmit.

King James's reception at the court of France. Burnet.

King James came into France in December 1688, where he was received with great civility by Lewis XIV. who aſſured him, that as they had both the ſame intereſts, ſo he would never give over the war till he had reſtored him to his throne

throne (g). The only proſpect which king James now had, was to keep up his party in Ireland and Scotland. Tyrconnel ſent him private meſſages, earneſtly preſſing him for ſpeedy ſupplies, though at the ſame time to carry on his pretended deſign to ſubmit to the prince of Orange, and to diſguiſe his real intentions, he perſuaded the lord Montjoy to go with the chief baron Rice, to king James, to repreſent to him the weakneſs of Ireland, and the neceſſity of yielding to the time, and waiting a better opportunity of ſerving himſelf of his Iriſh ſubjects. He ſwore moſt ſolemnly, that he was in earneſt in this meſſage, and that he knew the court of France would oppoſe it with all their power; 'for '(ſaid he) that court minds nothing but their own intereſt, 'and they would not care, if Ireland were ſunk to the pit 'of hell ſo they could but give the prince of Orange but 'three months diverſion. But, (added he) if the king be 'perſuaded to ruin his faſteſt friends to do himſelf no ſer-'vice, only to gratify France, he is neither ſo merciful nor 'ſo wiſe as I believe him to be. If he recover England, 'Ireland will fall in courſe, but he never can expect to con-'quer England by Ireland. If he attempts it, he ruins Ire-'land to do himſelf no kindneſs, but rather to exaſperate 'England the more againſt him, and make his reſtoration 'impoſſible.' He intimated likewiſe, that if the king would not do it, he would look on his refuſal to be forced on him by thoſe, in whoſe power he was, and that he ſhould think himſelf obliged to do it without his conſent. Every body told the lord Montjoy, that this was all an artifice to amuſe the proteſtants, and to get him, who was the likelieſt man to head them, out of the way; notwithſtanding which, he was prevailed upon, contrary to the general opinion of all the proteſtants in Ireland, to undertake the buſineſs, having firſt had theſe conceſſions made him in behalf of the proteſtants. 1. That no more commiſſions ſhould be given out, or new men raiſed. 2. That no more of the army ſhould be ſent into the north. 3. That none ſhould be queſtioned for what was paſſed. 4. That no private houſe ſhould be garriſoned

1689.

See of pr. in Ir. p. 123.

(g) De la Fayette in his memoirs ſpeaks very meanly of king James. He was (ſays he) perpetually ſurrounded by the jeſuits, affecting to declare himſelf of their ſociety; and his great bigotry expoſed him to contempt; ſo that the archbiſhop of Rheims, (brother to Louvois) ſeeing him come from maſs, could not help ſaying ironically, 'there goes a 'very honeſt gentleman, who has 'abandoned three kingdoms for 'a maſs.'

1689. Jan. 10. or disturbed with soldiers. He was no sooner set out from Dublin with the chief baron Rice, but Tyrconnel, according to his usual method of falshood, denied these concessions, and refused to observe any of them; and the lord Montjoy, immediately after his arrival at Paris, instead of being heard to deliver his message, was committed prisoner to the bastile, on account of the great zeal, which he had lately shewn for the protestant interest; and this further exasperated the protestants of Ireland against king James, and made them look upon him as a violator of public faith to his subjects. However Tyrconnel gained his point, which was a good deal of time. Those who advised the sending over of Hamilton, were now out of countenance, and the earl of Clarendon loudly exclaimed against it. Sir William Temple's son, secretary at war, who had raised in the prince a high opinion of Hamilton's honour was terribly affected with his treachery, and soon after, without any other visible cause of melancholy, went in a boat on the Thames near the bridge, and leaped into the river and drowned himself.

French troops sent into Ireland. Burnet.

Whatever disposition Lewis XIV. had to support king James, the French ministry was at that time much divided. Louvois had the greatest credit, and was very successful in all his counsels; so that he was most considered. But Seignelay was believed to have more personal favour, and to be more entirely united to madam Maintenon. These two were in a high competition for favour, and hated each other. Seignelay had the marine, as the other had the army, for his province. King James therefore having the most dependance on the marine, and looking on the secretary for that post as the most powerful favourite, made his chief application to him; which induced Louvois to cross and retard every thing, which was proposed for his service; so that matters went on slowly and very defectively. There was likewise another circumstance in king James's affairs, that did him much hurt. The count de Lausun, (who was once designed for the husband of mademoiselle de Montpensier, daughter of Gaston, duke of Orleans, though Lewis XIV. thought proper to break off the match, after he had consented to it) had come over to England to king James, and offered him his service, and had attended on the queen, when she retired to France. He had obtained a promise from king James of the command of such forces, as the king of France would assist him with. Louvois hated Lausun; nor did the king of France like to employ him; and therefore Louvois sent to king James, desiring him to ask of the king of France, Souvray,

Souvray, a ſon of his, whom he was educated to ſerve in war; to command the French troops. But king James had ſo engaged himſelf to Lauſun, that he thought he could not in honour depart from it. From that moment therefore, it is ſaid, Louvois ſtudied by all the ways he could think of, to diſparage him, and all the propoſitions he made. However, king James obtained about five thouſand Frenchmen to be ſent over with him to Ireland (h), but no conſiderable ſupplies of money. But when Lauſun, who was to have the command

1689.

Mem. de la Fayette, p. 146, 152, 153.

(h) Sir John Bereſby tells us, that the French king furniſhed him with a ſquadron of fourteen men of war, ſix leſſer frigates, and three fireſhips, all well manned and fitted; as alſo with a ſum of two hundred thouſand livres in ready money, and fifty thouſand piſtoles, as a preſent for his pocket, together with plate, tents, and a moſt royal and ſplendid equipage. He aſſiſted him likewiſe with eight experienced field officers, one hundred of inferior note, a guard of one hundred Swiſs, a band of ſkilful pioneers, fifteen thouſand of his own natural ſubjects, arms for forty thouſand men more, cannon and ammunition in a great abundance, and over and above made him an offer of fifteen thouſand of his French troops; but king James excuſed himſelf, ſaying, he would ſucceed by the help of his own ſubjects, or periſh in the attempt. Sir John likewiſe informs us, that on the firſt of March 1688-9, a lady of his acquaintance, who had been intruſted with ſome jewels of king James's, ſhewed him a letter from that king, dated the 17th of February N. S. intimating, that he was to ſet out next day for Ireland, "and depended upon his old friends "to aſſiſt him in his cauſe. This lady, adds Sir John, told me, "the French king had ſupplied "him with a great treaſure of "money, and ſix thouſand "Swiſs proteſtants: that he intended to go through Ireland "for Scotland, there to call a "parliament, inſtead of the propoſed convention; and that "from thence he would march "into England, and put himſelf entirely into the hands of "the proteſtant intereſt. She "added, that as ſhe had a "friendſhip for the lord privy "ſeal, [the marquis of Halliſax] "ſhe had a mind to diſcloſe herſelf to him, if with any ſafety "ſhe ſo might do. I told her "I would ſpeak to his lordſhip "that very night, and let her "know farther. Having an "opportunity of ſpeaking to "him accordingly, I failed not "to be as good as my word, "though I muſt own, the topic being of ſo nice and tender a ſort, I did it with great "caution. However, I give "him plainly to underſtand, "that the chief motive, which "induced the lady to deſire a "meeting with him, was, to "impart to him what might be "for his own good, and the "ſervice of the public. Hereupon he began to be more "free and open with me than "he

1689. command of theſe forces, was to depart, he demanded to be made a duke of France, and propoſed that affair firſt to Seignelay, who mentioning it to Lewis XIV, the king was extremely angry with the demand, and when Lauſun ſpoke of it to him, expreſſed himſelf with great ſeverity. Upon this Lauſun excuſed himſelf, by alledging that king James had ordered him to ſollicit that honour; and he requeſted that king and his queen to declare the ſame to the king of France, which they both did. But, he being refuſed the title, thought proper to lay aſide all thoughts of going to Ireland, though king James ſoon after made him a knight

" he had hitherto been on this " chapter; and I told him in " general, that great deſigns " were on foot. He ſaid, he " believed it; and that though " men ſeemed to be for the pre- " ſent intereſt as moſt prevalent, " is was not altogether diſcreet, " to venture too far: that if " matters really were as I had " ſaid, it was but ſafe to carry it " fair with thoſe in the oppoſi- " tion, and ſo let ſome people " know he ſpoke always with " great reſpect of king James: " that if we came to blows, it " was uncertain who would " ſtrike hardeſt: and that he " ſhould be glad to meet the " lady at my houſe, whenever " ſhe pleaſed. But his lordſhip " however ſaid, all imaginable " care would be taken to ward " off any danger, that might " threaten us: that an army of " twenty thouſand men would " be preſently raiſed: that all " ſuſpicious perſons would be ſe- " cured, the parliament intend- " ing to inveſt the king with " a power to impriſon whom he " pleaſed, and to keep them in " ſafe cuſtody till they came to " a trial; and in fine, that the " parliament would moſt plen- " tifully furniſh the King for the " proſecution of the war. At " this time ſeveral lords and " gentlemen of both houſes " withdrew to their ſeveral " countries; and I was told, " that ſome, who were out- " wardly great friends to the " preſent government, were " treating for terms on the other " ſide; which I particularly " communicated to his lordſhip, " and particularly made men- " tion of ſome he little ſuſpect- " ed. Whereupon his lordſhip " ſaid, that if king James was " actually driving on at the rate " reported, the papiſts would " certainly contrive ſome how " or other to aſſaſſinate or kill " king William; well knowing, " what a taſk it would be to de- " fend the crown on the head of " a woman; with much to the " ſame effect——On the 3d of " March, lord Hallifax met the " lady I juſt now mentioned to " have received a letter from " king James. She dealt very " frankly with him, but durſt " not tell him all ſhe knew. " However, he deſired her to " be his friend, if any altera- " tion of affairs ſhould by any " means be brought to paſs." Reresby's mem. p. 334, &c.

of

of the garter; and Roſen, a german, was appointed to go in his room under the title of lieutenant-general. The reſt of the officers were Maumont, captain of the guards, in the poſt of mareſchal de camp; Puſignan, colonel of the regiment of Languedoc, as brigadier of the foot; Ley Gar, brigadier of the horſe; and Boſelaw, captain of the guards, as major general. Beſides theſe officers there were ſent likewiſe an hundred captains and an equal number of lieutenants. 1689.

When king James took his leave of the king of France, the latter told him; that 'the beſt thing he could wiſh him, 'was never to ſee him again.' He took ſhipping at Breſt, and landed at Kinſale in Ireland, on the 12th of March 1688-9. The next day he went, with a numerous attendance, to Cork, where he was received by the earl of Tyrconnel, who cauſed one of the magiſtrates to be executed for declaring for the prince of Orange. On the 24th of March king James entered Dublin in a triumphant manner, and the next morning having called a council turned out the earl of Granard the chairman, and chief juſtice Keating; and in their rooms, placed Cartwright, biſhop of Cheſter; and lieutenant colonel Dorrington, and count D'Avaux the French ambaſſador, who under another title was governor of Ireland for the king of France. In ſhort the officers and domeſtics of king James, were almoſt all French. King James lands in Ireland. State of Pr. in Ir. p. 166. Boyer. Ken.

Theſe circumſtances gave ſome colour to a report then current, that there was a ſecret treaty between him and the French king, by which king James obliged himſelf, as ſoon as he ſhould be reſtored to his kingdoms, to renounce all claim to the title and arms of France; to reſign the ſoveraignty of the narrow ſeas, and the honours of the flag: to furniſh France at his own charge with thirty ſhips of the line, and twenty thouſand land forces, when he ſhould be required; to make no treaty or alliance, without the conſent of the king of France; to have an army conſtantly on foot, and to keep in his pay ten thouſand French, and five thouſand catholic Swiſs; to yield up Ireland to Lewis, who in return, engaged to conquer for him Sicily and Sardinia; and laſtly, in caſe the two princeſſes king James's daughters, ſhould become widows, to put them into the hands of the French king, in order to be married to whom he ſhould think proper, upon condition, that the eldeſt ſon that ſhould be born of ſuch marriage, ſhould be king of Scotland and Ireland, England and it's dominions in America remaining to the prince of Wales. The French were to have as a ſecurity for the performance of theſe conditions a garriſon in A ſecret treaty with the king of France. Fr. Cont.

1689. Dover caſtle, and at Portſmouth and Plymouth. And by the additional articles to this treaty, it was reſolved to ſuppreſs the proteſtant religion in Ireland. This treaty appeared ſo improbable, that the reality of it was doubted by many, but it muſt be owned that king James's conduct in Ireland confirmed the ſuſpicions of others that he had actually entered into ſuch an ingagement.

King James publiſhes five proclamations. Boyer. Kennet.

Upon his arrival at Dublin, he ordered five proclamations to be publiſhed: one ſeemingly in favour of his proteſtant ſubjects, who had lately left that kingdom, requiring them to return home, with aſſurance of his protection; and further requiring all his ſubjects of what perſuaſion ſoever, to join with him againſt the prince of Orange. A ſecond, commending all his Roman catholic ſubjects for their vigilance and care in arming themſelves; yet whereas it had encouraged ſome robberies, it required all but ſuch, who were actually under command and pay in the army, to lay up their arms in their ſeveral abodes. A third, inviting the country to carry proviſion to his army. A fourth, raiſing ſuch monies, as were current in Ireland; and a fifth, calling a parliament to meet at Dublin on the 7th of May. At the ſame time he created the earl of Tyrconnel a duke, and beſtowed the royal regiment on colonel Dorrington in the room of the duke of Ormond.

Tyrconnel made a duke.

The proteſtants were ſo little inclined to truſt king James's promiſes, that they choſe to ſtand upon their defence; and gathering into one body, made a ſhow of oppoſing his forces in the open field. But being routed by lieutenant-general Hamilton (i) at a place called Drummore, their reſiſtance and defeat gave occaſion to king James and Tyrconnel to uſe thoſe in their power with redoubled ſeverity, and to march towards the north with an army of about twenty thouſand men, to force the reſt out of their ſtrong holds.

King William being ſenſible of the deſperate condition of his Iriſh ſubjects, had already ſent capt. James Hamilton, with ammunition and arms to Londonderry, and named col. Lundee, on whoſe fidelity he depended, governor of that town. But it ſoon appeared, how much he was miſtaken in his choice. On the 13th of April, Mr. George Walker,

(i) This gentleman had been baniſhed the court of France for making love to the princeſs of Conti, the king's daughter, who ſeemed on her part to be more fond of his converſation than that of any other perſon. Mem. de la Fayette, p. 193.

rector

rector of Donahmoore in the county of Tyrone, who had raiſed a regiment for the defence of the proteſtants receiving intelligence, that king James having taken Coleraine and Kilmore, after a ſtout reſiſtance, was drawing his forces towards Londonderry, haſtened thither to give Lundee an account of it. The governor at firſt believed it to be only a falſe alarm, but was ſoon convinced of the contrary, the enemy being advanced to Cledyford. Walker returned to Lyfford, where he joined col. Crafton, and afterwards according to Lundee's directions, took his poſt at the Long Cauſey, which he vigorouſly maintained a whole night; but being over-powered by the enemy's numbers, retreated to Londonderry, where he vainly endeavoured to perſuade Lundee to take the field. On the 17th of April col. Lundee thought fit to call a council of war, and that col. Cunningham and col. Richards, who two days before came into the river of Lough-Foyle with their regiments from England, ſhould be members of it. Accordingly they met, and with other gentlemen, either equally diſaffected, or at beſt, as little acquainted with the condition of the town, or the inclination and reſolution of the people, they at laſt concluded, "that there was no proviſion in the town of Londonderry, "for the preſent garriſon, and the two regiments on board, "for above a week or ten days at moſt; and it appearing, "that the place was not tenable againſt a well appointed "army; therefore it was not convenient for his majeſty's "ſervice, but the contrary, to land the two regiments un"der colonel Cunningham. That conſidering the preſent "circumſtances of affairs, and the likelihood the enemy "would ſoon poſſeſs themſelves of that place, it was thought "moſt convenient that the principal officers ſhould with"draw themſelves, as well for their own preſervation, as in "hopes, that the inhabitants, by a timely capitulation, "might make terms the better with the enemy." After this reſolution, an inſtrument was prepared to be ſubſcribed by the gentlemen of the town-council, and to be ſent to king James, who was advanced in perſon with his army as far as St. John's town; and it was recommended with this encouragement, that there was no doubt but upon ſurrender of the town, king James would grant a general pardon, and order reſtitution of all that had been plundered from them. Some gentlemen were influenced by theſe conſiderations to ſubſcribe; others not only refuſed, but began to conceive ſome jealouſies of their governor; and ſome, though they did but gueſs at their proceedings, expreſſed themſelves af-

1689.

London-derry beſieged. Walker, P. 15—20.

1689. ter a ruder manner, threatning to hang both the governor and his council. However, captain White was ſent out to the king to receive propoſals from him; and it was at the ſame time agreed with lieutenant-general Hamilton, that he ſhould not march the army within four miles of the town. But contrary to this agreement, king James, upon the confidence given him, that the town would ſurrender at the ſight of his formidable army, advanced on the 18th of April at the head of it before the walls, where meeting with a warm reception, which put his men in ſome diſorder, he retired to St. John's town. In the mean time Mr. Muckeridge the town-clerk, ſaw it abſolutely neceſſary to give the people ſome intimation of the proceedings at the council of war; which diſcovery ſo enraged them againſt the governor and his council, that the latter finding themſelves in danger, made their eſcape in confuſion, though not without ſome hazard to their perſons, from the ſoldiers themſelves, who were under great diſcontent to be deſerted by thoſe, who had engaged them in the difficulties, which they were then under. The governor could not ſo eaſily retire, being more obnoxtious than any of the reſt, and therefore thought it convenient to keep his chamber. A council being appointed there, Mr. Walker and major Baker endeavoured to perſuade him to continue in his government; but he poſitively refuſing to concern himſelf, they, out of reſpect to his commiſſion, thought it a duty to contribute to his ſafety, and ſuffered him to diſguiſe himſelf, and in a ſally for the relief of Culmore, to paſs in a boat with a load of match on his back; from whence he went to Scotland, where he was ſecured, and ſent to London, to anſwer for the miſcarriages laid to his charge.

The garriſon of Londonderry being thus effectually encouraged by Mr. Walker to maintain the town againſt king James, they unanimouſly reſolved to chuſe both him and major Baker to be their governors during the approaching ſiege. But theſe gentlemen conſidering the importance as well as uncertainty of ſuch an office, acquainted by letter colonel Cunningham, (whoſe buſineſs they had reaſon to think it was to take care of them) with this matter and deſired him to undertake the charge; but he pretending, that by his inſtructions he was obliged to obey the orders of colonel Lundee, refuſed the propoſal, and returned to England, where both he and colonel Richards were deſervedly caſhiered. Upon this refuſal Mr. Walker and major Baker accepted the government of the garriſon, and regimented the

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men in the town, to the number of ſeven thouſand and twenty, under eight colonels, and three hundred and thirty-three inferior officers. 1689.

It was certainly a bold undertaking in this divine and major Baker to maintain againſt a formidable army, commanded by a king in perſon, an ill-fortified town, with a garriſon compoſed of poor people, frightened from their own homes, and without a proportionable number of horſe to ſally out, or engineers to inſtruct them in the neceſſary works. Beſides, they had not above twenty guns; and not one of them well mounted; and not above ten days proviſion, in the opinion of the former governor; ſo that ſeveral deſerted every day; and others not only gave conſtant intelligence to the enemy, but induſtriouſly endeavoured to betray the governors. On the 20th of April king James inveſted the place; and the next day began to batter it; of which the governors ſent advice to England by Mr. Bennet, acquainting his majeſty with their reſolutions to defend themſelves to the laſt, and imploring a ſpeedy aſſiſtance. In the mean time ſeveral attacks were made by the beſiegers, and as many ſallies by the beſieged, in both which the beſieged had always the advantage; and they would have had leſs reaſon to fear either the number or rage of their enemies without, if they had not had within both famine and ſickneſs to oppoſe. Boyer, p. 60.

On the 29th of April king James retired from the camp (k) to meet his parliament at Dublin; and the beſiegers finding their attempts ſtill attended with ill ſucceſs, removed their main body from St. John's town, and pitched their tents upon Bely-ugry hill about two miles diſtant from Londonderry, for the cloſer guard of the town, to hinder the beſieged from coming to the wells of water. On the 17th of June the beſiegers made an aſſault on that part of the place, which they thought moſt acceſſible, but were repulſed with great ſlaughter; and the next morning they began to batter the walls with the uſual ill ſucceſs. On the other hand the beſieged began to be reduced to the laſt extremity, when they eſpied three ſhips, that fired at Kilmore caſtle, and attempted to come up the river, which however was prevented by the enemies ſhot. Not long after they diſcovered a fleet King James retires to Dublin. Ibid. p. 62, &c.

(k) King James came in perſon to encourage the beſiegers; but finding the ſiege went on very ſlowly, he is ſaid to expreſs himſelf thus, 'Had his army 'been Engliſh, they would have 'brought him the town ſtone by 'ſtone by that time.' Story's continuation of the war in Ireland, p. 5.

1689. of thirty ſail in the Lough, which they believed came from England to their relief, though they could not propoſe any method to get intelligence from them, the enemy watching them more narrowly, and having raiſed batteries oppoſite to the ſhips, lined both ſides of the river with muſketeers, and contrived in the narrow part of the river where the ſhips were to paſs, a ſort of ſtaccado, being a boom of timber joined by iron chains, and ſtrengthened by a cable of twelve inches thickneſs twiſted round it. Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, one Roch boldly adventured to get to the water-ſide over againſt the town, and then ſwimming croſs the river gave the beſieged an account, that major-general Kirk (1) was come to their aſſiſtance with men, proviſion, and arms; and how much he deſired to get with his ſhips up to the town. With this meſſenger Kirk had ſent another, one Crumy a Scotſman, to give them the ſame account, and to know the condition of the garriſon; but he being taken by the enemy, was by them inſtructed to frame a meſſage much differing from the other. Thereupon the beſiegers invited the garriſon to a parley, telling them, that they were under great miſtakes about the major general, and their expectations from England, where things were all in confuſion; and that they might have leave to inform themſelves further from the meſſenger, whom they had taken. The beſieged ſent ſome to that purpoſe, who ſoon diſcovered the cheat, and returned with other particulars of his treachery. The governors received further intelligence by a little boy, who with great ingenuity brought two letters from the major general at Inch, the one ty'd in his garter, and the other within a cloth-button. By the latter the general aſſured Mr. Walker, "that he would endeavour all means imaginable for their relief, but found it impoſſible by the river, which made him ſend a party to Inch, whither he

(1) The employing of him was not at all approved of. Though he had deſerted king James, it was feared, that he was ſo conſcious of his ſanguinary conduct, after the defeat of the duke of Monmouth at Sedgemore, that, as the Engliſh proteſtants would never be reconciled to him, ſo he muſt therefore do ſomething to regain the good will of their enemies. However, this is certain, that he lay ſix weeks in the Lough without attempting to relieve the garriſon of Londonderry, who were all the while reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. Oldmixon, p. 21. This agrees with what biſhop Burnet ſays, that Kirk made not that haſte to relieve them that was neceſſary, conſidering the miſery they were in, II. 19.

"was

"was going himſelf to try, if he could beat off the enemies 1689.
"camp, or divert them ſo, that they ſhould not preſs the
"town. That he had ſent officers, ammunition, arms,
"great guns; &c. to Inniſkillin, who had 3000 foot and
"1500 horſe, and a regiment of dragoons, that had pro-
"miſed to come to their relief; and at the ſame time he
"would attack the enemy by Inch. That he expected ſix
"thouſand men from England every minute, they having
"been ſhipped eight days before. That he had ſtores and
"victuals for the town, and was reſolved to relieve them.
"That England and Scotland were in a very good poſture,
"and all things there were well ſettled. That they in the
"town ſhould be good huſbands of their victuals, and, by
"God's help, they ſhould overcome thoſe barbarous people.
"That ſeveral of the enemy had deſerted to him, who all
"aſſured him they could not ſtay long."

All this while the beſieged were not a little weakened by the raging famine; and though many bold attempts were made to reach the ſhips in the river, they were ſtill fruſtrated by the enemies ſhot. About this time major Baker being taken very ill, and made incapable to act as governor, col. Michelburn was choſen to aſſiſt Mr. Walker, that if one ſhould fall, the town might not be left without a government, and to the inconveniences of a conteſted election. On the other ſide the arrival of marſhal Roſene, the French general, who was appointed to command in chief in the Iriſh camp, very much ſpirited the beſiegers. This general having viewed the fortifications of the town, and finding, how little his men had advanced in the ſiege, expreſſed himſelf with great fury againſt the beſieged, and ſwore he would level the place with the ground, and bury thoſe, who defended it, in its ruins, putting all to the ſword, without conſideration of either age or ſex, and would ſtudy the moſt exquiſite torments to lengthen the miſery of ſuch, as he ſhould find obſtinate. But neither his threats nor his fair promiſes, of both which he was very liberal, had any effect upon thoſe, who had ſo abſolutely devoted themſelves to the defence of their city, their religion, and the intereſt of king William and queen Mary. And leſt any ſhould contrive to ſurrender the town, or move it to the garriſon, the governor made an order, that no ſuch thing ſhould be mentioned upon pain of death. On the 20th of June died governor Baker, to the great loſs and affliction of the beſieged. Three days before lieutenant-general Hamilton ſent ſome plauſible offers to the garriſon, to which they ſeemed to hearken, till they had uſed that opportunity

1689. portunity to ſearch for proviſions; and though they were reduced to the neceſſity of feeding upon horſe-fleſh, dogs, cats, rats, and mice, tallow, ſtarch, dried and ſalted hides; in a word, on the moſt loathſome things, that men in their condition ever uſed for ſuſtenance; yet they unanimouſly reſolved to eat the Iriſh, and then one another, rather than ſurrender; and their anſwer to Hamilton was, "that they much wondered he ſhould expect they ſhould place any confidence in him who had ſo unworthily broke faith with king William their ſovereign: that he was once generouſly truſted, tho' an enemy, and yet betrayed his truſt; and they could not believe he had learned more ſincerity in an Iriſh camp." This bold anſwer ſo enraged the French general, that he publiſhed an order directed to the governors and garriſon of Londonderry, importing, "that if they did not deliver the town to him by the firſt of July, according to lieutenant-general Hamilton's propoſals, he would diſpatch his orders as far as Baliſhannon, Charlemont, Belfaſt, and the barony of Imſhoven, and rob all, protected as well as unprotected, proteſtants, that were either related to the garriſon, or of their faction; and that they ſhould be driven under the walls of Londonderry, where they ſhould be ſuffered to ſtarve. He alſo threatned to ruin and lay waſte all their country, if there ſhould appear the leaſt probability of any troops coming from England for their relief." But he concluded, "that if they would return to their obedience, and ſurrender the town upon any tolerable conditions, he would cauſe the capitulation to be punctually obſerved, and protect them from all injuries." But the beſieged received this letter with the ſame contempt and indignation, as they had done Hamilton's propoſals.

The news of this order being brought to Dublin before it was executed, the biſhop of Meath went immediately to king James, to ſee, if he could prevail with him to prevent ſuch a barbarous proceeding. The king very calmly ſaid to the biſhop, 'that he had heard of it before, and that he had 'ſent orders to ſtop it: that general Roſene was a foreigner, 'and uſed to ſuch proceedings, as were ſtrange to us, though 'common in other places: and that if he had been his own 'ſubject, he would have called him to account for it.' Yet he continued that general ſtill in employment, whoſe dragoons and ſoldiers executed his orders againſt the proteſtants with the utmoſt rigour. They firſt ſtript and drove the whole country for thirty miles round before them, not ſparing nurſes with their ſucking children, women big with child,

State of Pr. in Ireland, p. 197. Walker, p. 36.

child, nor old decrepit perſons; ſome women in labour, and ſome who were juſt brought to bed, were driven among the reſt. The very popiſh officers, who executed the thing, confeſſed that it was the moſt diſmal ſight they had ever ſeen; and that the cries of the poor people ſeemed to be ſtill in their ears. They owned, that they gathered above four thouſand, others ſaid, ſeven thouſand; and that they kept many of them without meat or drink for a whole week; that ſeveral hundred died in the place before they were diſmiſſed, and many more on the way as they went home again to their houſes. Nor were they better, when they came there; for the ſtraggling ſoldiers, rapperees, and pilferers, who followed the army, had left them neither meat, drink, houſhold ſtuff, nor cattle, but had taken away all in their abſence, ſo that the generality of them afterwards periſhed for want, and many of them were knocked on the head by theſe ſoldiers. This ſhocking proceeding confirmed the beſieged in their reſolution never to yield to ſuch barbarous people; and it made them ſet up a gallows in view of the beſiegers, and threaten to hang all the priſoners they had taken during the ſiege, if their friends were not immediately diſmiſſed; and they acquainted the enemy, that they might ſend prieſts to their friends to prepare them for death after their own methods. The priſoners declared, they could not blame the garriſon for putting them to death, ſince their own people exerciſed ſuch cruelty on innocent perſons, who were under their protection; but deſired leave from the governor to write a letter to lieutenant general Hamilton, which being allowed, they ſent him a letter ſigned by Nettervil, Butler, Aylmer, Macdonel, Darcy, &c. acquainting him, 'that the lives of 'twenty priſoners lay at ſtake; and therefore, they made it 'their requeſt, that he would repreſent their condition to 'the marſhal general Roſene. That they were all willing 'to die with ſwords in their hands for his majeſty, but it 'was hard to ſuffer like malefactors; nor could they lay their 'blood to the charge of the garriſon, the governor and the 'reſt having treated them with all civility imaginable.' To this letter the lieutenant general anſwered, 'that what thoſe 'poor people were like to ſuffer, they might thank themſelves for, being their own fault; which they might prevent by accepting the conditions, that had been offered 'them. And if, (added he) you ſuffer in this, it cannot 'be helped, but ſhall be revenged on many thouſands, of 'thoſe people, as well innocent as others, within or without that city. However the ſight of the gallows, and the importunity

1689.

1689. importunity of ſome friends of thoſe, who were to ſuffer prevailed upon Hamilton; ſo that on the 4th of July the poor half ſtarved proteſtants had leave to return to their habitations, after they had been kept under the walls of the town three days without meat. The garriſon now conſiſted of five thouſand ſeven hundred and nine men; and to leſſen that number yet more, the governors crowded five hundred of their uſeleſs people among the proteſtants under the walls, who paſſed undiſtinguiſhed with them, though in exchange they got ſome able and ſtrong men out of their numbers.

Walker, p. 36--40. By this time the ſcarcity of the vileſt eatables was increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the garriſon and inhabitants had nothing left, unleſs they could prey upon one another. And it is remakable, that a certain gentleman, who had preſerved himſelf in good caſe, whilſt the generality were reduced to ſkeletons, conceived himſelf in the greateſt danger, and fancying ſeveral of the ſoldiers looked upon him with a greedy eye, thought fit to hide himſelf for three days. Mr. Walker, the governor, being with good reaſon apprehenſive, that theſe diſcouragements might at length overcome that reſolution, which the garriſon had ſo long expreſſed, conſidered of all imaginable methods to ſupport them; to this end he preached on the 30th of July in the cathedral, and endeavoured to confirm their conſtancy by reminding them of what "importance it was to the proteſtant religion at that "time; and told them, that they need not doubt, but that "God would at laſt deliver them from the difficulties they "were under." In this he proved a true prophet, for about an hour after the ſermon, the garriſon diſcovered three ſhips, which major general Kirk had ſent, according to his promiſe, "that when they could hold out no longer, he would "be ſure to relieve them, to the hazard of himſelf, his men, "and his ſhips" The Montjoy of Londonderry, commanded by captain Browning; and the Phœnix of Colerain, commanded by captain Douglaſs; both laden with proviſion, were convoyed by the Dartmouth frigate. The enemy made a moſt furious fire upon them from Culmore, and both ſides of the river, which they received and returned with the greateſt bravery. The Montjoy made a little ſtop at the boom, occaſioned by her rebound, after ſtriking and breaking it, ſo that ſhe was run a ground. Upon this the enemy gave the loudeſt and moſt joyful ſhout, and the moſt dreadful to the beſieged, fired all their guns upon her, and were preparing their boats to board her. The trouble and concern of the beſieged to ſee their laſt hopes diſappointed are

Londonderry relieved. July 30. Walker, p. 40--42.

not

not to be expreſſed; but the Montjoy firing a broad ſide, the ſhock looſened the ſhip ſo, that ſhe got clear, and paſſed the boom. Captain Douglaſs all this while was engaged, and the Dartmouth gave the enemy warm entertainment, till at length the three ſhips got up to the town to the inconceivable joy and tranſport of a garriſon, which reckoned only upon two days life, having noting left but nine lean horſes, and a pint of meal to each man. Hunger and the fatigue of war had ſo far prevailed amongſt them, that of ſeven thouſand five hundred men regimented, they had now alive but four thouſand three hundred, of whom at leaſt a fourth part were rendered unſerviceable. This brave and ſucceſsful undertaking ſo diſcouraged the enemy, that on the laſt of July they raiſed the ſiege in the night-time with great confuſion, and in their retreat made a miſerable havoc in the country, robbing and burning all before them for ſeveral miles, leaving nothing with the country people but what they had the night before. They loſt between eight and nine thouſand men before the walls of the town and an hundred of their beſt officers, moſt of whom fell by the ſword, the reſt of fevers and fluxes, and the French pox, which was very remarkable upon the bodies of ſeveral of their dead officers and ſoldiers. Upon their retreat they firſt incamped at Strabone; but hearing of the defeat of their forces under lieutenant general Mackarty by the Inniſkillin men, they removed their camp further off. Major general Kirk being come to Londonderry was received by the governor and the whole garriſon with the greateſt joy and acclamations; and the next day Mr. Walker complimented him with his own regiment, 'that after doing the king all the ſervice in his power, he 'might return to his own profeſſion.' But the major general deſired him to diſpoſe of it as he pleaſed; and accordingly he beſtowed it on captain White, a gentleman of experienced valour and known merit. The ſame day a council was called at Londonderry, wherein Mr. Walker was deſired and prevailed on immediately to embark for England with an addreſs of thanks from the garriſon and inhabitants to their majeſties; and upon his arrival at court received that welcome and reward, which his eminent ſervices had merited (m). 1689.

Inniſkillin,

(m) Colonel Michelburn, who commanded one of the regiments in Londonderry during the ſiege, claimed to himſelf a conſiderable ſhare in the defence of that town, and drew up a memorial, wherein

1689. Account of Inniskillin.

Inniskillin, another town in the north of Ireland, signalized itself no less than Londonderry in the protestant cause; for upon notice, that Derry had denied entrance to the lord Antrim's regiment, they resolved not to admit any Irish garrison; and having raised a regiment of twelve companies, gave the command of it to Gustavus Hamilton, a person of conduct and resolution, whom they likewise chose for their governor. The townsmen being thus in some posture of defence, proclaimed king William and queen Mary on the 11th of March; but the lord Gilmoy declaring for king James some time after his arrival at Dublin, summoned the governor of Inniskillin to surrender that place to him, with a promise from the king to grant them better terms than they might ever expect from him afterwards. A council being called, it was unanimously agreed to stand firm to their former resolutions of defending the protestant religion, and maintaining king William's title. Whereupon the lord Gilmoy landed all his forces towards Crom, a castle sixteen miles from Inniskillin, and possessed by the protestants, which was besieged some time by part of his troops; but the Inniskilliners having thrown a relief of two hundred men into the castle, forced him to raise the siege, and to retreat to Belturbet. On the 24th of April a detachment of the garrison of Inniskillin, headed by lieutenant-colonel Lloyd, made an excursion into the enemies country, took and demolished the castle at Anghor, and returned home with a considerable booty. Several other skirmishes and recounters passed between the two parties, wherein the Inniskilliners always came off with advantage; but the most remarkable of those actions was that which happened, the day before Londonderry was relieved, wherein two thousand Inniskilliners fought and routed six thousand Irish, at a place called New-

in he complained of "the injustice done him by colonel Baker and Mr. Walker, in assuming to themselves all the honour of it, and taking little or no notice of him, who, according to that memorial, was from the first to the last of that siege as forward and as serviceable as they, and particularly in advancing considerable sums of money for the use of the garrison, which they were not so well able to do; and which he himself wanted afterwards so much, that in Mr. Harley's ministry he lay in the Fleet prison for a debt contracted while he was soliciting the payment of the arrears coming to him; which were paid at last, but in a manner far short of the merit of so gallant an action in the defence of Londonderry." Oldmixon.

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ton-Butler, and took their commander Mackarty (commonly called lord Moncaſhel) with the loſs only of twenty men killed, and fifty wounded (n). 1689.

Purſuant to king James's proclamation, the Iriſh parliament met at Dublin (o) the 7th of May; and the ſame day he made a ſpeech, wherein he told them, "That the exemplary loyalty, which that nation expreſſed to him, at a time when others of his ſubjects ſo undutifully miſbehaved themſelves to him; or ſo baſely betrayed him; and their ſeconding their deputy, as they did, in this bold and re- King James's ſpeech to the Iriſh parliament.

(n) This is the account of Story in his continuation of the wars in Ireland; and it is probable, that Mr. Burchet means the ſame action, when he tells us, that "about the time of raiſing "the ſiege of Londonderry, the "king's forces commanded by "colonel Berry, near Linaſkea, "had a ſignal victory over the "enemy, inſomuch that with "the number killed by the army, and thoſe which were "knocked on the head by the "country people, they loſt not "leſs than four thouſand men; "and their cannon, with moſt "of their ſurviving officers, were "taken, among whom was major-general Mackarty, who "was ſhot through the thigh, "and run into the back." Burchet, B. IV. c. 2. p. 419.

(o) Biſhop king obſerves, that every body foreſaw, what a kind of parliament that would be, and what was like to be done in it. "Our conſtitution, ſays he, "lodges the legiſlative power in "the king, lords, and commons; and each of theſe is a "check on the other; that if "any one attempt a thing pre"judicial to the kingdom, the "other may oppoſe and ſtop it. "But our enemies had made all "theſe for their purpoſes; and "therefore no law could ſignify "any thing to oppoſe them, it "being in their power to re"move any laws when they "pleaſed, by repealing it. The "king was their own, both in"clined of himſelf, and eaſy to "be prevailed on by them, to "do what they would have him; "ſo that we could promiſe our"ſelves no help from his negative vote." The biſhop then ſhows what methods were taken to fill the houſe of lords with popiſh peers, ſo that there were only four or five proteſtant lords temporal, and four ſpiritual lords in it; ſeveral acts being paſſed not by the conſent of theſe laſt, though it was pretended in the preambles to them; and that the houſe of commons was filled in ſuch a manner, that only two proteſtants, ſuch as deſerved that name, were in it. By this means "the parliament openly pro"feſſed itſelf a ſlave to the "king's will, as he was looked "on as factiouſly and rebelli"ouſly inclined, that would dare "to move any thing after any "favourite in the houſe had af"firmed, that it was contrary "to the king's pleaſure." State of proteſtants in Ireland, p. 168-172.

"ſolute

1689. "ſolute aſſerting of his right, in preſerving that kingdom "for him, and putting it in a poſture of defence, made him "reſolute to come to them and to venture his life with "them, in defence of their liberties and his own right. That "to his great ſatisfaction he had not only found them ready "to ſerve him, but that their courage had equalled their "zeal. That he had always been for liberty of conſcience, "and againſt invading any man's right or liberty, having "ſtill in mind that ſaying of holy writ, 'Do you as you "would be done unto, for this is the law and the prophets.' "That it was this liberty of conſcience he gave, which his "enemies both at home and abroad dreaded to have eſta-"bliſhed by law in all his dominions, and made them ſet "themſelves up againſt him, though for different reaſons, "ſeeing that if he had once ſettled it, his people, in the "opinion of the one, would have been too happy, and in "the opinion of the other, too great. That this argument "was made uſe of to perſuade their own people to join with "them, and ſo many of his ſubjects to uſe him as they had "done; but nothing ſhould ever perſuade him to change "his mind as to that; and whereſoever he was maſter, he "deſigned, God willing, to eſtabliſh it by law, and have "no other teſt or diſtinction but that of loyalty, expecting "their concurrence in ſo chriſtian a work, and in making "laws againſt profaneneſs and againſt all ſorts of debauche-"ry. That he ſhould moſt readily conſent to the making "ſuch good and wholeſome laws, as might be for the good "of the nation, the improvement of trade, and relieving "ſuch as had been injured by the late act of ſettlement, as "far forth as might be conſiſtent with reaſon, juſtice, and "the public good of his people. That as he ſhould do his "part to make them happy and rich, he made no doubt of "their aſſiſtance, by enabling him to oppoſe the unjuſt de-"ſigns of his enemies, and to make the nation flouriſh." "That to encourage them the more to it, they knew with "how great generoſity and kindneſs the moſt chriſtian king "gave ſure retreat to the queen, his ſon, and himſelf, when "they were forced out of England, and came to ſeek for pro-"tection and ſafety in his kingdoms; how he embraced his "intereſt, and gave him ſuch ſupplies of all ſorts, as ena-"bled him to come to them, which without his obliging "aſſiſtance he could not have done; and that this he did at "a time, when he had ſo many conſiderable enemies to deal "with, and ſtill continued ſo to do." He concluded as he had begun, and aſſured them, "that he was as ſenſible as they

"could

" could deſire of the ſignal loyalty they had expreſſed to 1689.
" to him; and that he ſhould make it his chief ſtudy, as
" it had always been, to make them and all his ſubjects
" happy."

This ſpeech being ended, and the king withdrawn, Sir Richard Neagle attorney general, who was choſen ſpeaker of the commons, extolled to that houſe their obligations to the king of France and the duke of Tyrconnel for that glorious meeting, and how proper it was for both houſes to return his majeſty thanks for his gracious ſpeech, and to deſire count d'Avaux, the French ambaſſador, to do the ſame to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, on their behalf, for his generous aſſiſting king James. Theſe addreſſes were drawn up and preſented immediately; and then a bill was brought in, containing, 'a recognition of the king's title, and an abhor-
'rence of the prince of Orange's uſurpation, and defection
'of the Engliſh.' The next day his majeſty publiſhed the following declaration, addreſſed to all his loving ſubjects in the kingdom of England.

" James Rex.

" ALtho' the many calumnies and dismal ſtories, by King
" which our enemies have endeavoured to render us James's
" and our government odious to the world, do now appear declarati-
" to have been advanced by them, not only without any on to the
" ground, but againſt their own certain knowledge, as is Engliſh.
" evident by their not daring to attempt to prove theſe
" charges to the world; which we cannot but hope hath
" opened the eyes of our good ſubjects, to ſee how they
" have been impoſed upon by deſigning men, who, to pro-
" mote their own ambitious ends, care not what ſlaughter
" they reduce our kingdoms to; yet we cannot but rejoice,
" that we have had an opportunity to demonſtrate the falſeneſs
" and malice of their pretences, ſince this our arrival in this
" our kingdom of Ireland, by making it our chief concern
" to ſatisfy the minds of our proteſtant ſubjects, the defence
" of their religion, privileges, and properties is equally our
" care with the recovery of our rights. To this end we have
" preferred ſuch of them, of whoſe loyalty and affection we
" are ſatisfied, to places both of the higheſt honour and
" truſt about our perſon, as well as in our army. We have,
" by granting our royal protection to ſuch, whoſe minds
" were ſhaken by the arts of our rebellious ſubjects, diſ-
" pelled their apprehenſions, and effectually ſecured them

1689. " againſt the attempts even of their private enemies. Our
" ear hath always been open to their juſt complaints; and
" ſo far hath our royal mercy been extended to thoſe, who
" were in arms againſt us, that we have actually pardoned
" ſeveral hundreds of them; and moſt notorious criminals
" are kept in an eaſy confinement, as they themſelves ac-
" knowledge. We have taken care, that our ſubjects of
" the church of England be not diſturbed in the exerciſe
" of their religion; and all proteſtant diſſenters enjoy liberty
" of their conſciences without uny moleſtation. And, out
" of our royal care for the proſperity of our people, we
" have recommended to our parliament as the firſt thing ne-
" ceſſary to be diſpatched, to ſettle ſuch a ſecurity and li-
" berty both in ſpiritual and temporal matters, as may put
" an end to theſe diviſions, which have been the ſource of
" all our miſeries; being reſolved, as much as in us lies, to
" entail liberty and happineſs upon our people, ſo far as to
" put it out of the power of our ſucceſſors to invade the
" one, and infringe the other. And this, we take God to
" witneſs, was always our deſign, of which we ſee our
" good ſubjects here are more and more convinced by the
" great numbers of thoſe, who having been ſeduced or
" frightened by the reſtleſs importunities of our enemies,
" are returned to their country and habitations, and who
" aſſure us daily more would follow, if the ports were open.
" But the uſurpers know too well the ſincerity of our inten-
" tions to permit the repaſſage of our ſaid ſubjects, fearing
" nothing more than that their experience ſhould undeceive
" the reſt, who are reſtrained more through ignorance than
" any ill intention; and therefore deny them that liberty,
" which we afford to all, whoſe deſigns, we are ſatisfied,
" tend not to the diſturbance of the peace. By this our
" gracious and royal care of our proteſtant ſubjects, where
" the greateſt part of our nation is catholic, and have, as
" well as we, received the higheſt provocation from their
" fellow-ſubjects of contrary perſuaſions, ſo that nothing but
" our inclination to juſtice, and deſire to ſee our people
" flouriſh, could move us to ſuch a proceeding, we hope our
" ſubjects in England will make a judgment of what they
" may expect from us; and we do hereby promiſe and de-
" clare, that nothing ſhall ever alter our reſolutions to pur-
" ſue ſuch, and no other methods, as by our ſaid ſubjects
" in parliament ſhall be found proper for our common ſe-
" curity, peace, and happineſs. And that none may be de-
" barred of aſſiſting us in recovering our rights, and re-

" deeming

" deeming our people from their preſent ſlavery, out of any 1689.
" apprehenſions from paſt miſcarriages, we do hereby aſſure
" all our ſubjects of what quality ſoever, let their crimes
" againſt us be ever ſo great, that if in twenty four days
" after our appearance in perſon in our kingdom of England,
" they return to their obedience, by deſerting our enemies,
" and joining with us, we will grant them our full pardon,
" and all paſt miſcarriages ſhall be forgot; ſo little do we
" delight in the blood or ruin of our people. But if after
" this our gracious condeſcenſion they ſhall yet continue to
" aſſiſt our enemies and rebels, we do, before God, charge
" all the blood, which ſhall afterwards be ſhed, upon them
" and their adherents; and we doubt not, by the bleſſing of
" God upon our arms, to force the moſt obſtinate to their
" duty; though, as we have made appear, in reducing our
" rebellious ſubjects in this kingdom, we deſire to uſe no
" other than lenity and mercy."

How ill king James's proceedings agreed with this declaration and ſpeech was quickly ſeen, for on the 12th of May, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons by the lord chief juſtice Nugent (p) for repealing the act of ſettlement; which, without any oppoſition, was read three times, and ſent

Act of ſettlement repealed. State of pr. in Ir. p. 174, 185.

(p) This gentleman, who was afterwards created baron of Riverſtown, was the ſon of one, who had been earl of Weſtmeath, but had loſt his honour and eſtate for being an actor in the rebellion begun in 1641. He had never been taken notice of at the bar, when he was advanced by king James to the poſt of chief juſtice of the king's bench, and pitched upon to judge, whether the outlawries againſt his father and his fellow-rebels ſhould be reverſed; and whether the ſettlement of Ireland founded on thoſe outlawries ſhould ſtand good. It was a demonſtration to the proteſtants, what the king intended, when he aſſigned them ſuch a chief juſtice; and indeed this gentleman did not fail to anſwer the expectation conceived of him. He reverſed the outlawries as faſt as they came before him, notwithſtanding a ſtatute made in point againſt it; and in all cauſes, that ever came before him, wherein the plaintiffs and defendants were papiſt and proteſtant, he was obſerved always to give ſentence for the former. Nay, it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that he went ſharer in ſome conſiderable cauſes, and not only appeared for them on the bench, but alſo ſecretly encouraged and fomented them. Before him, a deed ſhould be judged forged or not forged, according as it ſerved a popiſh intereſt. And a proteſtant needed no more to gain a cauſe againſt another proteſtant than to turn papiſt. He ſignalized himſelf likewiſe in another reſpect,

1682. ſent to the lords. By this bill two thirds of the proteſtants of the kingdom, who held their eſtates by virtue of the acts of ſettlement and explanation, were deprived of them. There was no conſideration had, how any man came to his eſtate; for though he purchaſed it at ever ſo dear a rate, he muſt loſe it, and it was to be reſtored, without exception, to the proprietor or his deſcendent, who had it before October 22, 1641, upon what account ſoever he loſt it; though they themſelves did not deny, but many deſerved to loſe their eſtates; and even the ſon of Sir Phelim O Neile, the great murtherer and rebel, was reſtored. In the upper houſe the biſhop of Meath very learnedly argued againſt this bill, alledging, among other objections, that no penalty was provided on ſuch as ſhould enter eſtates without injunctions; no conſiderations for improvements; no ſaving for remainders; no time given tenants and poſſeſſors to remove their ſtock and corn; no proviſion for proteſtant widows; and that it allowed only repriſals for original purchaſe-money, which was hard to make out, and was an injury to the ſecond or third purchaſer. He ſhewed likewiſe, that the bill was unjuſt, and not for the public, or even the king's advantage; but would ruin the kingdom and deſtroy the public faith, as well as inconvenient in point of time. And he concluded with theſe words: "My lords, either there was a rebellion "in this kingdom [in 1641], or there was not. If there "was none, then we have been very unjuſt all this while in "keeping ſo many innocents out of their eſtates; and God "forbid, that I ſhould open my mouth in defence of ſo "groſs an injuſtice. But then what ſhall we ſay to his "majeſty's royal father's declaration in his icon baſilike, "who there owns, that there was a rebellion; and in pur-"ſuance of that opinion, paſſed an act to ſecure ſuch as

which was by committing and perſecuting perſons for feigned offences and treaſons, and by countenancing and encouraging, and after diſcovery, protecting falſe witneſſes againſt proteſtants. Many were brought in danger of their lives by his contrivances; and when the accuſed were acquitted on trial, by a palpable demonſtration that the witneſſes were perjured, he declared that they neither could nor ſhould be proſecuted, for they only ſwore for the king, and he believed the accuſed perſons guilty, though it could not be proved. In ſhort, he ſhewed all the venom and rigour againſt them he could; he was ſet up to deſtroy them, and he went as far in it as his power could reach; his weakneſs, not his inclination, hindered him from carrying it further. King's ſtate of proteſtants, p. 68, 69.

ſhould

" ſhould adventure money for the ſuppreſſing of it; nay, 1698
" what ſhall we ſay to the two bills, that have been brought
" into this houſe, the one by an honourable lord, which
" owns it fully; the latter from the commoners, which
" owns a rebellion, but extenuates it? I take it then for
" granted, there was a rebellion; and if ſo, it was either
" a total or a partial one. If it was a general one, then
" all were guilty of it, and none can pretend to be reſtored
" to his eſtate farther than the king in his mercy ſhall think
" fit to grant it him. If it was a partial one, then ſome
" diſcrimination ought to be made between the innocent and
" the guilty; the innocent ſhould be reſtored, and the
" guilty excluded from their eſtates. But here is a bill,
" that makes no diſtinction between them, but innocent and
" nocent are to fare alike; the one is to be put in as good a
" condition as the other. And can your lordſhips imagine,
" that it is reaſonable to do this, when we all know, that
" there has been a court of claims erected for the tryal of
" innocents; that ſeveral have put themſelves upon the
" proof of their innocence; and after a full hearing of all
" that they could offer for themſelves, have been adjudged
" nocent?" But notwithſtanding the force and evidence of the biſhop's reaſons, ſupported by an addreſs in behalf of the purchaſers under the act of ſettlement, preſented to the king by the earl of Granard, and drawn up by the lord chief juſtice Keating; yet the lord chancellor Fitton's (q) arguments prevailed, and the bill received his royal aſſent, and paſſed into

(q) He had been detected of forgery, not only at Weſtminſter and Cheſter, but likewiſe fined by the houſe of lords in parliament, and laid many years in priſon, whence he was taken by king James, and advanced to the office of lord chancellor of Ireland; though he wanted law and natural capacity, as well as honeſty and courage, to diſcharge ſuch a truſt, and had no other quality to recommend him beſides his being a convert papiſt. But the myſtery of this promotion was eaſily diſcovered. The papiſts of Ireland had gone a great way to retrieve the eſtates, which they had forfeited by the rebellion in 1641, by counterfeit ſettlements, forgeries, and perjuries; and to do their buſineſs in a great meaſure, there needed no more than to find a judge, who would be favourable to and countenance ſuch proceedings; and where could they find a more favourable judge than one, who was notoriouſly involved in the ſame guilt, and who probably in ſome caſes did not eſteem ſuch arts unlawful? but beſides this, there is requiſite to a chancellor a peculiar quickneſs of parts and dexterity, to penetrate into the contrivances of cheats and

1689. into an act. Nor indeed could it be expected otherwiſe, when the greateſt part of both houſes were Roman catholics, and conſiſted of the ſons and deſcendents of thoſe perſons, who had forfeited their eſtates by the rebellion in one thouſand ſix hundred and forty one, men, who had no freeholds or eſtates in the kingdom, but were purpoſely elected to make themſelves eſtates by taking them away from proteſtants. And by theſe means the Engliſh proteſtants loſt more in Ireland than all king James's party in England and Scotland at that time were worth.

and forgeries; for which Sir Alexander Fitton's natural ſlowneſs and heavineſs incapacitated him. But this very defect, together with his zeal for popery, fitted him to execute the king's deſign as effectually as any that could have been found. He could not underſtand the merits of a cauſe of any difficulty, and therefore never failed to give ſentence according to his inclination, having no other rule to lead him. And how he was inclined towards proteſtants, appeared from his declarations on all occaſions againſt them. He did not ſtick, on a hearing, to declare, that they were all rogues, and that amongſt forty thouſand there was not one, who was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain. For this reaſon he would not allow the guardianſhip of a child to the proteſtant mother, but gave it, againſt the poſitive words of the law, to the popiſh relations. For this reaſon he refuſed to hear ſo much as a demurrer in the caſe of Mr. Strafford, the popiſh dean of Chriſt church. For this cauſe he over-ruled both the common rules of practice of the courts, and the laws of the land, declaring in open court, "that the "chancery was above all laws, "and that no law could bind "his conſcience," and he acted accordingly in many caſes, where the proteſtants were concerned. After hearing a cauſe between one of them and a papiſt, he would often declare, that he would conſult a divine before he gave a decree; that is, he would have the opinion of a popiſh prieſt, his chaplain, educated in Spain, and furniſhed with diſtinctions to ſatisfy his conſcience, how far he ſhould do juſtice to proteſtants. Many papiſts came and made affidavits of being in poſſeſſion, when they never were, and got injunctions and orders without any more trouble to quiet their poſſeſſions. But a proteſtant though never ſo palpably diſturbed, could not procure any order, but was ſent to the common law to recover his poſſeſſion by a popiſh jewry, returned by a popiſh ſheriff, before a popiſh judge; that is, he muſt expect law from judges and officers who ſat and acted in defiance of law. If at any time the chancellor was forced to grant an injunction or a decree, it was with all the difficulties and delays that could be; and, often the thing was loſt and deſtroyed, before the order came for recovering it. King's ſtate of the proteſtants in Ireland, p. 65—67, &c.

But

But to make a final extirpation of the proteſtants, there was an act of attainder paſſed in parliament, by which all proteſtants, whoſe names they could find, of both ſexes, and all ages and degrees were attainted of high treaſon, and their eſtates veſted in the king, upon pretence of their being out of the kingdom at the time of paſſing the act. And leſt ſome ſhould be forgotten of thoſe, who were abſent, and not put into the bill of attainder, there was contrived a general clauſe in the act of repeal, by which the real eſtates of all, who dwelt or ſtaid in any place of the three kingdoms, which did not own king James's power, or correſponded with any ſuch as were termed rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting, or aſſiſting to them from the firſt day of Auguſt, 1688, are declared to be forfeited and veſted in his majeſty; and that without any office or inquiſition found thereof. By which clauſe almoſt every proteſtant, who could write, in the kingdom, had forfeited his eſtate; for the packets went from London to Dublin, and back again, conſtantly from Auguſt to March 1688, and few had friends in England, or in the north, but correſponded with them by letters; and every ſuch letter was made by this clauſe a forfeiture of eſtate. They had intercepted and ſearched every packet, that went or came the latter part of this time, and kept vaſt heaps of letters, which were of no conſequence at all to the government; and theſe letters were produced as evidences in the houſe of commons againſt thoſe, who appeared in behalf of their abſent friends, or oppoſed the attainting of ſuch proteſtants, as they had ſome kindneſs for; and they were further reſerved to prove a correſpondence againſt the few men of eſtates, who were in the kingdom. Beſides, it was the end of September 1688, before they heard any thing of the prince of Orange's deſign to make a deſcent into England; and yet to have been in England or Scotland at any time in the month before, or to have correſponded with any there, was made a forfeiture of eſtate by this act. And leſt the children and deſcendents of the proteſtants thus attainted, who had eſtates before 1641, ſhould come in and claim them after the death of the attainted perſons, by virtue of the ſettlement made on valuable conſiderations, and upon marriage, all ſuch remainders and reverſions were cut off. When this bill of attainder was preſented to the king for his aſſent, Sir Richard Neagle, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, told him, that 'many were attainted in that act upon ſuch evidence, as ſatisfied the houſe; and 'the reſt of them, upon common fame.' By this act near

1689. Act of attainder in Ireland. State of pr. in Ir.

1689. three thouſand proteſtants were attainted, and among them two archbiſhops, one duke, ſeventeen earls, ſeven counteſſes, twenty-eight viſcounts, two viſcounteſſes, ſeven biſhops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, eighty-three clergymen, two thouſand one hundred and eighty-two eſquires and gentlemen; and all of them declared traitors, and adjudged to ſuffer the pains of death and forfeiture.

Dover. State of pr. in Ir. p. 204.

Ibid. p. 206. The ſeverity of this act exceeded even that of the famous proſcription at Rome, during the laſt triumvirate. For more were condemned in the little kingdom of Ireland, than were proſcribed at that time through the vaſt extent of the Roman empire. And to make this of Ireland yet the more terrible and unavoidable, the act left no room for the king to pardon after the laſt day of November 1689; and if the pardon was not inrolled before that time, it was declared abſolutely void and null; and at the ſame time the act itſelf was concealed, and no proteſtant allowed a copy of it till the time limited for pardons was paſt at leaſt four months; ſo that the ſtate of the perſons attainted was deſperate and irrecoverable, except an Iriſh parliament ſhould think proper to relieve them; for the king took care to put it out of the power of any Engliſh (as well as out of his own) to help them, by conſenting to another act of this parliament, intitled, 'An act, 'declaring that the parliaments of England cannot bind 'Ireland, and againſt writs of errors and repeals out of Ire-'land into England.'

The ſeſſion ends July 20. The parliament of Ireland having made ſome other acts, and among the reſt, one for liberty of conſcience, was prorogued on the 20th of July to the 12th of January enſuing; and ſo ended this ſeſſion, whoſe proceedings occaſioned no leſs diſturbance in that kingdom, than the war itſelf.

Proceedings againſt the univerſity of Dublin. State of pr. in Ir. It was not thought enough, that Tyrconnel had ſtopt the maintenance of the univerſity of Dublin; but upon king James's arrival, the vice-preſident, fellows and ſcholars, were all further proceeded againſt and ejected; their furniture, library, and communion-plate ſeized, and every thing that belonged to the college, and to the private fellows and ſcholars, taken away. All this was done, notwithſtanding that when they waited upon king James at his firſt coming to Dublin, he promiſed them, 'That he would preſerve 'them in their liberties and properties, and rather augment 'than diminiſh the privileges and immunities granted to them 'by his predeceſſors.' In the houſe they put a popiſh garriſon, turned the chapel into a magazine, and many of the chambers

chambers into prisons for protestants. One Moore, a popish priest, was nominated provost, and one Macarty, library-keeper, and the whole designed for them and their fraternity; and three of the former collegians were forbid to meet together on pain of death. One archbishopric, several bishoprics, and a great many other dignities and livings of the church were designedly kept vacant; and the revenues first paid into the exchequer, and afterwards disposed of to popish bishops and priests, while in the mean time the cures lay neglected. So that it plainly appeared, that the design was to destroy the succession of the protestant clergy. At length things were carried to so great an height, that most of the churches in and about Dublin were seized upon by the government; and colonel Lutterel, governor of that city, on the 18th of June 1690, issued out an order, 'commanding all protestants, who were not house-keepers, to depart 'out of the said city; and all such as were house-keepers, 'to deliver up their arms, both offensive and defensive; and 'likewise forbidding above five protestants meeting any 'where upon pain of death, or such other punishment, as a 'court-marshal should think fit.' And being asked, whether this was designed to hinder their meeting in churches? he answered, that it was intended to prevent their assembling there, as well as in other places, and accordingly all the churches were shut up, and all religious assemblies forbid throughout the kingdom, upon pain of death. 1689.

While king James was pursuing these violent measures, king William, among other objects of his care, was consulting the general good of Europe, and endeavouring to check the exorbitant power of France. It has been observed, that the king of France had violated the peace of Nimeguen, 1678, and the twenty years truce of 1684, by his sudden invasion of the empire in 1688. The diet of Ratisbon incensed at this invasion, and the cruel devastation of the palatinate, unanimously resolved in March 1689, to make a vigorous war "upon the enemy, not only of the empire, but of all Christendom; and even a greater than the turk himself, with whom he was joined in a league against the emperor."

War declared against France. By the diet of Ratisbon.

The United Provinces had in some measure proclaimed war against France, by their manifesto which they had published October 28, 1688; containing the reasons of their assisting the prince of Orange in his expedition to England, wherein they said, that having considered the good understanding between the kings of Great-Britain and France,

By the United Provinces.

and

1689. and that there was a ſtrict and ſecret alliance between them, it was to be feared, if the king of Great-Britain ſhould attain to an arbitrary power over his people, the two kings, being united in intereſt and hatred of the proteſtant religion, would endeavour to overturn, and if poſſible deſtroy their ſtate; and therefore they had reſolved to aſſiſt the prince in his deſign of going over to England, not, as he declared, to invade the kingdom, or dethrone the king, but to preſerve the laws and liberties of the nation, by obliging him to call a free parliament. This manifeſto was followed March 9th 1689, by a former declaration of war.

By Spain. On the 3d of May 1689, Spain provoked at the proceedings of the French king and his unjuſt declaration of war of April 15, ordered the marquis of Caſtanaga, governor of the Netherlands, to proclaim war againſt France, as the common diſturber of chriſtendom.

By Brandenburg. The elector of Brandenburg had alſo declared war the 13th of April. In this ſituation of affairs, the emperor's envoy, the Spaniſh embaſſador, and the Dutch miniſters earneſtly preſſed the king to proclaim war againſt the common enemy, eſpecially as he had openly eſpouſed the cauſe of king James, whom he had ſent into Ireland with a conſiderable body of French forces. To theſe ſollicitations ſo agreeable to his inclinations, the king readily yielded, and Mr. Hampden made a motion in the houſe of commons, for an addreſs to his majeſty for a war with France; which addreſs was voted unanimouſly by three hundred and fifty members, and preſented by the houſe in a body in the following terms (r).

The commons addreſs for a war with France. Pr. H. C. 130. April 26.

"WE your majeſty's moſt loyal and dutiful ſubjects, the commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, moſt humbly lay before your majeſty our earneſt deſire, that your majeſty would be pleaſed to take into your ſerious conſideration, the deſtructive methods of late taken by the French king againſt the trade, quiet, and intereſt of this your kingdom; and particularly the preſent invaſion of the kingdom of Ireland, and ſupporting your majeſty's rebellious ſubjects there. Not doubting in the leaſt, but that

(r) Sir Thomas Clarges ſeconded Mr. Hampden, and another member ſpoke thus: "Mr. "ſpeaker, I bear all the reſpect "that I owe to crowned heads, "but I cannot help ſaying, that it "is of abſolute neceſſity to declare war with the moſt chriſtian Turk who ravages Chriſtendom, and makes war more barbarouſly than the Turks themſelves."

"through

" through your majeſty's wiſdom, the alliance already made, 1689.
" with ſuch as may hereafter be concluded on this occaſion
" by your majeſty, may be effectual to reduce the French
" king to ſuch a condition, that it may not be in his power
" hereafter to violate the peace of chriſtendom, nor preju-
" dice the trade or proſperity of this your majeſty's king-
" dom.

" To this end we moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty, to
" reſt aſſured, upon this our ſolemn and hearty engage-
" ment, that when your majeſty ſhall think fit to enter into
" a war againſt the French king, we will give your majeſty
" ſuch aſſiſtance in a parliamentary way, as may enable
" your majeſty (under that protection and bleſſing God Al-
" mighty has ever afforded you,) to ſupport and go through
" with the ſame."

To which addreſs the king gave this anſwer.

" I receive this addreſs as a mark of the confidence you The
" have in me, which I take very kindly, and ſhall endea- king's an-
" vour, by all my actions, to confirm you in it. ſwer.

" I aſſure you, that my own ambition ſhall never be an Pr. H. C.
" argument to incline me to engage in a war, that may ex- P. 305.
" poſe the nation either to damage or expence. But in the
" preſent caſe I look upon the war ſo much already declared,
" in effect, by France againſt England, that it is not ſo pro-
" perly an act of choice, as an inevitable neceſſity in our
" own defence.

" I ſhall only tell you, that as I have ventured my life
" and all that is dear to me, to reſcue this nation from what
" it ſuffered, I am ready ſtill to do the ſame, in order to the
" preſerving it from all its enemies. And as I do not doubt
" of ſuch aſſiſtance from you, as ſhall be ſuitable to your
" advice to be, to declare war againſt a powerful enemy;
" ſo you may rely upon me, that no part of that, which you
" ſhall give for the carrying it on with ſucceſs, ſhall be di-
" verted by me to any other uſe." (s)

The

(s) Upon this reſolution of a war with France, the king publiſhed a proclamation for the encouraging French proteſtants to tranſport themſelves into this kingdom; declaring, " that " finding, in his ſubjects, a " true and juſt ſence of their " deliverance from the perſe- " cution lately threatning them " for their religion, and of the " miſeries and oppreſſions the " French proteſtants lay under; " ſuch of them as ſhould ſeek " their

1689. The king being aſſured of the aſſiſtance of the commons, acquainted the lords with his intention of ſpeedily declaring war

"their refuge in, and tranſport "themſelves into this kingdom "of England, ſhould not only "have his royal protection, but "he would ſo aid and aſſiſt them "in their ſeveral trades and "ways of livelihood, as that "their being in this realm might "be comfortable and eaſy to "them." Some perſons, who were abſolutely diveſted of charity, were diſpleaſed with this invitation given to foreigners to ſettle here; but the generality highly applauded it, not only out of tenderneſs for their perſecuted brethren, but alſo out of regard to the advantage of England; juſtly conſidering, that the kind entertainment, which queen Elizabeth gave to the Walloons, whom the inquiſition had driven out of the low countries, had vaſtly improved the woollen and ſilken manufactures of this nation; and that the Dutch daily increaſed in riches, and ſtrength, by the favour which they ſhewed to the French refugees, ſome of whom were wealthy merchants, and the reſt either laborious and induſtrious artificers, or brave and experienced officers and ſoldiers, who would chearfully venture their lives in the defence of the proteſtant religion, and of thoſe ſtates, which afforded them protection. At the ſame time another proclamation prohibited the importation of all ſorts of manufactures and commodities whatſoever of the growth, production, or manufacture of France.

Not long after the French papiſts, ſeeing the countenance given to the proteſtants of their nation, became very inſolent; publicly traducing the preſent government, and diſperſing ſeveral ſorts of libels and ſeditious papers. The houſe of lords being informed of their audacious behaviour, and ſuſpecting they might proceed to more dangerous attempts, ordered an addreſs to be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring he would iſſue out a proclamation, that no French papiſt might come into Whitehall, St. James's, or St. James's Park; and that all French papiſts, who were not houſe-holders nor merchants, ſhuld leave the kingdom within ſix weeks, and all others within ſix months, under the pain of being proſecuted as alien enemies, according to law. To this addreſs, his majeſty anſwered, he would ſpeedily give order therein; but a few days after, the lord-chamberlain acquainted the houſe, "that his "majeſty finding upon further "conſideration, that to baniſh "all French papiſts might be "diſadvantageous to the nation, "they trading to other coun- "tries, which were his majeſty's "allies; and beſides, his ma- "jeſty having promiſed them to "protect them, whilſt they liv- "ed peaceably here, thought it "fit to ſuſpend the iſſuing ſuch "a proclamation, until he had "aſked their lordſhips further "opinion in that matter." Upon this meſſage, the peers thought fit to leave that affair to the king's diſcretion; many of them having heard the king often declare, 'that he came over to deliver

war againſt France; whereupon their lordſhips, unanimouſly reſolved to aſſiſt and ſerve him therein to the utmoſt of their power. And the ſame day a declaration of war againſt the French king was ſolemnly proclaimed, being drawn up in the following form by the maſterly pen of Mr. Sommers, afterwards lord chancellor. 1689.

" William R.

" IT having pleaſed Almighty God to make us the happy inſtruments of reſcuing theſe nations from great and imminent dangers, and to place us upon the throne of theſe kingdoms; we think ourſelves obliged to endeavour to the uttermoſt to promote the welfare of our people, which can never be effectually ſecured, but by preventing the miſeries, that threaten them from abroad. War proclaimed againſt France. May 7. Pr. H. L. p. 360. St. Tr. III. 104.

" When we conſider the many unjuſt methods the French king hath, of late years taken to gratify his ambition; that he has not only invaded the territories of the emperor and the empire, now in amity with us, laying waſte whole countries, and deſtroying the inhabitants by his armies, but declared war againſt our allies, without any provocation, in manifeſt violation of the treaties confirmed by the guaranty of the crown of England; we can do no leſs than join with our allies in oppoſing the deſigns of the French king, as the diſturber of the peace, and the common enemy of the chriſtian world.

" And beſides thoſe obligations we lie under by treaties with our allies, which are a ſufficient juſtification of us for taking up arms at this time, ſince they have called upon us ſo to do; the many injuries done to us and to our ſubjects, without any reparation by the French king, are ſuch, that (however of late years they were not taken notice of for reaſons well known to the world, nevertheleſs) we will not paſs them over, without a public and juſt reſentment of ſuch outrages.

* deliver the proteſtants, and not to perſecute the romaniſts." And indeed not only foreigners, but Engliſh papiſts, were uſed with ſo much clemency, that they too were really gainers by the revolution, not only in being exempted from thoſe public appearances, which in the late reign had been very troubleſome and expenſive to them, but even in a protection of their perſons and eſtates from the fury of the people, to which they had in great part been ſacrificed, if king William would but have connived at it.

" It

1689. "It is not long ſince the French took licences from the "Engliſh governor of Newfoundland to fiſh in the ſeas up- "on that coaſt, and paid a tribute for ſuch licences, as an "acknowledgment of the ſole right of the crown of Eng- "land to that Iſland. And yet of late the encroachment of "the French upon our ſaid iſland and our ſubjects trade and "fiſhery, have been more like the invaſions of an enemy, "than becoming friends, who enjoyed the advantages of that "trade only by permiſſion.

"But that the French king ſhould invade our Charibbee "iſlands, and poſſeſs himſelf of our territories of the pro- "vince of New-York, and of Hudſon's bay, in a hoſtile "manner, ſeizing our forts, burning our ſubjects houſes, "and inriching his people with the ſpoil of their goods and "merchandizes, detaining ſome of our ſubjects under the "hardſhip of impriſonment, cauſing others to be inhu- "manely killed, and driving the reſt to ſea in a ſmall veſſel, "without food and neceſſaries to ſupport them, are actions "not becoming even an enemy; and yet he was ſo far from "declaring himſelf ſo, that at that very time he was nego- "ciating here in England by his miniſters a treaty of neutra- "lity and a good correſpondence in America.

"The proceedings of the French king againſt our ſubjects "in Europe are ſo notorious, that we ſhall not enlarge up- "on them. His countenancing the ſeiſure of Engliſh ſhips "by French privateers, forbidding the importation of great "part of the product and manufactures of our kingdom, "and impoſing exorbitant cuſtoms upon the reſt, not- "withſtanding the vaſt advantage he and the French nation "reap by their commerce with England, are ſufficient evi- "dence of his deſign to deſtroy the trade, and conſequently "to ruin the navigation, upon which the wealth and ſafety "of this nation very much depends.

"The right of the flag, inherent in the crown of Eng- "land, has been diſputed by his orders, in violation of our "ſovereignty of the narrow ſeas, which in all ages has been "aſſerted by our predeceſſors, and we are reſolved to main- "tain, for the honour of our crown and of the Engliſh "nation.

"But that, which moſt nearly touches us; is his unchri- "ſtian perſecution of many of our Engliſh proteſtant ſub- "jects in France for matters of religion, contrary to the law "of nations and expreſs treaties, forcing them to abjure their "religion by ſtrange and unuſual cruelties, and impriſoning "ſome of the maſters and ſeamen of our merchants ſhips,

"and

" and condemning others to the gallies, upon pretence of 1689.
" having on board either ſome of his own miſerable proteſ-
" tant ſubjects, or their effects.

" And laſtly, he has for ſome years laſt paſt endeavoured
" by inſinuations and promiſes of aſſiſtance to overthrow the
" government of England; ſo now by open and violent me-
" thods and the actual invaſion of our kingdom of Ireland, in
" ſupport of our ſubjects in arms and in rebellion againſt us,
" he is promoting the utter extirpation of our good and loyal
" ſubjects in that our kingdom.

" Being therefore thus neceſſitated to take up arms, and
" relying on the help of almighty God in our juſt underta-
" king, we have thought fit to declare, and do hereby de-
" clare war againſt the French king; and that we will, in
" conjunction with our allies, vigorouſly proſecute the ſame
" by ſea and land, ſince he hath ſo unrighteouſly begun it;
" being aſſured of the hearty concurrence and aſſiſtance of
" our ſubjects in ſupport of ſo good a cauſe; hereby willing
" and requiring our general of our forces, our commiſſio-
" ners for executing the office of high-admiral, our lieute-
" nants of our ſeveral counties, governors of our forts and
" garriſons, and all other officers and ſoldiers under them
" by ſea and land, to do and execute all acts of hoſtility in
" the proſecution of this war againſt the French king, his
" vaſſals and ſubjects, and to oppoſe their attempts; willing
" and requiring all our ſubjects, to take notice of the ſame,
" whom we henceforth ſtrictly forbid to hold any correſ-
" pondence or communication with the ſaid French king or
" his ſubjects. And becauſe there are remaining in our
" kingdoms many of the ſubjects of the French king, we do
" declare and give our royal word, that all ſuch of the
" French nation, as ſhall demean themſelves dutifully to-
" wards us, and not correſpond with our enemies, ſhall be
" ſafe in their perſons and eſtates, and free from all moleſ-
" tation and trouble of any kind.

" Given at our court at Hampton-Court, the 7th day
" of May 1689, in the firſt year of our reign.

Some days before this proclamation the war was more effectually declared by an engagement between the Engliſh and French fleets in Bantry Bay. For admiral Herbert having received notice, that king James was landed in Ireland, haſtened to that coaſt with all the ſtrength, which could poſſibly be collected, in hopes to intercept the ſhips of war, which were his convoy, in their return; and commanded

Sea-fight at Bantry-Bay. May 1. Burchet, P. 415.

1689. manded the reſt of the fleet to follow him; and that they might loſe no time, to ſail ſingly, without waiting for one another, the places appointed for rendezvous being the coaſt of Ireland, or ten leagues weſt of Scilly. He came before Cork the 17th of April, with only twelve ſhips of war, one fire ſhip, two yatchs, and two ſmacks; and was there informed, that king James, who had been conducted over by twenty two ſhips from France, had landed at Kinſale above a month (t). This induced him to cruiſe firſt before Breſt, and then in the ſoundings, in hopes of meeting theſe ſhips. But not ſucceeding, he returned to the Iriſh coaſt the 29th of April, and diſcovered in the evening, near Kinſale, a fleet of forty four ſail, of which he loſt ſight the next day; but judging them to be to the weſtward, he bore away, with the wind eaſterly, for Cape Clear, and in the evening ſaw them ſtanding into Bantry Bay. He lay before the Bay until morning, and then ſtood towards them, having increaſed his ſtrength to nineteen ſhips of war; but the Dartmouth, a ſmall frigate, was one of the number. The French were at anchor, being twenty eight, moſt of them from ſixty to ſeventy guns, and ſome larger, with five fire ſhips, and the tranſports which had carried to Ireland about five thouſand men, were at ſome diſtance plying to windward. Upon ſight of the Engliſh ſhips, thoſe of the enemy got under ſail, and when admiral Herbert had, not without difficulty, worked up within two miles of them, they bore down on him in a very orderly line; and one of their ſhips being within muſket-ſhot of the Defiance, which led the van of the Engliſh fleet, they two began the fight, and were followed by the reſt as ſoon as poſſible. The admiral endeavoured to gain the wind of the enemy, or at leaſt to engage cloſer than they ſeemed willing to do; but finding he could not do either, and that it was not adviſeable to maintain in ſuch a manner ſo unequal a fight, he ſtretched off to ſea, not only to get his ſhips into a regular line, but to gain the wind, if poſſible. But the French were ſo very cautious in bearing down, that he could not meet with an opportunity of doing it: ſo that continuing the fight upon a ſtretch until about five in the afternoon, the French admiral tacked and ſtood in towards the ſhore; and as the Engliſh ſhips had ſuffered ſo much in their maſts and rigging, that above one half of them were unfit for farther action; ſo doubtleſs the

(t) Mr. Burchet is miſtaken in ſaying about two months, ſince king James landed on the 12th of March.

French

French received conſiderable damage. How far their admiral was reſtrained by orders, is not known; but it is certain, that he made very little uſe of the greateſt advantages; for as he had the wind, ſo had he double the force, beſides fire-ſhips. Conſidering therefore all circumſtances, and that moſt of the Engliſh ſhips were very ill manned, they came off more fortunately than could reaſonably have been expected; for there were no more than ninety men killed, and two hundred and ſeventy wounded, captain George Aylmer of the Portland being the only captain ſlain in the action. After the engagement, admiral Herbert repaired to his rendezvous, ten leagues weſt from the iſlands of Scilly, where he was in hopes of meeting with ſuch an additional ſtrength, as might have inabled him to proceed in ſearch of the French; but being diſappointed, he returned to Spithead. The French indeed aſſumed to themſelves the honour of the day, and rejoicings were made on that account in France. Father Daniel tells us, that count de Chateau Renaud, lieutenant general of the French fleet, being ordered to carry to Ireland a conſiderable convoy of proviſions and ammunition, with three thouſand men, while he was landing them, received advice, that admiral Herbert, was approaching to attack him. The two fleets were pretty near equal; and the count advanced to receive the Engliſh, whom he defeated and purſued, till night came and gave them an opportunity of eſcaping. The count returned to Breſt, where he was welcomed with the loudeſt acclamations of joy, having landed his troops, defeated the Engliſh fleet, taken ſeven Dutch veſſels richly laden, in his return; brought back his own fleet in as good condition as he carried it out, and all this within the ſpace of eleven or twelve days. It is reported, that when king William received the news of this ſea-fight, he ſaid, 'ſuch an action was neceſſary in the beginning of 'a war, but would have been raſh in the courſe of it.'

1689.

The French account of this action. Father Daniel.

A fortnight after the king went to Portſmouth, both to haſten the refitting of the fleet, and to diſtribute rewards to the officers and ſoldiers, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the engagement. Admiral Herbert was ſoon after made earl of Torrington; captain John Aſhby, commander of the Defiance, and captain Cloudeſly Shovel of the Edgar, received the honour of knighthood; and each ſeaman a gratuity of ten ſhillings. And beſides this donative to the living, the king's bounty extended to the relicts of thoſe, who had loſt their lives in their country's ſervice.

The king goes to Portſmouth. Boyer. Kennet.

1689. Being returned from Portſmouth, the king went with the queen to view the earl of Nottingham's houſe at Kenſington, which he deſigned to purchaſe, and make his reſidence during the ſitting of the parliament, upon account of its ſituation in an healthful air, and in the neighbourhood of London. The houſe being approved of, the purchaſe was ſoon after agreed upon with the earl for twenty thouſand pounds.

The king buys Kenſington houſe. Boyer.

To return to the proceedings of the parliament. The reſt of this ſeſſion was chiefly employed in raiſing ſupplies for the wars in Ireland and with France, in reverſing attainders and judgments paſſed in the late reigns, and inquiring after the authors of the late illegal proceedings and preſent miſconduct of affairs.

As to the ſupplies, beſides what has been already mentioned, ſix hundred thouſand pounds was given for the maintenance of the forces to be employed in Ireland, and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds towards the charge of the navy. For raiſing theſe ſums, an additional exciſe of nine-pence a barrel was laid upon beer, ale, and other liquors, (which by a committee was eſtimated at twelve hundred thouſand pounds); and a tax was voted upon all ground rents for new buildings, upon new foundations, within the bills of mortality, ſince March 25, 1660, except ſuch as were within the walls of the city; and an eſtimate was ordered to be taken of them, and of the forfeited eſtates. A poll-tax was alſo paſſed, and in order to defray the extraordinary expences of the French war, a ſupplemental bill to the poll-tax was voted by the commons, and ſent up to the lords for their concurrence; but the lords adding a clauſe to it for peers to name commiſſioners to rate themſelves, the commons would not agree to it. After ſome debates, the lords poſitively adhering to their clauſe, the bill was dropped, and inſtead of it another was paſſed for an aid of twelve pence in the pound. The friends to the revolution imagining the buſineſs would ſoon be at an end, gave in to the aſſeſſors the full value of their eſtates, which being made the ſtandard in all future aſſeſſments, during both the French wars, they continued to pay to that value, whilſt thoſe who were not ſo zealous came much more eaſily off. The ſpeaker, upon preſenting this bill to the king, made a ſpeech, ſetting forth "the burden the French king had laid upon our manufactures, his attempts againſt our religion and liberties, by encouraging thoſe that deſigned their ſubverſion, and his devaſtations in the countries of our allies." Another money-bill paſſed the commons, for an additional duty on coffee,

The ſupplies granted for the wars, &c. Pr. H. C. II. 289.

Pr. H. C. II. 347.

coffee, tea and chocolate; but the lords adding a proviſo for a draw-back on exportation, ſo warm a diſpute aroſe between the two houſes, whether the lords had power to alter and rate a tax given by the commons, that the bill did not paſs this ſeſſion. 1689.

The attainders reverſed this ſeſſion were thoſe of lord Ruſſel, grandfather to the preſent duke of Bedford, (whoſe death is in the act declared a murder) of Algernon Sidney, Corniſh, and Alicia Liſle, widow of John Liſle, who was one of the commiſſioners of the great-ſeal in the time of the commonwealth, and was afterwards aſſaſſinated in Switzerland. She had been moſt unjuſtly condemned by Jefferies, contrary to three verdicts of the jury.

The caſe of the earl of Devonſhire was alſo taken into conſideration by a committee of privileges appointed by the lords (u); who having examined the matter, reported, "That they were of opinion, that the proceedings againſt "the earl of Devonſhire in the court of the king's bench in "Eaſter term in the third year of king James II. (upon an "information The duke of Devonſhire's caſe. April 22. Mem. of the fam. of Cavend. p. 160.

(u) The duke had been a zealous promoter of the bill of excluſion againſt the duke of York; which rendered him extremely obnoxious to that duke, who took occaſion to make him feel the effects of his diſpleaſure after he came to the crown. The earl had been very rudely inſulted within the verge of the court by colonel Culpepper, for which he contained himſelf, and only worked out the ſatisfaction of giving him his pardon, upon condition, that he ſhould never more appear in Whitehall. But immediately after the defeat of the duke of Monmouth, the colonel was encouraged to ſhew himſelf at court, and was riſing into a creature of it. The earl of Devonſhire meeting him in the king's preſence-chamber, and receiving from him, as he thought, an inſulting look, he took him by the noſe, led him out of the room, and gave him a contemptuous blow with the head of his cane. For this bold act the earl was proſecuted in the king's-bench upon an information, and had a fine of thirty thouſand pounds impoſed upon him, and was committed, though a peer, to the king's-bench priſon, till he ſhould pay it. But he, who was never able to bear any confinement that he could break from, eſcaped only to go home to his ſeat at Chatſworth. Upon the news of his being there, the ſheriff of Derbyſhire had a precept to apprehend him, and bring him with his poſſe to London. But he invited the ſheriff, and kept him a priſoner of honour, till he had compounded for his own liberty, by giving bond to pay the full ſum of thirty thouſand pounds; which bond being found among the papers of king James after his abdication, it was

1689. " information for an aſſault upon Mr. Culpepper, wherein " his lordſhip's plea of privilege of parliament was over- " ruled, and he was fined thirty thouſand pounds, and " thereupon committed to the king's-bench in execution) " was a great violation of the privileges of the peers of this " realm. And thoſe judges, who ſat in the ſaid court when " the ſaid judgments were given, and the ſaid commitment " made, ſhould be required to attend at the bar of this " houſe, to anſwer for the great offence, which they have " committed thereby." Accordingly on the 6th of May, Sir Robert Wright and Sir Richard Holloway, being brought to the bar, and Mr. juſtice Powell being in his place, they were ſeverally aſked what they had to ſay for themſelves in this buſineſs. Mr. juſtice Powell ſaid to this effect, " That " it was his great misfortune, that he was miſguided by ſome " books, which he looked on as authorities, which he found " by their lordſhips judgment were not ſo: and he humbly " begged their lordſhips and the earl of Devonſhire's pardon. " As to the fine, he looked upon three thouſand pounds to " be a fine enough; and that his ſilence in that buſineſs " was his greateſt fault, for which he alſo begged pardon."

Then Sir Robert Wright alledged, " That as to the " breach of privilege, they were miſguided by precedents. " As to the fine, which is uſually ſet according to the qua- " lity and eſtate of the perſon fined, it came from the puny " judge thirty thouſand pounds, and ſo to him laſt, accord- " ing to the courſe of the court; and if he was miſtaken, he " begged pardon, for he never had the leaſt diſrepect to the " earl of Devonſhire." Laſtly, Sir Richard Holloway ſpoke to this effect; " That he as ſecond judge pronounced " the fine thirty thouſand pounds, which was ſet nemine " contradicente; and if a leſſer fine had been propoſed, he " ſhould have accepted it, and did not juſtify the proceed- " ings, but looked on it as an exceſſive fine, and begged my " lord Devonſhire's pardon, and ſubmitted all to their lord-

given up to the earl by king William. It is ſaid, that the counteſs dowager of Devonſhire, his mother, being uneaſy to ſee him under ſo great an hardſhip, waited on king James to beg her ſon's pardon; and, for the diſcharge of the fine, humbly deſired, that his majeſty would accept of her delivering up bonds, and other acknowledgments, for above ſixty thouſand pounds lent by her huſband and his mother to his royal father and brother in their greateſt extremities; but this requeſt was rejected. Kennet's memoirs of the family of Cavendiſh, p. 136—138.

" ſhips."

"ſhips." The lords aſked them, whether they had no diſcourſe together before, concerning the ſaid fine. Sir Robert Wright denied it, and Sir Richard Holloway declared, that he had no direction from either the king or lord chancellor concerning the ſaid fine. But Mr. juſtice Powell appealed to the memory of Sir Richard Holloway, that there was a diſcourſe of the fine, five or ſix days before at the lord chancellor's; where Sir Robert Wright, Sir Richard Holloway, Sir Richard Allibone, and himſelf were. This, Sir Richard Holloway pretended he did not remember, and Sir Robert Wright denied that they were there purpoſely about the ſaid fine. Theſe two being withdrawn, Mr. juſtice Powell was aſked, what diſcourſe they had at the lord chancellor's? to which he anſwered, "That the chancellor firſt "propoſed twenty thouſand pounds, and afterwards ſaid, it "would be better, if thirty thouſand pounds, and then the "king might abate ten thouſand pounds. And he declared "his diſlike of this to the other judges, though not before "the lord chancellor." After the examination, notice having been given to the king's-council, that if they had any thing to offer, whether a peer of this realm might by law be committed in execution for a fine? they might propoſe it; but they offering nothing upon that queſtion, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, upon a full conſideration of the ſeveral caſes and precedents, wherein the privileges of peers had been concerned, declared and adjudged on the 15th of May, "That the court of king's-bench, in over-ruling the "earl of Devonſhire's plea of privilege of parliament, and "forcing him to plead over in chief, it being within the "uſual time of privilege, did thereby commit a manifeſt "breach of privilege; and that the fine of thirty thouſand "pounds impoſed by the court of king's-bench upon the "ſaid earl was exceſſive and exorbitant, and againſt magna "charta, the common right of the ſubject, and the law of "the land; and that no peer of this realm, at any time, "ought to be committed for non-payment of a fine to the "king." 1689.

The next judgment that was reverſed, was that of Mr. Samuel Johnſon, chaplain to the unfortunate lord Ruſſel, and author of ſeveral tracts which had given offence to the courts of king Charles II. and James II. His ſufferings being reported to the houſe of commons (x), it was reſolved, "That The judgment on Mr. Johnſon reverſed.

(x) This report was made by Mr. Chriſty on the 24th of June 1689, and was as follows:

That in Trinity-term, ſecundo Jacobi regis, information was exhibited

1689. "That the judgment againſt Mr. Johnſon was illegal and "cruel. That the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was illegal, and "conſequently

hibited againſt the ſaid Mr. Johnſon in the king's-bench, in the name of Sir Robert Sawyer, the king's attorney-general, for making, printing, and publiſhing, a ſcandalous and ſeditious libel, intitled, 'An humble and 'hearty addreſs to all the proteſtants in king James's army.' That the ſame term they forced him to plead, procured a jury to find him guilty, convicted him, and gave the judgment following, which was pronounced by Sir Francis Withens:

1. To pay five hundred marks to the king, and to lie in the priſon of the king's-bench till it be paid.

2. To ſtand in the pillory three days, in three ſeveral places, viz. the Palace-yard Weſtminſter, Temple-bar, and the Old-change.

3. To be whipt by the common-hangman from Newgate to Tyburn.

That the judges of the king's-bench, who ſat in the court, were the lord chief juſtice Herbert, Sir Francis Withens, Sir Robert Wright, and Sir Richard Holloway

That the ſentence was to be executed in November in the next Michaelmas-term, but they deſired, that Mr. Johnſon might firſt be degraded, for it would be a ſcandal to the clergy to have ſo infamous a puniſhment inflicted upon a miniſter. Whereupon he being a priſoner in the king's-bench, which is in Surrey, and in the dioceſe of the biſhop of Wincheſter, he was ſummoned the 19th of November 1686, to appear the next day, the 20th of November, in the convocation-houſe of St. Paul's, in the dioceſe of the biſhop of London, he being rector of Curringham in Eſſex within that dioceſe. Upon the 20th of November, a habeas corpus was brought to carry him from the king's-bench priſon to the convocation-houſe, where he found the biſhops of Durham, Rocheſter, and Peterborough, to exerciſe the authority and juriſdiction of the biſhop of London during his ſuſpenſion, and ſome clergymen, and many ſpectators, and a libel exhibited againſt him by one Godfrey Lee, a proctor, dated that day, charging him of being guilty of great miſdemeanors, but ſpecified none, nor proved any; only referred to the record before the king's temporal judges.

That Mr. Johnſon demanded a copy of the libel, and an advocate; both which the biſhops denied him; but immediately proceeded to his ſentence, which was,

1. That he ſhould be declared an infamous perſon.

2. That he ſhould be deprived of his rectory of Curringham in Eſſex.

3. That he ſhould be a mere layman, and no clergyman, and deprived of all right and privilege of prieſthood.

4. That he ſhould be deprived thereof, and of all veſtments and habits of prieſthood.

5. That he ſhould undergo the puniſhment aforeſaid.

Againſt which proceeding Mr. Johnſon

" conſequently the ſuſpenſion of the biſhop of London, and 1689.
" the authority committed to the three biſhops, null and
" illegal. That Mr. Johnſon's not being degraded by his
" own dioceſan, if he had deſerved it, was null and illegal.
" That a bill be brought in to reverſe the judgment, and
" to declare all the proceedings before the three biſhops,
" null and illegal: and that an addreſs be made to his ma-
" jeſty to recommend Mr. Johnſon to ſome eccleſiaſtical
" preferment ſuitable to his ſervices and ſufferings (y).

Titus Oates likewiſe took the opportunity now of the indignation of the parliament, againſt the illegal proceedings of the late reign, to apply to the lords, for a reverſal of the two judgments againſt him on the point of perjury; for which he had ſuffered more by the cruelty of the papiſts, than any other man ever endured with life. Whilſt this buſineſs was depending, Oates printed a paper (which he owned before the lords, and for which he was confined, being voted to contain matters tending to breach of privilege) wherein he alledged, " that in the year 1678, he had diſcovered a hor-

Debates about the judgments againſt Oates. Pr. H. I. I. 364. May 15.

Johnſon proteſted, as being againſt law, and the 132d canon, not being done by the biſhop of London, his own dioceſan; but they refuſed his proteſtation.

That he appealed to the king in Chancery, but they refuſed to admit his appeal.

And immediately they proceeded to execute the ſaid ſentence, and to degrade him, by putting on a ſquare-cap, and, then taking it off again; then they pulled off his gown, then his girdle; which he demanded as his own proper goods bought with his own money, which they promiſed him to ſend, but they coſt him twenty ſhillings to have them again. After all, they put a bible into his hand, which he would not part with, but they took it from him by force. All this was done, the libel, ſentence, and execution of it, in three hours ſpace, on Saturday the 20th of November, having proceeded ſummarily as they did.

That on Monday the 22d of November, the judgment in the king's-bench was executed with rigour and cruelty, the whipping, being with a whip of nine cords, ſhewed to the committee, and Mr. Rouſe the under-ſheriff, tore off his caſſock upon the pillory, and put a *frieze* coat upon him.

That Mr. Johnſon's wife had alſo an information exhibited againſt her in the king's-bench, for the like matter as that againſt her huſband.

(y) Mr. Johnſon could never obtain any church preferment. The king gave him three hundred pounds a year, out of the poſt-office, for his and his ſon's life; beſides one thouſand pounds in money, and likewiſe beſtowed a place of one hundred pounds a year on his ſon. Mem. of Mr. Sam. Johnſon, p. 15.

1689. "rid popiſh conſpiracy for the deſtruction of the late king "Charles II. his preſent majeſty, then prince of Orange, "and the proteſtant religion, within theſe kingdoms; and "proved it ſo fully, that ſeveral parliaments and courts of "juſtice, before whom he gave his teſtimony, declared their "belief of it by public votes; and the condemnation of ſe- "veral of the conſpirators, accuſed not only by him, but "by ſeveral other witneſſes. That the houſe of lords being "ſenſible of the great ſervice of Oates, gave him their "thanks in a moſt public manner, and addreſſed king "Charles II. to grant his royal protection to the ſaid Oates, "and give him a ſubſiſtance, till the parliament conſidered "of a reward ſuitable to his great and public ſervice to the "king and kingdom. That the ſaid Oates diſcovered the "traiterous conſpiracy, which Coleman held at La Chaiſe, "confeſſor to the French king, which gave both houſes of "parliament full ſatisfaction of the popiſh plot; and other "letters were produced by a perſon of quality, by which the "government was ſatisfied of the under-hand dealing of a "great miniſter of ſtate at that time, in order to procure a "ſum of money to put off the parliament, all which did "ſtill juſtify the ſaid Oates, and did verify the truth of his "diſcoveries. That the duke of York having a great in- "fluence upon king Charles II. as alſo ſeveral other of the "popiſh party, did prevail upon him to ſuffer the ſaid "Oates to be indicted of perjury, in two ſeveral indict- "ments ſix or ſeven years after he had given his teſtimony "concerning the popiſh plot, and brought the ſame to a "trial in 1685, in the reign of king James II. with an ad- "dition of ſome other witneſſes, but all papiſts, and brought "up at St. Omer's, excepting one, who had likewiſe his "education at St. Omer's, but was turned proteſtant, as he "pretended, and was made a miniſter by the biſhop of St. "Aſaph. That the lord chief juſtice Jefferies's brow-beat- "ing Oates's witneſſes, as ſeveral peers could teſtify, and "appearing ſo much Oates's enemy, the king's council per- "verting the teſtimony, and no council daring to appear "for Oates, he was found guilty of perjury. That the "aforeſaid indictments he had removed into the lords houſe "by writs of error; and if their lordſhips would be pleaſed "to examine into the merits of the cauſe, he would pro- "duce three witneſſes, yet alive, that would juſtify his be- "ing in town at the time, that St. Omer's witneſſes ſwore "him out of town: that he could produce Mr. Jenniſon, "who would prove, that Ireland was in town in Auguſt

"1678;

" 1678; which contradicted the Staffordſhire witneſſes. 1689.
" That the papiſts themſelves having juſtified Oates's teſti-
" mony by their open and avowed violation of our laws,
" liberties, and religion, and executing thoſe things in the
" reign of the late king, which he did diſcover them to be
" contriving in the reign of king Charles II. which was the
" ſubſtance of his teſtimony; he hoped the reputation of St.
" Omer's witneſſes, who were bribed with places and offi-
" ces in the army, and ſums of money, ſhould not prevail
" with the houſe of lords from ſetting aſide the judgments
" brought before their lordſhips. All which was humbly
" offered to the conſideration of the lords and commons."

The lords, after hearing the opinion of all the judges, and the council at the bar, did at laſt order, that the judgments given againſt him ſhould be reverſed; and accordingly a bill of reverſal which had paſſed the commons, was read twice in the houſe of lords, who with ſome amendments inſerted a proviſo, " That until the matters for which Titus
" Oates was committed for perjury, were heard and deter-
" mined in parliament; the ſaid Oates, ſhould not be re-
" ceived in any court or cauſe whatſoever to be a witneſs."
A proviſo, liable to ſo many exceptions, was proteſted againſt by thirteen lords; becauſe (as they ſaid) the other part of the bill reverſed the judgments againſt Oates, whilſt this proviſo enacted him to be incapable of being a witneſs, which is more infamy than being a ſlave. The bill being ſent down to the commons, they diſagreed to the proviſo; which occaſioned a memorable conference between July 29.
the two houſes, and that begot ſuch heats, as were like to come to a dangerous height, if they had not been allayed by the adjournment of the parliament. And all that Oates was able to obtain in this ſeſſion, was his diſcharge from confinement, and an addreſs from the lords, at the deſire of the commons, requeſting the king to grant him his pardon.
The king complied with their requeſt, and moreover, al- Aug. 20.
lowed him a penſion of three pounds a week.

In the beginning of the ſeſſion, a cloſe committee had been appointed by the lords to examine and take informations concerning the death of the late earl of Eſſex, which had been attended with many ſuſpicious circumſtances; and the committee was revived in the next ſeſſion, but before the report was made to the houſe the parliament was diſſolved, and conſequently a ſtop put to all proceedings (z). Committee to inquire into the death of the earl of Eſſex. Pr. H. L. I. 350.

The

(z) The ſubſtance of the evidence offered to the committee to prove that earl to have been murdered, with the reaſons why the

1689. The committee appointed in relation to the ſtate priſoners having examined their caſes, made a report of what they had diſcovered. After inſpecting the accounts of Graham and Burton, (who had been the wicked ſolicitors of the illegal proſecutions, and had been confined ſome time before) it appeared, "that the ſaid Graham and Burton, "from the year 1679 to the year 1688, had received near "forty-

Report of the committee in relation to the ſtate priſoners. May 23.

the inquiry was not reſumed in the next parliament in 1690, is related by Laurence Braddon, in his book againſt Burnet, p. 186, &c. where he ſays, "I believe, "that no proſecution of any "murder, in the Britiſh annals "recorded, ever met with ſuch "oppoſition, as the proſecution "of this murder did. And, "firſt, from all the jacobite in-"tereſt, as well proteſtant as "papiſt. And how great that "intereſt ever ſince the revolu-"tion hath been, the many "treaſonable conſpiracies and "open rebellions have ſuffici-"ently proved. Secondly, king "James II, being father to the "late queen Mary and queen "Anne, it is natural to ſuppoſe, "that neither of thoſe two "queens would have had their "father ſtigmatized with that "moſt infamous character of "being a murderer, and in more "inſtances than one. And whe-"ther king William, out of re-"ſpect to his queen, might any "ways hinder the fixing ſuch an "infamy upon his queen's fa-"ther, I cannot tell. But this "I ſenſibly felt to be true, viz. "that queen Anne upon her "firſt coming to the crown, "ſtruck me out of the civil liſt, "becauſe, as her majeſty then "ſaid, 'I had thrown blood in "her father's face.' Thirdly, the "counteſs dowager of Eſſex, by "the influence of biſhop Bur-"net, did deſire the lords com-"mittees in 1689, not to pro-"ceed any farther in that inqui-"ry; for the counteſs, by the "biſhop, did then endeavour to "perſuade the lords committees, "and ſeveral other lords, that "my lord of Eſſex murdered "himſelf. Fourthly, there was "a certain great man charged, "as ordering this murder, who "had been the main inſtrument, "in the hand of providence, of "bringing about the revolution; "and by this very gentleman's "counſels king William was, "for ſome years, very much in-"fluenced. What intereſt there-"fore that great man had with "king William, or with any "other perſons whatſoever, was "applied to hinder the proſecu-"tion of this murder. And, "laſtly, the late biſhop Burnet "himſelf was not only the prin-"cipal cauſe of hindering the "the counteſs from engaging in "this proſecution; but that pre-"late did otherwiſe endeavour "to blaſt the credit of this in-"quiry, by ſometimes repre-"ſenting me (as in his late hiſ-"tory) as an enthuſiaſtical man, "and therefore no regard was "to be had to what I ſaid or did "in relation to that inquiry. At "other times that biſhop did re-"preſent me as a man of a very "ſtrong imagination, (a ſoft

"character

" forty-eight thouſand pounds out of the exchequer, which 1689.
[illegible]dged to have paid to witneſſes, jurors, ſolicitors,
" council

" character for a madman) from " whence I was eaſily inclined " to take up a belief of things " upon ſuch evidence, as was " not ſufficient to prove the " things to be; but I was ſo " poſſeſſed of imaginary beings, " there was no convincing me " by any arguments of their non-" exiſtence." The ſame gentleman likewiſe relates the following remarkable ſtory of what was ſuppoſed to be one of the principal occaſions of haſtening the poiſoning of king Charles II. Some ſhort time before the death of that king, there was a pamphlet written and printed in Holland, intitled, 'An inquiry into 'a detection of the barbarous 'murder of the late earl of Eſ-'ſex;' and many hundred of theſe were brought to England. In this pamphlet there were many arguments given to prove the murder; and the author humbly beſought his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give his royal aſſurance of a pardon to him, who ſhould prove that murder; and that then the duke of York ſhould be proved to have been the principal author and rewarder thereof. Several hundred of thoſe books were, one night, about twenty days before king Charles II's death, diſperſed by ſome gentlemen, and for the moſt part laid at the doors of privy counſellors and of other noblemen, and juſtices of the peace. One of theſe books was conveyed to the king, who read the ſame, and then ſent for the lord Allington, then conſtable of the tower; and charged his lordſhip to read and conſider the ſame, and in a ſhort time to return the book, and to give his majeſty his opinion of it; and alſo what his lordſhip thought as to the manner of the earl of Eſſex's death. Lord Allington lent this book to Sir Thomas Rowe, but charged him to return it the next day, becauſe his lordſhip intended then to reſtore it to his majeſty. Sir Thomas read and returned the book accordingly, and ſhortly after waited again upon lord Allington, who then informed Sir Thomas, that he had been again with the king, and returned the book; and that his majeſty aſked his lordſhip, whether he had read and conſidered it; which his lordſhip having aſſured his majeſty he had done, the king commanded him to give his judgment as to the earl of Eſſex's death. But his lordſhip deſiring his majeſty to excuſe him from giving any judgment in that point, the king ſaid to him, 'I 'command you to deal very 'plainly and ſincerely with me 'in relation thereunto.' 'Sir,' replied lord Allington, 'if your 'majeſty commands me to deal 'therein ſincerely with your ma-'jeſty, I muſt then ſay, that I 'am of opinion, that unfortu-'nate lord had very foul play.' " Then, if I live, ſaid the king, " I will make a very ſtrict [illegible] " quiry into that matter; and I " command you to come to me " to morrow." As ſoon as lord Allington withdrew, the duke of York came in whilſt the king had the book in his hand; and,

as

1689. " council, and themſelves, and other perſons concerned in " their proſecutions of indictments, informations, and trials " of perſons in capital and other pretended criminal cauſes, " and quo warranto's againſt corporations, and other pro- " ceedings in the name, and on behalf of the late king (a)."

Then as the king next day informed his lordſhip, the duke aſked his majeſty, who had brought him that villainous lying pamphlet. But the king then ſaid, that he did not believe it to be a lying pamphlet, and he was reſolved to make ſtrict inquiry into the earl of Eſſex's death; and that his highneſs ſhould go abroad before that inquiſition was made. The duke replied, that 'he had 'already travelled too much.'

" The ſubſtance of what is " abovementioned, ſays Mr. " Braddon, relating to what " paſſed between king Charles " II. and lord Allington, I had " from Sir Thomas Rowe, ſoon " after the revolution. And ſome " few days after that diſcourſe " between the king and the " duke, the king and the lord " Allington were ſeized with " ſuch illneſs, as was generally " thought to be the effects of " poiſon; and the lord Alling- " ton died about three days be- " fore the king, and his ma- " jeſty died the 6th day of Fe- " bruary 1684-5. And ſo by " that king's being forced to " travel too ſoon into the other " world, king James delayed his " own travels in this, until the " juſt deſertion of his own troops, " forced him to become a fugi- " tive and a penſioner to that " great monarch, whoſe arbi- " trary government he liked " much better, than to be cir- " cumſcribed by thoſe good " laws, which hindered him " from ruining both our church " and ſtate." Braddon, p. 186, &c.

Burnet ſays, this Braddon was an honeſt but enthuſiaſtical man. He had, it ſeems, pickt up a great variety of circumſtances, which he thought ſo convincing, that he believed himſelf bound to proſecute the matter; eſpecially the evidence of a boy and girl, both at about ten or twelve years of age, who reported, the very day the deed was done, that they heard great crying in the earl's lodgings, and ſaw a bloody razor flung out at the window, which was taken up by a woman that came out of the houſe where he was lodged. Braddon talked of theſe things ſo publicly, that he was tried for ſpreading falſe news to alienate people's hearts from the king, and was fined two thouſand pounds. Burnet, I. 570.

(a) That, for inſtance, in proſecuting for pretended conſtructive treaſons, the lord Ruſſel, Algernon Sidney, eſq; Sir Thomas Armſtrong, the lords Brandon and Delamere, John Hampden, eſq; alderman Corniſh, and divers others; and in their preſenting upon information, for ſuppoſed miſdemeanors and crimes not capital, Sir Samuel Barnadiſton, Sir Patience Ward, Sir Thomas Pilkington, Slingſby Bethel, Sir William Williams, Mr. Samuel Johnſon, Oates, and many others,

Then they proceeded to the caſe of Sir Robert Wright, late lord chief juſtice, and found him concerned in all the cruelties done in the weſt, after Monmouth's invaſion; one of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners; guilty of great enormities in the affair of Magdalen college, and one of the judges that gave judgment in the caſe of Hales, that the king might legally diſpenſe with the ſtatutes of the kingdom. 1689.

The caſe of the late lord Jefferies was alſo reported, whoſe crimes were ſo well known to all the world, that there was no need of other evidence. He had been inſtrumental in all the arbitrary proceedings of the late reign, but eſcaped the puniſhment which he might have juſtly expected, by dying in the tower on the 18th of April. He is ſaid to haſten his death, by drinking ſpirituous liquors. Whilſt he continued priſoner there, he was viſited by Dr. John Scott, the celebrated author of the chriſtian life; and being urged by him to improve his preſent ſituation by a ſerious review of his paſt life, he expreſſed great concern upon the occaſion; but with regard to one part of his conduct, which had expoſed him to moſt cenſure, his behaviour in the weſt after the defeat of the duke of Monmouth, he declared, that how cruel ſoever his proceedings might be thought, they had by no means come up to the ſeverity, which king James expected from him, his majeſty being extremely diſpleaſed with him on that account (b). Death of lord Jefferies. April 18.

As the illegal proceedings of the late reign and their authors were inquired into, ſo the miſcarriages of the preſent were alſo diſcuſſed. The lords, after addreſſing the king to put the iſle of Wight, Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, Dover-caſtle, and other places into a poſture of defence, and to diſarm papiſts, impowered a committee to look into the miſcarriages in Ireland, and to ſend for perſons and papers for The miſcarriages in Ireland enquired into. Pr. H. L. I. 386. June 15.

others, they charged their accounts with exorbitant expences. That there were ſeveral witneſſes concurring with theſe accounts to make it manifeſt, that the ſaid Graham and Burton were inſtrumental in moſt or all the illegal proſecutions for the taking away the lives and eſtates of thoſe, that had ſuffered the loſs of either, within eight years laſt paſt: and that they had, by their malicious indictments, informations, and proſecutions of quo warranto's openly endeavoured the ſubverſion of the proteſtant religion, and the government of the realm, and waſted many thouſand pounds of the public revenue thereof in their undue proſecutions and ſollicitations.

(b) This account Sir Joſeph Jekyll, late maſter of the rolls, had from the mouth of Dr. Scott himſelf.

their

1689. their information. The committee having acquainted the houſe, that they could not come to a full diſcovery of the miſcarriages in Ireland, without a ſight of the minute-book of the committee for Iriſh affairs, to the firſt of May laſt, the lords ordered an addreſs to the king, that the ſaid minute-book might be communicated to the committee. The
June 18. king's anſwer to this addreſs was 'I will conſider of it;' which obſtructed the proceedings of the committee near a whole month (c). But upon the commons voting, "that "thoſe perſons, who had been the occaſion of delaying the "ſending relief to Ireland, and had adviſed his majeſty to "defer the giving leave for ſome members of the houſe of "peers to inſpect the minute-book of the committee for "Iriſh affairs, were enemies to the king and kingdom," he acquainted the lords and commons, that he gave leave, that a committee of the upper-houſe might inſpect the book, according to their deſire. However, this book not being ſufficient to diſcover the miſcarriages in Ireland, the lords ad-
July 29. dreſſed the king, "that he would pleaſe to direct, that the "witneſſes in relation to Ireland, ſince his taking the admi-"niſtration of the government upon him, to the time when "the council-books began, might be communicated to the "committee of their houſe. To this the king anſwered, 'That there were no minutes of the Iriſh affairs in the time 'mentioned by their lordſhips.'

Aug. 3. After this the commons, in a committee of the whole houſe, having conſidered the ſtate of the nation, came at laſt to this reſolution, that an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty upon theſe heads: firſt, that there had been delays in the ſuccour of Ireland. Secondly, that there were not ſufficient preparations to tranſport the forces to Ireland. And, thirdly, that ſeveral ſhips had been taken for want of guards and convoys to preſerve them. As the delays of ſending relief to Ireland were imputed to the marquis of Halifax, the queſtion was put at the ſame time, whether it ſhould be repreſented to his majeſty, that it was inconvenient to his affairs, that the marquis of Halifax was in his majeſty's council? which however was carried in the negative, ſeventy-ſix for an addreſs, and ninety againſt it.

(c) This putting off the inſpection off the minute-books, gave a handle to the enemies of the government, to inſinuate that matters were not much mended by the revolution, and that the preſent courtiers were no better friends to the nation, than others had been. This was, it ſeems, the firſt anſwer of king William that was not agreeable to both houſes.

A few

A few weeks before Mr. John Howe, vice-chamberlain to the queen, moved for an addreſs to the king, to remove from his preſence and councils ſuch as had been impeached by parliament, and had betrayed the liberties of the nation. Though nobody was named, yet it was eaſy to perceive, that the perſons, againſt whom this addreſs was to be levelled, were the marquis of Carmarthen and Halifax, the firſt of which had been formerly impeached of high-treaſon, and to the other was chiefly imputed the preſent ill-conduct of affairs. The matter was debated with great warmth; and becauſe the contrary party were not prepared to oppoſe this unexpected motion, it would certainly have been carried in the affirmative, if thoſe, who were zealous for it at firſt, had not cooled on the ſudden. Monſieur Dyckvelt diſcourſing with Mr. Howe about this motion, the latter juſtified himſelf by alledging, that "he did not think it to be of any "ill conſequence to his majeſty: and beſides, that a place "at court ſhould never ſilence him, when the good of his "country required him to ſpeak." And the next day he renewed the motion, and was ſtrongly ſupported in it; but the oppoſite ſide requiring the perſons to be named, and nobody offering to do it, the motion came to nothing. Mr. Howe, it ſeems, had miſſed of ſome advantages that he had propoſed to himſelf, upon which he went into the higheſt oppoſition that was made in the parliament to the court all this reign, not without indecent reflections on the king, and a moſt virulent attacking of all his miniſters. He was a man of ſome wit but of little judgment, and no great ſhare of religion. He was member for Cirenceſter (d). 1689. Motion for an addreſs againſt Carmarthen and Halifax.

About this time certain treaſonable papers and letters from king James, ſome of them written with his own hand, and directed to divers perſons in London and in the country, having been intercepted at Liverpool in Lancaſhire, and ſent to court, his majeſty communicated them to the parliament. And becauſe, among other enigmatical expreſſions, mention Letters from king James intercepted. Pr. H. C. I. 333.

(d) 'There was a report then current concerning Mr. Howe, that a certain builder applied to him for his intereſt to obtain a grant of the waſte ground, on which now ſtands the ſtreet called 'the ſeven dials.' Another had before applied to the lord Portland for the ſame grant, who finding it to be worth about ten thouſand pounds, fairly told the king the value of it. Mr. Howe coming ſoon after with his ſollicitation, the king aſked, 'What 'it might be worth?' He replied, 'about one thouſand 'pounds.' The king ſaid, 'Is 'that all? you ſhall have a thouſand pound without ſo much 'trouble.'

was

1689. was made in them of 'contraband goods ready to be ſhipped 'off in order to be run into ſuch places, where they might 'not be ſeized by cuſtom-houſe officers,' which ſufficiently diſcovered the deſign of an invaſion, Mr. Hampden the father, who at that time happened to be chairman of the committee of the whole houſe, repreſented the imminent danger that threatened the kingdom, and what difficulties his majeſty lay under to prevent it for want of money, and therefore moved for a farther ſupply. This motion, from a privy counſellor, and at a time, when the houſe was going to adjourn, was thought very impolitic, and was ſo far from being backed by any member, not even by his own ſon, that it rather occaſioned ſome ſharp reflections (c). Mr. Garroway, though one of the well-affected, ſaid, "That "they had given money enough for that year: that if they "had thought there had been occaſion for more, they would "have prevented the king's demands: that it was not the "want of money; but the ill conduct of thoſe, that had the "management of affaias, that cauſed the difficulties, which "the government lay under: that the miſcarriages in aſ- "ſiſting the proteſtants of Ireland had been of ſo ill conſe- "quence, that if they were not ſpeedily remedied, the houſe "would be obliged to take notice of them." However, the houſe having taken the intercepted letters into conſideration, reſolved to addreſs the king to deſire him to ſecure all papiſts of note, and to diſarm and take away their horſes from the reſt; and as a conſequence of this affair, a bill was brought in 'for attainting ſeveral perſons in rebellion againſt their 'majeſties;' but however it was not finiſhed this ſeſſion (f).

Several perſons impeached for diſperſing king James's declaration.

Articles of high treaſon were alſo drawn up by the commons againſt Sir Adam Blair, captain Henry Vaughan, captain Frederic Mole, and John Eliot and Robert Grey, doctors in phyſic, for diſperſing the declaration of king James,

(d) Mr. Hampden, among the dangers to which the nation was expoſed, having named that of falling into the hands of the French and Iriſh, Mr. S——— moved to add the Dutch. And this ſhows how early the Dutch fell under the diſpleaſure of thoſe who were no well-wiſhers to the revolution. Oldmixon.

(f) The lords inſiſted upon hearing the depoſitions of the witneſſes from their own mouths, and not thinking there was ſufficient evidence againſt the following perſons, agreed to leave them out of the bill; namely, Thomas lord Howard, the earl of Dover, the lord Hunſden, Sir Roger Strickland, Sir Edward Herbert, colonel Hugh Southerland, and Sir William Jennings. But the prorogation put a ſtop to this bill.

which

which he publiſhed in Ireland, directed "to all his loving "ſubjects in the kingdom of England." Theſe articles being ſent up to the lords and read to the perſons accuſed, they deſired a copy of their impeachments, and time and council to make their defence; which being granted, they delivered their anſwers within a few days, pleading their innocence, and ſubmitting themſelves for their trial to their lordſhips judgments. The copies of all which being ſent to the commons, no farther progreſs was made in this affair during the ſeſſion. 1689. Boyer. May 8. June 26.

Before the adjournment a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, "for the injoining the wearing the woollen ma-"nufacture of this kingdom at certain times of the year." Upon which the ſilk-weavers of *London* and Canterbury preſented a petition to their lordſhips in a tumultuous manner, praying to be heard before the ſaid bill ſhould be paſſed into a law. Whereupon the houſe ordered their ſpeaker to tell the petitioners, "That the lords did not then think fit "to give an anſwer, becauſe they obſerved there was an un-"uſual manner of application, and that the bailiffs, war-"dens, and aſſiſtants of the company ſhould have directed "their members better: that the lords did firſt require, that "thoſe crouds ſhould go home; and when that was done, "neither they nor other people of this nation needed to "doubt but that their lordſhips would do juſtice and hear "the objections of parties concerned in this or any other "bill, that ſhould come before them." Upon this, due care being taken to prevent the return of ſuch unruly multitudes, who were ſuppoſed to be ſet on by the enemies of the government, the weavers remained quiet in their houſes; and the bill was unanimouſly rejected by the lords. A bill for wearing the woollen manufacture rejected by the lords. Pr. H. L. I. 388.

The moſt material acts paſſed this ſeſſion, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were theſe:

An act to veſt in the two univerſities the preſentations belonging to papiſts. The univerſity of Oxford is to preſent to all popiſh livings in the ſouthern counties (f); and the univerſity of Cambridge to thoſe in the northern. And if any truſtee, mortgagee, or grantee of ſuch advowſon preſent, July 25.

(f) Namely, Oxfordſhire, Kent, Eſſex, Middleſex, Suſſex, Surry, Hampſhire, Berkſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Gloceſterſhire, Worceſterſhire, Staffordſhire, Warwickſhire, Wiltſhire, Somerſetſhire, Devonſhire, Cornwal, Dorſetſhire, Herefordſhire, Northamptonſhire, Pembrokeſhire, Carmarthenſhire, Brecnokſhire, Monmouthſhire, Cardiganſhire, Montgomeryſhire. The reſt of England and Wales belongs to Cambridge.

1689. without notice to the respective university, he forfeits five hundred pounds to the university. No popish benefice is to be granted to any person having another; and such benefice to be void by absence of sixty days in one year.

Acts for erecting courts of conscience in Bristol, Gloucester, and Newcastle, which have been much to the benefit and ease of the inhabitants.

July 25. An act for abolishing the court of the marches of Wales, which had been continued by Henry VIII. the president and council whereof had power to hear and determine by their discretion, all matters belonging to the court. This had proved an intolerable burden to Wales and the borders at all times, and a means to introduce an arbitrary power, especially in the late reigns, when a new-convert family were at the head of it; nor could the earl of Macclesfield, the last president who kept his court at Ludlow, reduce it to such order, as to cease to be a grievance, and therefore it was dissolved.

Aug. 20. An act for the relief of the protestant Irish clergy. By which act those clergymen that had been forced from their country, and had benefices there, were enabled to hold any benefice in England, without forfeiting their promotions in Ireland, but were obliged to resign their ecclesiastical preferments in England, when restored to those they had been forced to relinquish.

Aug. 20. An act to repeal the statute of Henry IV. against multiplying gold and silver. By this act the melting and refining of metals, improving them and their ores, and extracting gold and silver from thence (which had been forbidden) are allowed; on condition that all the gold and silver thus extracted, be brought to the mint at the Tower, to be converted into money. At which place the extractors are to receive the full value of their gold or silver, according to the fineness thereof.

One of the last acts of this session was that for raising the six hundred thousand pounds for the Dutch. Though several lords had securities appropriated out of the duties appointed for the payment of this sum, for arrears due to them as servants of king Charles II. and though by this bill these arrears were limited to sixty thousand pounds, which was far short of their demand, they however obstructed not the passing of the bill; and therefore upon a representation of their case and conduct in an address to the king by the peers, he was pleased to say, "I am sensible of their behaviour towards me on this occasion, and will not forget it."

When

When the king came to give the royal aſſent to this bill, the ſpeaker made the following ſpeech. 1689.

May it pleaſe your majeſty,

" THE commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, taking into conſideration the great aſſiſtance that was given by the ſtates of the United Provinces to your majeſty, in your glorious deſign of reſtoring theſe kingdoms to their ancient rights and liberties, and how for that end they entruſted their army and fleet to your majeſty's diſpoſal, at a time when they had war declared, and an invaſion threatned by the French king, merely to divert them: they do here humbly preſent your majeſty with a bill, appointing certain duties of exciſe and cuſtoms, for the raiſing ſix hundred thouſand pounds, which they deſire may be applied by your majeſty, for the ſatisfaction of the charges which have been expended by the ſtates in this expedition. Mr ſpeaker's ſpeech at the paſſing of the bill.

" It is little more than an age ſince the illuſtrious prince of Orange, your majeſty's great grand-father, whoſe name will ever be famous for his love to his country, did, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, redeem thoſe provinces from the like oppreſſions; which ſhews how inſeparable the intereſt of theſe two nations are. And ſince it was the policy of thoſe that laboured our deſtruction to divide us, it ought to be the endeavour of all true lovers of their country, to keep us firmly united in order to our preſervation.

" The commons have likewiſe conſidered of the great arrears, that were left due by king Charles the ſecond to his ſervants, and have therefore made a proviſion of ſixty thouſand pounds for them, which they humbly deſire your majeſty would pleaſe to diſtribute among them, in ſuch proportions as your majeſty in your princely wiſdom ſhall think moſt fit.

" And having proceeded thus far in the weighty affairs depending before them, they now become humble ſuitors to your majeſty for a receſs, that thereby they may have the opportunity of repairing into their ſeveral counties, and promoting your majeſty's ſervice; and what remains at preſent for want of time to diſpatch, they doubt not but that they ſhall be able to perfect it at their next meeting, and, as they hope, to the entire ſatisfaction of your majeſty, and your whole kingdom."

1689. That part of the ſpeech which mentions the aſſiſtance given by the Engliſh to the United Provinces when under oppreſſion, highly pleaſed thoſe, who in their hearts were no friends to the Dutch; and it is ſaid by ſeveral hiſtorians, to be a very artful reminding them of their former obligations to the Engliſh. The diſaffected had already infuſed into weak minds a notion of the Dutch, that being our enemies in point of commerce, we ought to be as jealous of them as of the French; a maxim that has all along been eſpouſed and propagated by the enemies to the revolution.

Remark on this ſpeech.

The parliament adjourns. Aug. 20. Pr. H. L. I. 391.

After paſſing theſe and ſome other bills (h), the two houſes adjourned to the 20th of September, and afterwards to the 19th of October.

(h) Some other acts paſſed this ſeſſions were,

1. For the better preventing the exportation of wool, &c.

2. An act concerning tanned leather.

3. Naturalization - acts for prince George of Denmark, Frederic count Schomberg, Henry de Naſſau, Anne Aſtley, and others.

4. For regulating the ſalt works at Droitwich and other private acts.

CHAP. III.

Expedition for the reduction of Ireland.—The general alliance formed.—Campaign in Flanders, Germany, and Catalonia.—Death of Innocent XI. *—Oaths refuſed by ſome of the clergy.—A comprehenſion projected.—The parliament meets.—Their proceedings.—The king jealous of the whigs.—Conſpiracy.—A bill concerning conſpirators.—The king in ſuſpence about paſſing it, reſolves to go into Ireland, and diſſolves the parliament.—The princeſs's revenue ſettled.—Ludlow comes into England.—Affairs of Scotland.—Elections in favour of the tories.—The new parliament meets.—Abjuration oath moved and dropped.—The king's proceedings in Ireland.—Battle of the Boyne.—Duke Schomberg's death and character.—King James retires to France.—The queen's adminiſtration.—The French maſters at ſea.—The lord Torrington tried and acquitted.*

Expedition for the reduction of Ireland. Boyer. Story.

THE affairs of Ireland had been a continual ſubject of complaint all this ſeſſion; the dangerous condition of the proteſtants in that kingdom, and the neceſſity of a ſpeedy relief, had been conſtantly repreſented by the king in his ſpeeches,

ſpeeches, and urged by the commons in their addreſſes. But whatever might be the cauſe, though king James had been ſix months in Ireland, though the diſtreſſes of the proteſtants were ſo well known, and the whole nation impatient for their relief, yet no army had yet been ſent thither. Commiſſions indeed had been iſſued for raiſing eighteen regiments of foot, and five of dragoons, for the reduction of Ireland; and the levies had gone on ſo ſucceſsfully, that the regiments were compleat in leſs than two months. But the like diſpatch was not uſed in providing tranſports, a train of artillery and proviſions. Theſe things were managed with great ſlowneſs and neglect, and eſpecially the proviſions, which were not only long in getting ready, but very bad when they were got. Mr. Harbord, pay-maſter of the forces intended for Ireland, was alſo purveyor; ſo the fault both as to the expedition and the ſtores, were charged on him. 1689.

Duke Schomberg, to whom the king had given the command of the army, was very uneaſy at the dilatory proceedings of the managers of both tranſports and proviſions; and to prevent further inconveniencies, laboured with Mr. Harbord to quit one of his employments, who, though unwillingly, was at laſt prevailed with to reſign the purveyorſhip, which was given to Mr. Shales. The duke had propoſed not to ſtay for the tranſports, but to march the forces directly to Port-Patrick in Scotland, from whence it was but a few hours paſſage into Ireland. Had this been done, it would have ſaved two or three months, and by that means prevented the rebellion of Dundee, relieved Londonderry, and hindered king James from forming ſo ſtrong an army, and the French from landing, in Ireland. But this deſign was oppoſed like the reſt of the meaſures for haſtening the relief of that kingdom. At length, upon the news of the raiſing of the ſiege of Londonderry, the new levies began to embark at Cheſter and Liverpool; and general Schomberg, having taken his leave of the commons, thanked them for the preſent they had made him, and received aſſurances of their particular regard of himſelf and army, ſet out for Cheſter (i).

On

(i) The commons had given him one hundred thouſand pounds, to be paid out of the civil liſt, which however the king never paid; but in lieu of it, five thouſand a year, was ſettled upon him and his heirs as a reward for his ſervices, and to make him amends for the like revenues he had loſt in France

1689. On the 12th of Auguſt he ſailed with about ninety veſſels of all ſorts, and near ten thouſand men, horſe and foot, and arrived the next day at Carrickfergus, where the army preſently landed on Bangor ſide without oppoſition. The firſt thing he did was to ſend out parties to ſcour the adjacent country, and get intelligence of the enemy. This done, he marched his forces to Belfaſt, which the enemy had abandoned, retiring to Carrickfergus; and where ſeveral perſons joined him, who durſt not declare before. The army being ſufficiently refreſhed, ſeveral regiments were detached towards Carrickfergus with ſome cannon and mortars; upon whoſe approach the enemy beat a parley; but the general not allowing their demands, the town was ordered to be attacked. On the 22d the trenches were opened, ſome batteries raiſed, and the ſiege carried on in form. This made the beſieged more eager to capitulate; but duke Schomberg refuſing to let them march out with the uſual ſigns of honour, and they inſiſting upon it, the attacks were purſued with great vigour till the 26th of Auguſt, when conſiderable breaches being made, and all things ready for a general aſſault, the garriſon was contented to accept what conditions the beſiegers were pleaſed to grant; which were to be conducted with their arms, and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs, to the next Iriſh garriſon, which was Newry.

Duke Schomberg with his army ſails for Ireland.

Carrickfergus ſurrenders. Aug. 26. Boyer. Story, p. 8.

Whilſt the ſiege of Carrickfergus was carried on, the reſt of the horſe, foot, and dragoons, which for want of tranſports had ſtaid behind, were embarked at Highlake, and ſafely

and Germany. Two peers and two commoners were named truſtees, for the making purchaſes in order thereto. But it was afterwards paid out of the poſt-office. When he was introduced into the houſe, he ſate down covered in a chair, and after a ſhort ſpace he roſe up, and, uncovered, told them, "he had "deſired that honour, to make "his juſt acknowledgments for "their great favours, and to "take his leave of them, being "now going to Ireland, where "he ſhould freely expoſe his "life in the king's ſervice and "theirs." The ſpeaker replied; "The ſervices done by his "grace to the king and kingdom were ſo great, that they "could never be forgotten: "that the commons were extremely ſatisfied that the army "was committed to his conduct, "and that, at whatever diſtance he ſhould be, they "would have a particular regard of himſelf, and the army "under his command." Pr. of H. C. II. 344. How this promiſe was fulfilled will quickly appear.

landed

landed in Ireland. On the 28th of Auguſt the general returned to Belfaſt, and two days after his own French regiment of horſe joined the army; which being muſtered on the laſt day of that month, was found to conſiſt of four regiments of horſe, one of dragoons, and eighteen of foot (k). 1689. Boyer. Story, p. 9.

The artillery horſes being moſt of them yet at Cheſter, duke Schomberg ordered the greateſt part of the train to be ſhipped, and the fleet to ſail with them and all other neceſſaries to Carlingford; while in the mean time he marched the army beyond Liſburne, and ſo through Hillborough, and pitched his camp at Drummore, the place where the northern proteſtants of Ireland were not long before routed by Hamilton. The day following he continued his march to Loughbrilane, where the inniſkillin horſe and dragoons joined him, and cheerfully offered themſelves to be an advance-guard to the army. Upon their approach the Iriſh abandoned Newry, a very ſtrong paſs, having firſt ſet fire to the town; which news being brought to the general, he diſpatched a trumpet to the duke of Berwick, who commanded there, to acquaint him, "that if they went on to burn in this barbarous manner, he would not give any quarter." This meſſage had ſo good an effect, that the Iriſh abandoned Dundalk without doing any harm to the town, where duke Schomberg marched with his army, and encamped about a mile north of it in a low moiſt ground, having the town and the river towards the ſouth, the Newry mountains to the eaſt, and to the north, hills and bogs intermixed. The bad weather, long and conſtant marches, and ſcarcity of proviſions, made his raw men already begin to faint; but here they met with ſome refreſhments, and on the 8th of September were reinforced by major general Kirke's, Sir John Hanmer's, and brigadier Stuart's regiments. The duke at firſt deſigned to have continued his progreſs; but the ſhips with the train of artillery, not being come up in time to Carlingford, according to his directions, was a great diſappointment to him;

(k) Namely, horſe: the lord Devonſhire's regiment, the lord Delamere's, colonel Coy's, duke Schomberg's: dragoons, colonel Levinſtone's: foot, one battalion of blue Dutch guards, Carelſoon's white Dutch, colonel Beaumont's, colonel Wharton's, lord Drogheda's, lord Liſburne's, lord Meath's, lord Roſcommon's, lord Lovelace's, lord Kingſton's, duke of Norfolk's, colonel Herbert's, Sir Edward Deering's, Sir Thomas Gower's, colonel Earle's, and the three French regiments of la Melonniere, du Cambon, and la Caillemote. Story's continuation of the wars in Ireland, p. 8.

1689. and ſo much the more as he had intelligence by an engineer, who deſerted the enemy, that general Roſen was then at Drogheda with about twenty thouſand men. Roſen hearing that the Engliſh halted at Dundalk, ſaid, he was ſure Schomberg wanted ſomething; and therefore ſent part of his forces to ſeize on Ardee, a ſmall town between Drogheda and Dundalk.

The Iriſh make a ſhow of fighting. Story, p. 10.

Duke Schomberg continued in an uncertain poſture till the 20th of September, when in the morning he had an account, that king James having aſſembled all his forces near Drogheda, advanced towards him; and that a party of two thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe were gone beyond the mountains to attack the paſs at Newry, and fall into his rear. Upon this he detached a party of horſe againſt them, at the ſight of whom they retreated towards Sligo. However the day following the enemy appeared in order of battle, and a great party of their horſe advanced towards the intrenchments of the duke's army. Several of the Engliſh officers were for engaging the enemy, but the duke told them, 'Let them alone; we will ſee what they will do;' and though he ſaw them coming within cannon ſhot of his camp, yet he ſaid ſtill, that he did not think they deſigned to fight. However, one day ſeeing them draw their army into two lines, he ſent lieutenant general Douglaſs to the camp, to order all the foot to ſtand to their arms, and the horſe to return to the camp upon a certain ſignal, but till then to go on with their foraging. The ſoldiers, who were ſtruggling with diſeaſes and want in their tents, received theſe orders notwithſtanding with the utmoſt cheerfulneſs; but in ſome time the Iriſh drew off, and ſo the affair ended to the great diſappointment of the army, who hoped no leſs than to defeat the enemy, and by a victory to put an end to their miſeries. But duke Schomberg juſtly conſidered, that the enemy was much ſuperior in horſe; that his own men were undiſciplined, and withal weakened by hunger and ſickneſs, while the other army enjoyed health and plenty; and that the loſs of a battle might be attended with the loſs of Ireland.

A plot in the army diſcovered. Boyer.

In a day or two after the Iriſh marched away, there was a dangerous conſpiracy diſcovered in the Engliſh camp, which was carried on by ſome French papiſts, who had liſted themſelves in the proteſtant regiments of that nation, the officers having been obliged to raiſe their companies in ſo much haſte, that they had no time to examine them very ſtrictly. A captain of one of theſe regiments being informed, that

that four of his ſoldiers and a drummer, who were Roman catholics, deſigned to go over to the enemy, he cauſed them to be ſecured, and found letters about one of them to monſieur d'Avaux, the French ambaſſador. Upon ſtricter examination the fellow declared, he had letters from one du Pleſſis, who was likewiſe a papiſt, but now ſerved as a private ſoldier in one of the French regiments, though he had formerly been a captain of horſe in France, whence he had been obliged to fly for murder. Du Pleſſis being ſeized, freely confeſſed, that he had written to king James, and to the French ambaſſador, and acquainted them, that there were divers papiſts in the three French regiments, whom he promiſed to bring over to the Iriſh camp upon condition he might have the command of them, and his pardon in France. He and his five accomplices were therefore brought to their trial, ſentenced to death by a council of war, and accordingly executed; after which the French colonels made ſtrict inquiry what papiſts there were in their regiments, and found about two hundred and fifty, who by order of the general were ſecured, diſarmed, and ſent over priſoners into England, and from thence to Holland, where they were ſet at liberty. 1689.

The Inniſkilliners rout a body of Iriſh. Ibid.

Though duke Schomberg remained in his camp with the groſs of his army, he did not reſtrain the Inniſkilliners from making excurſions. Nor had he reaſon to repent this liberty, which he allowed them; for on the 27th of September he received an account, that about a thouſand of them, headed by colonel Lloyd, had routed a body of five thouſand Iriſh, that were marching towards Sligo, of whom they killed ſeven hundred, took O Kelly their commander, and forty other officers priſoners, beſides a great booty of cattle, with the loſs of very few of their men. The duke was ſo pleaſed with the news, that having ordered all the Inniſkillin horſe and foot in his camp to draw out, he rode all along their line with his hat off, and cauſed the Dutch guards, and the Inniſkillin foot to make three running fires, which were anſwered by the Inniſkillin horſe, and by the cannon upon the works; as alſo from the ſhips, that lay at the mouth of the river.

Sligo taken by the Iriſh.

The joy of this ſucceſs was ſometime after much abated by the loſs of Sligo and James-Town. The Iriſh marching that way in a conſiderable body, commanded by Sarsfield, thoſe of James-Town not thinking it tenable, abandoned it, and marched to Sligo, loſing ſome of their men, and killing ſome of the Iriſh in their haſty retreat. Next day Sarsfield, with

1689. with his detatchment, advanced before Sligo; whereupon colonel Ruſſel retired to Balliſhannon, and adviſed the foot alſo to quit the place. But notwithſtanding this, St. Sauveur, a reſolute French captain in Melloniere's regiment, with his own company of French grenadiers, and colonel Lloyd with his bold Inniſkilliners ſtaid in the town, and upon the approach of Sarsfield retreated to the two forts, Lloyd into one, and St. Sauveur into the other. Lloyd not knowing how to ſubſiſt his men, retired that night with ſome loſs; but the French captain having carried in ſome proviſions, and finding ſome ammunition in the fort, reſolved ſtoutly to maintain his poſt. The nights were then dark; and he fearing leſt the enemy might make their approaches to the fort undiſcovered, got a great many fir-deals, and dipping the end of them in tar, they gave ſuch a light when ſet on fire, and hung over the walls, that he diſcovered the enemy advancing towards them with an engine called a ſow; but having killed the engineer, and two or three more, the reſt retreated, and he burnt the engine. Day no ſooner appeared, than the Iriſh were forced to quit a ſmall field-piece, which they had planted in the ſtreet, being galled with ſhot from the fort, by St. Sauveur's men, who preſently after ſallied out, and killed many of the enemy.

A brave action by a French captain.

But at laſt their proviſion being ſpent, and there being little or no water in the fort, they ſurrendered it upon honourable terms; and at their marching over the bridge, colonel Sarsfield, who would have purchaſed theſe brave ſoldiers at any rate, ſtood with a purſe of gold, and offered every man, who would ſerve king James, horſe and arms, with five guineas advance; yet they all made anſwer, 'They would 'never fight for papiſts,' except one, who the very next day after he had got horſe, arms, and the gold, brought all off with him to Dundalk.

Though duke Schomberg had prudently declined fighting with the Iriſh upon unequal terms; a raging ſickneſs, occaſioned by the unwholſomneſs of the place, wet weather, and ill food, daily ſwept away, or at leaſt diſabled a great number of officers and ſoldiers. Among the reſt died Sir Edward Deering, a gallant gentleman, who had contributed more than any man in the county of Kent, towards bringing about the revolution; colonel Henry Wharton, a bold and active man, ſon to Philip lord Wharton; Sir Thomas Gower, and colonel Hungerford, two young gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed merit. As for the common ſoldiers, there periſhed at Dundalk about two thouſand; and as many ſick

were

were ſhipped off to be tranſported to Belfaſt, but of them not above eleven hundred came aſhore, the reſt dying at ſea. In ſhort, ſo great was the mortality, that by the next ſpring above one half of the army, that was tranſported over, was loſt. Winter approaching, both armies went into quarters, and duke Schomberg renewed his inſtances for the coming over of the ſeven thouſand auxiliary Danes, who about this time arrived in England and Scotland, purſuant to the treaty concluded with the king of Denmark on the 15th of Auguſt. 1689.

The general was cenſured by ſome perſons for not putting things more to hazard. It was ſaid, that he meaſured the Iriſh by their numbers, and not by their want of ſenſe or courage; and ſuch complaints were ſent of this to the king, that he wrote twice to him, preſſing him to put ſomewhat to the venture. But duke Schomberg ſaw the enemy was well poſted, well provided, and above thrice his number, and that they had ſeveral good officers among them. If he had puſhed matters, and had met with a misfortune, his whole army, and conſequently all Ireland, would have been loſt; for he could not have made a regular retreat. The ſure way was to preſerve his army, and that would ſave Ulſter, and keep matters intire for another year. And therefore though this conduct of his was blamed by ſome, yet better judges thought, that the managing of this campaign, as he did, was one of the greateſt parts of his life. Reflection on this campaign. Burnet.

King William's arms were not more ſucceſsful at ſea; for admiral Torrington, with the confederate Engliſh and Dutch fleet under his command, having made a ſhew of landing his men to ſurprize Cork, thought fit to abandon that enterpriſe upon a falſe intelligence, that the French were advancing towards him; and he was ſoon after obliged to put into Torbay, moſt of the Engliſh ſeamen being diſabled by ſickneſs. This misfortune was juſtly charged on thoſe, who had victualled the fleet, for it was obſervable, that all this while the Dutch continued healthy. Admiral Torrington having taken in ſound proviſions and refreſhed his men, put to ſea again; but not having an opportunity of engaging the enemy, the ſummer paſſed without any conſiderable action in the channel; only the Engliſh had the misfortune to loſe the Dartmouth, a man of war of forty guns, which, after a ſtout reſiſtance, was taken by the French. Our trade likewiſe ſuffered conſiderably; for the French not ſetting out a fleet any more, ſent out many cruiſers and privateers into our ſeas, that England ſuſtained great loſſes by them, there not being at that time a ſufficient number of frigates to convoy and Affairs at ſea not ſucceſsful. Boyer. Burnet.

1689. and ſecure the merchantmen; ſo that though we ſeemed maſters of the ſea, we were great loſers there.

The affairs abroad this ſummer, were a little more proſperous. Not only war was proclaimed againſt France by the empire, Brandenburgh, ſtates general, and Spain; but moreover an offenſive and defenſive alliance, between the emperor and the ſtates general, was concluded the 12th of May at Vienna. As this was the beginning of the grand alliance, it will be neceſſary to inſert the ſubſtance of the principal articles:

The general alliance formed. May 12.

I. and II. Perpetual friendſhip, and an alliance offenſive and defenſive againſt France.

III. and V. Neither party to make a peace or truce, without conſent of the other; and if any treaty be entered into by common conſent, all particulars ſhall be communicated on both ſides, and nothing concluded by one, without the conſent of the other.

IV. No peace to be made till the treaties of Weſtphalia, Oſnaberg, Munſter and the Pyrenean ſhall be fully vindicated and reſtored.

VI. and VII. After the preſent war ſhall be ended, there ſhall remain a perpetual defenſive alliance, between the emperor and the ſtates, againſt France; and if France ſhould attack either, the other to aſſiſt with all his forces.

X. To this treaty ſhall be invited Spain by the emperor, and England by the ſtates, and all the allies of either party ſhall alſo be admitted, if they ſhall think fit to accede.

The ſeparate articles are;

"In caſe the king of Spain ſhould die without iſſue, the "ſtates general ſhall aſſiſt the emperor with all their forces, "to take poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, with all its do"minions and rights, and to uſe their friendly endeavours "with the electors their allies, that the emperor's eldeſt "ſon Joſeph, king of Hungary, may be ſpeedily choſen "king of the Romans: and if France ſhould by threats or "arms oppoſe it, they will aſſiſt his imperial majeſty with "their utmoſt force. The crown of England ſhall be like"wiſe invited, to enter into theſe articles."

Theſe articles were added, becauſe France, notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn renunciation, was openly endeavouring to procure the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, for his ſon the Dauphin, and alſo to make him king of the Romans,

mans, which would have been fatal not only to Holland, but to all Europe. 1689.

To this alliance and the ſeparate articles, king William acceeded the 9th of December this year.

The king alſo made a treaty with the ſtates general in Auguſt, by which are confirmed former treaties of peace and commerce (l); particularly the defenſive league, concluded at London, March 3, 1678; of which the chief articles are: "In caſe either party is attacked, &c. the other "upon notice and demand, ſhall endeavour to cauſe hoſtilities to ceaſe, and reparation to be made for any injuries "received: and in caſe a war ſhall enſue, the ally not attacked, ſhall be obliged to declare war two months after "the notice and demand, and during the two months ſhall "endeavour to mediate an accommodation. If the king of "Great-Britain is attacked, the ſtates ſhall aſſiſt him with "ſix thouſand foot and twenty men of war; if the ſtates "are attacked, the king ſhall aſſiſt them with ten thouſand "foot, and the ſame number of ſhips of war: the ſuccours "ſhall be ſupplied and maintained, by the party that ſends "them. It is left to the choice of the ally in war, whether "the other ſhall continue the ſuccours, without declaring "war alſo." Treaty with the ſtates. Aug. 12.

About the ſame time the king entered into an alliance with Chriſtian V. king of Denmark; by virtue of which, the Engliſh army in Ireland were ſuddenly reinforced by ſeven thouſand Danes, ſix thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe. Treaty with Denmark.

Notwithſtanding theſe confederacies againſt him, the king of France was not diſcouraged from purſuing his ambitious deſigns. However, the campaign in Flanders did not favour him this year. It was opened with Liege departing from the neutrality they had accepted, and declaring againſt France, which was done by delivering to the Dutch a great convoy of powder, bombs, and money deſigned for Bonne, and brought to Liege by a French officer. But this was followed by nothing conſiderable. The French had in Flanders an army of about eighty thouſand men, commanded by marſhal d'Humieres, whilſt that of the allies, under the prince of Waldeck, was not above ſixty thouſand. The Campaign in Flanders.

(l) The treaty of Breda 1667. The treaty concluded at Weſtminſter 1674. The marine treaty 1679. The late treaties concerning the fleets in April. And for prohibiting any commerce with France, in Auguſt, this year.

prince

1689. prince of Waldeck was a man of great compaſs and true judgment; equally able in the cabinet and in the camp. But he was generally unſucceſsful, becauſe he was never furniſhed in proportion to his ſchemes. The opinion the armies had of him as an unfortunate general, made him really ſo; for ſoldiers cannot have much heart, when they have no confidence in their leader. In the prince of Waldeck's army were a body of troops, conſiſting of Dutch and Engliſh, ſent over by king William to the aſſiſtance of the ſtates. The Engliſh were commanded by the earl of Marlborough. The two armies paſſed the ſummer without any remarkable action, except the battle of Walcourt, which was reckoned a raſh undertaking in d'Humieres. This action happened about the middle of Auguſt, in the following manner. The marſhal d'Humieres hearing that a great number of Dutch horſe were gone out to forage, made a motion with his whole army in order to ſurprize them. The prince of Waldeck had no ſooner notice of it, but he gave the foragers a ſignal to return to the camp; but that did not prevent there being vigorouſly charged by the French, who killed ſome of them. Their vanguard advancing attacked the village of Forge, where eight hundred foot were poſted to countenance the foragers, being commanded by the Engliſh colonel Hodges, lieutenant colonel Goes, and the major of a regiment of horſe, who for above two hours maintained their ground with extraordinary reſolution, but had been overpowered by numbers, had not Roo, major-general of the cavalry, (who was ſent to bring back the lieutenant-generals Webbenum, Marlborough, and d'Hubi) come in with their horſe timely to their relief. With that reinforcement they made a retreating fight againſt the main force of the enemy, till they came to a riſing ground near Walcourt, where they joined a battalion of Lunenburghers, which had been reinforced by another of colonel Hales. The French attacked the town with their uſual vigour upon a firſt onſet, which laſted near an hour and half; during which time prince Waldeck ordered lieutenant-general Alva to march with three regiments to their relief, which were ſupported by the guards, and two Engliſh regiments headed by the earl of Marlborough, while major-general Slaugeburgh advanced almoſt at the ſame time with ſome other battalions of foot, to the other ſide of the town. By all theſe motions, and the ſtout reſiſtance of thoſe in the town, the French perceived they had engaged themſelves too far, and began to think of a retreat; which they performed in great

The battle of Walcourt. Aug. 15.

haſte

haſte and diſorder, and conſequently with conſiderable loſs, leaving behind them ſome cannon and amunition, and near two thouſand officers and ſoldiers killed and wounded. This was the allies computation, who on their ſide owned the loſs of above three hundred men, amongſt whom were lieutenant-colonel Grimes of the Engliſh, the major of the dragoons of Zell, and ſome inferior officers. And thus ended the campaign in Flanders, without any other memorable action, except that of the Spaniards, who acted in a ſeparate body towards Courtray, levelled a great part of the French lines, and raiſed conſiderable contributions on the enemies territories. 1689.

Campaign in Germany.

The ſucceſs of the allies in Germany, was much greater. The French by their ſudden invaſion of Germany, were maſters of almoſt all the three eccleſiaſtical electorates. In Treves, Mont Royal (where Montal commanded) on one ſide, and Bonne, in Cologne on the other, left a large ſpace at their diſcretion, and they only wanted Coblentz. They had alſo Keiſerſwert in Cologne, where Cardinal Fuſtemberg had placed a German garriſon under Marcogney. Mentz was likewiſe in their poſſeſſion, where the marquis d'Uxelles commanded with twelve battalions of the beſt troops of France, the regiment of bombardiers the company of miners, a regiment of horſe and another of dragoons. He had under him Choiſy, an able engineer who had defended Maeſtricht, and fortified the town. The ſame care was taken of Philipſburg and Landau.

As to the palatinate, nothing was to be ſeen there, but the lamentable remains of the avarice and fury or fears of the French. In Heidelburg, the capital, the caſtle was blown up, and half the city burnt. They had deſtroyed Manheim, and thrown even the ruins into the Rhine and the Nekker. Worms and Spires as bordering too near upon Alſatia, were reduced to aſhes, and Frankendahl and ſeveral caſtles were demoliſhed.

All theſe conqueſts as well as the frontiers of France, were covered with a numerous army under marſhal de Duras. He had for lieutenant generals the counts de Choiſeul and d'Auvergne, the duke of Villeroy, baron de Monclare, marquis de Bouflers, duke of Vendoſme, marquis de Genlis, and count de la Feuillée. His marſhals de camp were the counts de Teſſe and de Tallard, and the marquiſſes d'Harcourt, de Vivans, and de Neuchelle. Beſides theſe, the marquiſſes de Biſſy commanded in Lorain, de Sourdis in Cologn, de Chamilly at Straſbourg, and monſieur Caſſat, al-

1689. afterwards marſhal of France, in Luxemberg. Theſe generals were all good officers. But with all this, the arms of France did not prevail this ſummer. Three conſiderable armies roſe up againſt her at once. One of fifty thouſand men, under the duke of Bavaria; one of forty-ſeven thouſand, under the elector of Saxony; and the third of fifty-one thouſand, commanded by the elector of Brandenburg. The duke of Lorrain was at the head of the imperial troops, who after a ſiege of two months, took Mentz by capitulation. The French, by their own confeſſion, had above nine hundered men ſlain, and fourteen hundered wounded. The duke ſenſible of the merit and bravery of the marquis d' Uxelles, left him maſter of the articles of capitulation. By the taking of Mentz, Franconia, which before lay expoſed, was now covered. The elector of Brandenburg laid ſiege to Keiſerſwert, and was purſuing the attacks with vigour, when the garriſon partly French and partly Germans, dividing themſelves, demandad to capitulate, and ſurrendered upon articles. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the elector beſieged Bonne, where baron d'Asfeld commanded with very good officers under him. He had eight battalions of foot, a regiment of horſe, and another of dragoons. The ſiege, by reaſon of ſeveral interruptions, proved very tedious; but at laſt the counterſcarp, and ſome outworks being taken by ſtorm, the garriſon ſurrendered after fifty-five days blockade, and twenty-ſix days cloſe ſiege. The taking of Bonne, which laid the Rhine open as far as to Mentz, was partly owing to the duke of Lorrain, who, after the ſurrender of Mentz, led part of his army to the aſſiſtance of the elector of Brandenburg. The duke ſhowed a generous regard for baron d' Asfeld who had ſo long and ſo bravely defended the place againſt himſelf and the electors of Bavaria and Brandenburg. With this ſiege ended the campaign on the Rhine.

Mentz and Bonne taken Septem.

June

Campaign in Catalonia. France ſeemed to have a fair opportunity of repairing theſe loſſes in Catalonia, the Spaniards having no army there, nor able to ſend one. But Lewis only ordering the duke de Noailles to advance with nine battalions, three regiments of horſe, twelve pieces of cannon, and two mortars; all that Noailles could do was to beſiege Campredon, which he took in five days. He afterwards held out a ſiege againſt the Spaniards and forced them to retire. The campaign ended with the demolition of that town and citadel.

Pope Innocent XI. dies. The only event that France could conſider this year as an advantage, was the death of pope Innocent XI. His family name was Odeſchalchi. He was born at Como, in Milan;

Tr. Cont.

of

of a family that was become rich, by dealing in banks. He bore arms when young in Flanders, in the ſervice of Spain; and tis ſaid, that an affront put upon him by a Frenchman in the war, was the cauſe of his hatred to France. He afterwards became firſt ſecretary to the apoſtolical chamber, biſhop of Novarra, Legate of Bologna and cardinal. It is affirmed, he arrived at theſe honours by looſing on purpoſe, large ſums of money at gaming with Donna Olympia niece of Innocent X. and making her magnificent preſents. It was known, that he did not ſo much as underſtand Latin, and had a maſter when he was made cardinal to teach him to pronounce that little he had occaſion for at high maſſes. Of divinity he underſtood nothing. However this be, his advancement to the papal chair was applauded at Rome, as every one expected to live eaſy and happy under his government. As he was very knowing in money matters, the vaſt debts the papacy was involved in by his waſteful predeceſſors, were by his frugal management diſcharged. To theſe talents he joined an exemplary piety, a conſtant oppoſition to whatever favoured of ſuperſtition, an ardent zeal for reformation of manners, a diſintereſtedneſs uncommon, and perhaps too great with regard to his relations, who got nothing by his pontificate, but the bare honour of having a pope in their family. His oppoſition to, and ſufferings from France, (which have been mentioned) are reckoned by her enemies, as ſo many virtues, and even the proteſtants themſelves are full of his praiſes. It is certain, they were greatly indebted to him: for had he but favoured the poſtulation of cardinal Furſtemberg, the king of France, with an elector of Cologn at his devotion, would have forced Germany to hide her reſentments, and by that means have been able to ſuſtain king James on the throne, and more than ever weakened the proteſtant intereſt. The pope did the contrary, and gave occaſion to the ſaying, that "it were to be wiſhed "for the church of Rome, that the pope had turned catho-"lic and king James become hugenot." He died the 2d of Auguſt after a pontificate of about thirteen years, and was ſucceeded by cardinal Ottoboni a Venetian, who ſate in the papal chair but a year and a half. The king of France renounced his pretenſion to the franchiſes, but had no other return for it, than the promotion of Fourbin and ſome others, he recommended to be cardinals. For the new pope, who took the name of Alexander VIII. would not yield the point of the regale, nor would he grant the bulls, for thoſe who were named by the king of France to the vacant biſhoprics,

1689. Burnet. His character.

1089. and had ſigned the formulary of 1682, declaring the pope fallible and ſubject to a general council. And when Alexander felt himſelf near death, he paſſed a bull in form, which confirmed all Innocent's bulls, and by this put a new ſtop to a reconciliation with the court of France.

The King goes to New-Market and Cambridge.

But to return to the affairs of England, during the receſs. The king went this year to the races at New-market. The concourſe of people upon this occaſion was extraordinary great; nor did the univerſity of Cambridge omit this opportunity of waiting upon the king, being introduced by the duke of Somerſet, their chancellor. Dr. Covel the vice-chancellor, who had been chaplain to the queen in Holland, addreſſed himſelf to the king in an eloquent ſpeech, congratulating him upon the glorious ſucceſſes, with which he had been bleſſed in his endeavours to reſcue the church and nation from the imminent dangers, that threatened both, and which were more particularly pointed againſt the univerſities; and concluded with an humble recommendation of themſelves to his majeſty's protection. To this the king anſwered, "That as God had bleſſed him in this undertaking, "ſo he would faithfully diſcharge his truſt in preſerving the "church of England, and giving all protection and favour "to the univerſities." The day following, the king made a viſit to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he was received and entertained with demonſtrations of joy, duty, and loyalty. Three days after that, he returned to Hampton-Court from New-Market.

Vacant ſees filled.

The day appointed for the parliament to meet drawing near, at which time the king deſigned likewiſe to ſummon a convocation, he thought fit to fill up the vacant ſees of Worceſter, Chicheſter, (m) and Briſtol, which were beſtowed, the firſt on Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's; the ſecond on Dr. Simon Patrick, dean of Peterborough; and the third on Dr. Gilbert Ironſide, warden of Wadham college in Oxford, who were conſecrated on the 13th of October at Fulham by the biſhops of London, St. Aſaph, and Rocheſter, commiſſioned for that purpoſe.

(m) Lake the non-juring biſhop of Chicheſter, who died about this time, declared on his death-bed for the doctrine of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance, and ſigned his declaration in the preſence of Dr. Green, the pariſh-miniſter, Dr. Hicks dean of Worceſter, Mr. Jenkin his chaplain, and two others who all communicated with him. And this ſeemed to lay the foundation for that ſchiſm in the church, which broke out afterwards, and ſtill ſubſiſts.

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The time allowed by act of parliament for the clergy to take the oaths being expired, ſeveral of them refuſed to qualify themſelves, ſome of whom were ſuſpended ab officio, particularly the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhops of Glouceſter, Ely, Norwich, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough; and tho' the generality of the clergy took the oaths, it was (as has been obſerved) by the help of reſervations and diſtinctions, and not out of a perſuaſion that their allegiance was due to the king. Beſides he was ſuſpected by them, on account of the favour ſhewn to the diſſenters, but chiefly for his aboliſhing epiſcopacy in Scotland, and his conſenting to ſetting up preſbytery there. This gave ſome credit to the reports, that were with great induſtery infuſed into many of them, of the king's coldneſs at beſt, if not his averſion, to the church of England. The leading men in both univerſities, eſpecially Oxford, were poſſeſſed with this; and it began to have very ill effects over all England. Thoſe, who did not carry this ſo far as to think, as ſome ſaid they did, that the church was to be demoliſhed; yet ſaid, that a latitudinarian party was like to prevail, and to engroſs all preferments. Theſe were thought leſs bigotted to outward ceremonies; for which reaſon it was generally ſpread about, that men zealous for the church would be neglected, and thoſe, who were more indifferent in ſuch matters, would be preferred. Many of the latter had managed the controverſies with the church of Rome with ſo much clearneſs, and with that ſucceſs, that the papiſts, to revenge themſelves, and to blaſt thoſe, whom they conſidered as their moſt formidable enemies, had caſt aſperſions on them as Socinians, and as men, who denied all myſteries. And now ſome angry men at Oxford, who apprehended, that thoſe divines were likely to be moſt conſidered in this reign, took up the ſame method of calumny, and began to treat them as Socinians. The earl of Clarendon, and ſome of the biſhops, who had incurred the ſuſpenſion for not taking the oaths to the government, took much pains to ſpread theſe ſlanders. Beſides this, the proceedings in Scotland caſt a great load on the king, though it was certain he could not hinder the change of the government of that church, without putting all his affairs into great diſorder. For the epiſcopal party had gone almoſt univerſally into king James's intereſts; ſo that the preſbyterians were the only party, that the king had in that kingdom. He did indeed aſſure many perſons, that he would reſtrain and moderate the violence of the preſbyterians; and lord Melvill, the ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, promiſed

1689.

The oaths refuſed by ſome of the clergy, but generally taken, tho' with reſervations.

Jealouſy of the king ſpread among the clergy. Burnet.

1689. promiſed the ſame thing very ſolemnly, and at firſt ſeemed much determined upon it. But when that lord ſaw ſo great a party formed againſt himſelf, and that many of the preſbyterians inclined to favour that party, and to ſet themſelves in an oppoſition to the court, he thought it was the king's intereſt, or at leaſt his own, to engage that party intirely, which he found no method ſo effectual to do, as by abandoning the miniſters of the epiſcopal perſuaſion to their fury. He ſet up therefore the earl of Crawford as the head of his party, who was paſſionate in his temper, and out of meaſure zealous in his principles, and was now choſen preſident of the parliament. He received and encouraged all the complaints, that were made of the epiſcopal miniſters. The convention, when they paſſed the votes, declaring the king and queen, had ordered a proclamation to be read the next Sunday in all the churches in Edinburgh, and in all other churches in the kingdom by a certain prefixed day, but which was ſo near at hand, that it was ſcarce poſſible to lay proclamations all round the nation within the time; and it was abſolutely impoſſible for the clergy to meet together, and to come to any reſolution among themſelves. For the moſt part the proclamations were not brought to the miniſters till the morning of the Sunday, in which they were ordered to be read; ſo this having the face of a great change of principles, many could not on the ſudden reſolve to ſubmit to it. Some had not the proclamations brought to them till the day was paſt. Many of thoſe read it the Sunday following. Some of thoſe, who did not think fit to read the proclamation, yet obeyed it, and continued after that to pray for the king and queen. Complaints were brought to the council of all thoſe, who had not read nor obeyed the proclamation; and they were in a ſummary way deprived of their benefices. In the executing this, the earl of Crawford ſhewed much eagerneſs and violence. Thoſe, who did not read the proclamation on the day appointed, had no favour, though they did it afterwards; and upon any word, that fell from them, either in their extemporary prayers, or ſermons, that ſhewed diſaffection to the government, they were alſo deprived. All theſe things were publiſhed throughout England, and much aggravated, and raiſed the averſion, that the friends of the church had to the preſbyterians ſo high, that they began to repent their having granted a toleration to a party, that, where they prevailed, ſhewed ſo much fury againſt thoſe of the epiſcopal perſuaſion. So that thoſe, who had laboured to excuſe the change, which the king

king was forced to consent to, and had promised in his name great moderation towards their friends in Scotland, were much out of countenance, when they saw the violence, with which matters were carried there. These things concurred to give the clergy such ill impressions of the king, that there was little reason to look for success in a design, which was then preparing for the convocation, for which a summons was issued out to meet, during the next session of parliament. 1689.

A comprehension projected.

Though the king had failed in his design of uniting his protestant subjects, by the admission of those that were willing and able to serve, into employments and benefices, yet so desirous was he of this union, that he was resolved to try to obtain by the convocation, what he had in vain endeavoured to establish by the parliament. Accordingly, the project of a comprehension was set on foot, of which some foundation had been laid even before the revolution. In the preceding reign, the clergy, when under the influence of their fears of popery, had expressed an inclination to come to a temper with relation to the presbyterians, and such other dissenters, as could be brought into a comprehension with the established church. The bishops had mentioned it in their petition to king James, for which they were tried; and Dr. Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, towards the end of that reign, foreseeing some such revolution, as soon after was brought about, began to consider, how utterly unprepared they had been at the restoration of king Charles II, to settle many things to the advantage of the church, and what a happy opportunity had been lost for want of such a previous care, as he was therefore desirous should be now taken for the better and more perfect establishment of it; and as it was visible to all the nation, that the more moderate dissenters were generally so well satisfied with that stand, which the church divines had made against popery, and the many unanswerable treatises they had published in confutation of it, as to express an unusual readiness to come into the church; it was thought worth the while, when they were deliberating about those other matters, to consider at the same time what might be done to gain the dissenters, without doing any prejudice to the church. The scheme was laid out, and the several parts of it were committed, not only with the archbishop's approbation, but direction, to such divines of the church, as were thought most proper to be intrusted with it. The archbishop took one part to himself; another was committed to Dr. Patrick, afterwards bishop of Ely; and the reviewing of the daily service and the communion book mas referred

Wakes's speech at Sacheverel's trial. State tri. V. 840. Burnet.

1689. red to a ſelect number of divines, of whom Dr. Sharp, afterwards archbiſhop of York, and Dr. Patrick were two. The deſign was to improve and inforce the diſcipline of the church, to review and enlarge the liturgy, by correcting of ſome things, and adding of others; and, if it ſhould be thought adviſeable by authority, when this matter ſhould come to be legally conſidered, firſt in convocation, and then in parliament, by leaving out ſome few ceremonies, confeſſed to be indifferent in their nature, as indifferent in their uſage, ſo as not neceſſarily to be obſerved by ſuch, as ſhould make a ſcruple of them. And this deſign was known to and approved by the other biſhops. King William therefore, who had promiſed the diſſenters not only in his declaration, but when they addreſſed him at his firſt coming, to endeavour an union between them and the church, reſolved to reſume the affair, and to promote it to the utmoſt of his power. As it was thought neceſſary to prepare and digeſt matters before they ſhould be offered to the convocation, a ſpecial commiſſion under the great-ſeal was given to ten biſhops and twenty divines, to draw up a ſcheme of the whole affair (n). Great care was taken to name theſe ſo impartially, that no exceptions could lie againſt them. The commiſſion was as follows:

"Whereas the particular forms of divine worſhip, and "the rites and cerimonies appointed to be uſed therein, are "things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and "ſo acknowledged; it is but reaſonable, that upon weighty and important conſiderations, according to the various "exigencies of time and occaſions, ſuch changes and alterations ſhould be made therein, as to thoſe that are in place "and authority, ſhould from time to time ſeem either neceſſary or expedient.

"And whereas the book of canons is fit to be reviewed, "and made more ſuitable to the ſtate of the church; and "whereas there are defects and abuſes in the eccleſiaſtical "courts and juriſdictions, and particularly there is not ſufficient proviſion made for the removing of ſcandalous miniſters, and reforming of manners either in miniſters or

(n) This method was become neceſſary, ſince by the ſubmiſſion which the clergy in convocation made to Henry VIII, and which was confirmed in parliament, they bound themſelves not to attempt any new canons, without obtaining the king's leave firſt, and that under a premunire.

"people

" people; and whereas it is moſt fit, that there ſhould be 1689.
" a moſt ſtrict method prescribed for the examination of
" ſuch perſons as deſire to be admitted into holy orders,
" both as to their learning and manners.

" We therefore, out of our pious and princly care for
" the good order, and edification, and unity of the church
" of England, committed to our charge and care; and for
" the reconciling, as much as is poſſible, of all differences
" among our good ſubjects, and to take away all occaſions
" of the like for the future, have thought fit to authorize
" and impower you, &c. and any nine of you, whereof
" three to be biſhops to meet from time to time, as often as
" ſhall be needful, and to prepare ſuch alterations of the
" liturgy and canons, and ſuch propoſals for the reforma-
" tion of eccleſiaſtical courts, and to conſider of ſuch other
" matters, as in your judgments may moſt conduce to the
" ends above mentioned." (o).

(o) The names of the commiſſioners were as follow:

Thomas Lamplugh, lord archbiſhop of York.
Henry Compton, lord biſhop of London.
Peter Mew, lord biſhop of Wincheſter.
William Lloyd, lord biſhop of St. Aſaph.
Thomas Sprat, lord biſhop of Rocheſter.
Thomas Smith, lord biſhop of Carliſle.
Jonathan Trelawney, lord biſhop of Exeter.
Gilbert Burnet, lord biſhop of Saliſbury.
Humfrey Humfreys, lord biſhop of Banger.
Nicholas Stratford, lord biſhop of Cheſter.
Edward Stillingfleet, late dean of St. Paul's, London, now biſhop of Worceſter.
Simon Patrick, late dean of Peterborough, now biſhop of Chicheſter.
John Tillotſon, D. D. late dean of Canterbury, now dean of St. Paul's, London.
Richard Meggot, D. D. dean of Wincheſter.
John Sharp, D. D. late dean of Norwich, now dean of Canterbury.
Richard Kidder, D. D. dean of Peterborough.
Henry Aldrich, D. D. dean of Chriſt-church, Oxford.
William Jane, D. D. regius profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Oxford.
John Hall, D. D. margaret profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Oxford.
Joſeph Beaumont, D. D. regius profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Cambridge,
John Montagu, D. D. and maſter of Trinity college in the univerſity of Cambridge.
John Goodman, D. D. archdeacon of Middleſex.
William Beveridge, D D. archdeacon of Colcheſter.
John Battely, D. D. archdeacon of Canterbury.

Charles

1689.

Burnet. Ken. Boyer.

The commissioners sat closely upon the affair for several weeks. They had before them all the exceptions, that either the puritans before the civil war, or the non-conformists since the restoration, had made to any part of the church-service. They had also many propositions and advices, that had been offered, at several times, by many bishops and divines upon those heads. Matters were well considered, and freely and calmly debated; and all was digested into an intire correction of every thing, that seemed liable to any just objection (p). The point, which created the greatest difficulty, was about the admitting of dissenting ministers to officiate

Charles Alston, D. D. archdeacon of Essex.
Thomas Tennison, D. D. archdeacon of London.
John Scot, D. D. prebendary of St. Paul's, London.
Edward Fowler, D. D. prebendary of Glocester.
Robert Grove, D. D. prebendary of St. Paul's, London
John Williams, D. D. prebendary of St. Paul's, London.

(p) Dr. Nichols gives the following account of the proceedings of the commissioners. "They began with reviewing the liturgy; and first they examined the calender; in which, in the room of apocryphal lessons, they ordered certain chapters of canonical scripture to be read, that were to the people's advantage. Athanasius's creed being disliked by many because of the damnatory clause it was left to the minister's choice to use it, or change it for the apostle's creed. New collects were drawn up, more agreeable to the epistles and gospels, for the whole course of the year; and these were composed with that elegance and propriety of expression, and such a flame of devotion, that nothing could more effect the hearts of the hearers, and elevate their minds towards God. They were first drawn up by Dr. Patrick, who was reckoned to have great skill in liturgical composures. Bishop Burnet added to them yet farther force and spirit. Dr. Stillingfleet afterwards examined them with great judgment, carefully weighing every word in them; and Dr. Tillotson had the last hand, giving them some free and masterly strokes of his easy and flowing eloquence. Dr. Kidder, who was well versed in the oriental tongues, made a new version of the psalms more agreeable to the original. Dr. Tennison made a collection of the words and expressions throughout the liturgy, which had been excepted to, and proposed others in their room, that were clear and plain, and less liable to objection. Other things also were proposed, that were left to be determined by the convocation: as, 1. That the cross in baptism might be either used or omitted at the choice of the parents. 2. That a non-conformist minister going over to the church should

ficiate in the church, when duly reconciled to it. Some of the commiſſioners were inclined not to inſiſt on the re-ordination of them, alledging, that they ought not to ſhow leſs regard to the vocation of preſbytering miniſters, than to that of Roman catholic prieſts, whoſe ordination was never queſtioned upon their joining in communion with the church of England. But the majority thought it more proper to keep a middle courſe, which was, firſt with reſpect to Romiſh prieſts, 1689.

" not be ordained according to " the common form, but con- " ditionally, much in the ſame " manner as the baptizing of " infants is ordered in the church, " if there be not evidence of " their being baptized before, " with the addition of the epiſ- " copal benediction, as was cuſ- " tomary in the antient church, " when clerks were received, " who had been ordained by " heretics. Dionyſ. Alex. apud " Euſeb. hiſt. Eccleſ. l. vii. cap. " 2. Council. Nic. I. canon. 8. " Juſtin. ſive Anth. Reſponſ. ad " orthod. reſp. 18. Theod. hiſt. " Eccleſ. lib. 1. cap. 8. of which " way of ordaining, archbiſhop " Bramhall had given a prece- " dent, when he received ſome " Scots preſbyters into the " church." Nichols apparat. ad defenſ. Eccleſ. Anglic. p. 95.

But the moſt complete account of this affair is publiſhed by Dr. Edmund Calamy, in his abridgment of Baxter's hiſtory of his own time. The committee (ſays he) being met in the Jeruſalem chamber, a diſpute aroſe about the authority and legality of the court; the biſhop of Rocheſter, though he had ſo lately acted in an illegal one, being one of thoſe that queſtioned it. The gounds of this ſcruple were the obligations the clergy lay under by act of parliament of king Henry VIII, not to enter into any debates about making any alterations in church affairs, without the king's ſpecial and immediate privacy, and direction firſt given concerning ſuch alterations. It was anſwered, that that muſt be done either by an act of the king's own judgment, or by a private cabal, (both which ways would be very exceptionable) or elſe by his majeſty's commiſſion to a certain number of eccleſiaſtics, to conſult about, and prepare what was neceſſary to be altered, as it was in the preſent caſe. For, moreover, the commiſſioners pretended not to make theſe alterations obligatory by virtue of a law, but only to get them ready to lay before the convocation; the very reports being not ſo much as to be referred to the privy council, leſt they might be ſubject to be canvaſſed and modelled by lay hands. However the biſhops of Wincheſter and Rocheſter, and Dr. Jane and Dr. Aldrich withdrew diſſatisfied; and the reſt, after a liſt of all that ſeemed fit to be changed was read over, proceeded very unanimouſly, and without any heats, in determining, as follows, (each article, as ſoon as agreed on, being ſigned by the biſhop of London) viz.

That the chaunting of divine ſervice in cathedral churches ſhall be

1689. prieſts, to leave it undecided, whether their ordination was good or not. But becauſe they were not obliged to give credit to their certificates, that therefore ſuch of them, as for the future ſhould turn proteſtants, ſhould live in lay-communion only, unleſs they were re-ordained to a legal title of any church or cure. And, ſecondly, that though they did not

be laid aſide, that the whole may be rendered intelligible to the common people.

That beſides the pſalms, being read in their courſe as before, ſome proper and devout ones be ſelected for Sundays.

That the apocryphal leſſons, and thoſe of the old teſtament, which are too natural, be thrown out, and others appointed in their ſtead by a new calendar, which is already fully ſettled, and out of which are omitted all the legendary ſaints days, and others not directly referred to in the ſervice book.

That not to ſend the vulgar to ſearch the canons, which few of them ever ſaw, a rubric be made, ſetting forth the uſefulneſs of the croſs in baptiſm, not as an eſſential part of that ſacrament, but only a fit and decent ceremony. However, if any do, after all, in conſcience ſcruple it, it may be omitted by the prieſt.

That likewiſe if any refuſe to receive the ſacrament of the lord's ſupper kneeling, it may be adminiſtered to them in their pews.

That a rubric be made, declaring the intention of the Lent-faſts, to conſiſt only in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in diſtinction of meats; and another to ſtate the meaning of Rogation Sundays and Ember weeks; and appoint, that thoſe ordained within the quatuor tempora do exerciſe ſtrict devotion.

That the rubric, which obliges miniſters to read or hear common prayer, publicly or privately every day, be changed to an exhortation to the people to frequent thoſe prayers.

That the abſolution in morning and evening prayer may be read by a deacon, the work prieſt in the rubric being changed into miniſter, and thoſe words, and remiſſion, be put out as not very intelligable.

That the Gloria Patri ſhall not be repeated at the end of every pſalm, but of all appointed for morning and evening prayer.

That thoſe words in the Te Deum, thine honourable true, and only ſon, be thus turned, thine only begotten ſon, honourable being only a civil term, and no where uſed in ſacris.

The benedicite ſhall be changed into the 128th pſalm; and other pſalms likewiſe appointed for the benidectus and nunc dimittis.

The verſicles after the Lord's prayer, &c. ſhall be read kneeling, to avoid the trouble and inconveniences of ſo often varying poſtures in the worſhip. And after theſe words, give peace in our time, O Lord, ſhall follow an anſwer promiſſory of ſomewhat on the people's part of keeping God's laws, or the like; the old reſponſe being grounded on the predeſtinating doctrine, taken in too ſtrict an exception.

All

not determine the ordination of preſbyterians to be altogether invalid, yet they thought it neceſſary for their miniſters to receive orders from a biſhop, who in conferring the ſame, might add a clauſe to the common form, as the church had already ordained in the caſe of uncertain baptiſm, to this effect, 'If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee,' &c. And this was the greateſt conceſſion, that was made by 1689.

All high titles or appellations of the king, queen, &c. ſhall be left out of the prayers, ſuch as moſt illuſtrious, religious, mighty, &c. and only the word ſovereign retained for the king and queen.

Thoſe words in the prayer for the king, grant that he may vanquiſh and overcome all his enemies, as of too large extent, if the king engage in an unjuſt war, ſhall be turned thus; proſper all his righteous undertakings againſt thy enemies, or after ſome ſuch manner.

Thoſe words in the prayer for the clergy, who alone work-eſt great marvels, as ſubject to be ill interpreted by perſons vainly diſpoſed, ſhall be thus, who alone art the author of all good gifts; and thoſe words, the healthful ſpirit of thy grace, ſhall be, the holy ſpirit of thy grace, healthful being an obſolete word.

The prayer, which begins, O God, whoſe nature and property, ſhall be thrown out, as full of ſtrange and impertinent expreſſions, and beſides not in the original, but foiſted in ſince by another hand.

The collects for the moſt part are to be changed for thoſe the biſhop of Chicheſter has prepared, being a review of the old ones with enlargements, to render them more ſenſible and affecting; and what particular expreſſions are needful, to be retrenched.

If any miniſter refuſe the ſurplice, the biſhop, if the people deſire it, and the living will bear it, may ſubſtitute one in his place, that will officiate in it; but the whole thing is left to the diſcretion of the biſhops.

If any deſire to have godfathers and godmothers omitted, and their children preſented in their own names to baptiſm, it may be granted.

About the Athanaſian creed, they came at laſt to this concluſion, that leaſt the wholly rejecting it ſhould by unreaſonable perſons be imputed to them as Socinianiſm, a rubric ſhould be made, ſetting forth or declaring the curſes denounced therein, not to be reſtrained to every particular article, but intended againſt thoſe, that deny the ſubſtance of the chriſtian religion in general.

Whether the amendment of the tranſlation of the reading pſalms (as they are called) made by the biſhop of St. Aſaph and Dr. Kidder, or that in the bible, ſhall be inſerted in the prayer-book, is wholly left to the convocation to conſider of and determine.

In the litany, and communion ſervice, &c. were likewiſe ſome alterations made, as alſo in the canons.

1689. by the commiſſioners. Among theſe commiſſioners were ſome very rigid men, the principal of whom was Dr. Jane (q), but they either never came to their meetings, or ſoon withdrew from them, declaring themſelves diſſatisfied with the deſign, ſome owning plainly, that they were againſt all alterations whatſoever. They thought, too much was already done for the diſſenters in the tolleration, which was granted them; but that they would do nothing to make that ſtill eaſier. They ſaid farther, that the altering the cuſtoms and conſtitution of the church, to gratify a peviſh and obſtinate party, was like to have no other effect on them, but to make them more inſolent; as if the church, by offering theſe alterations, ſeemed to confeſs, that ſhe had been hitherto in the wrong. They thought, this attempt would divide the clergy among themſelves, and make their people loſe their eſteem for the liturgy, if it appeared, that it wanted correction. They alſo excepted to the manner of preparing matters by a ſpecial commiſſion, as limiting the convocation, and impoſing upon it. And to load this with a word of an ill ſound, they called this 'a new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion.' But in anſwer to all this it was ſaid, that if by a few corrections or explanations all juſt ſatisfactions was offered to the chief objections of the diſſenters, there was reaſon to hope, that this would bring over many of them, at leaſt of the people, if not of the teachers among them; or, if the prejudices of education wrought too ſtrongly upon the preſent age, yet, if ſome more ſenſible objections were put out of the way, it might juſtly be hoped, that this would have a great effect on the next generation. If theſe condeſcenſions were made ſo, as to own, in the way of offering them, that the nonconformiſts had been in the right, that might turn to the reproach of the church: but ſuch offers being made only in regard to their weakneſs, the reproach fell on them, as the honour accrued to the church, who ſhewed herſelf a true mother, by her care to preſerve her children. It was not offered, that the ordinary poſture of receiving the ſacrament kneeling ſhould be changed: that was ſtill to be the received and favoured poſture; only ſuch, as declared they could not overcome their ſcruples in that matter, were to be admitted

(q) The reſt of the rigd ones were, Mew, Sprat, Aldrich, Beaumont, Montague, Goodman, Beveridge, and Alſton. Moſt of theſe were ſo far from thinking of a comprehenſion, that they would hardly own the reformed abroad to be true churches, much leſs the diſſenters at home.

admitted to it in another poſture. Ritual matters were of their own nature indifferent, and had been always declared to be ſo: all the neceſſity of them aroſe only from the authority in church and ſtate, that had enacted them. It was therefore an unreaſonable ſtiffneſs to deny any abatement in ſuch matters, in order to the healing of the wounds of the church. Great alterations have been made in ſuch things in all ages of the church. Even the church of Rome was ſtill making ſome alterations in her rituals, and changes had been made in that of England often ſince the reformation in the reigns of king Edward VI, queen Elizabeth, king James I, and king Charles II. Theſe changes were always made upon ſome great turn; critical times being the moſt proper for deſigns of that kind. The toleration, now granted, ſeemed to render it more neceſſary than formerly, to make the terms of communion with the church as large as might be, that ſo it might draw over to it the greater number from thoſe, who might leave it more ſafely; and therefore the greater care ought to be uſed in order to the gaining of them. And as for the manner of preparing theſe overtures, the king's ſupremacy ſignified little, if he could not appoint a ſelect number to conſider of ſuch matters, as he might think fit to lay before the convocation. This did no way break in upon their full freedom of debate, it being free to them to reject, as well as to accept, of the propoſitions to be offered to them. But while they were arguing this matter on both ſides, the party, that was now at work for king James, took hold of this occaſion to inflame men's minds. It was ſaid, the church was to be pulled down, and preſbytery was to be ſet up: that all this now in debate was only intended to divide and diſtract the church, and to render it by that means both weaker and more rediculous, while it went off from its former grounds, in offering ſuch conceſſions. The univerſities took fire upon this, and began to declare againſt it, and againſt all who promoted it, as men, who intended to undermine the church. Severe reflections were caſt on the king, as being in a contrary intereſt to the church; for the church was as the word given out by the jacobite party, under which they thought they might more ſafely ſhelter themſelves. There were great canvaſſings every where in the elections of convocation-men; a thing not known in former times; ſo that it was ſoon very viſible, that the clergy were not in a temper cool or calm enough to encourage the further proſecution of ſuch a deſign. 1689.

When

1689.

The convocation meets. Nov. 21. Kennet. Boyer. Vox Cler. p. 72.

When the convocation met, the lower houſe immediately diſcovered their diſpoſition, by their choice of a ptolocutor. The perſon deſigned by the biſhop of London and moſt of his bretheren, and the moderate part of the clergy, was Dr. Tillotſon, dean of Canterbury, whom the king had lately made clerk of his cloſet, and uſed to call 'the honeſteſt man, and the beſt friend he ever had in his life.' But it was carried by a great majority of votes for Dr. Jane of Oxford, a profeſſed enemy of the diſſenters, who being preſented to the biſhop of London as preſident for his approbation, made a cuſtomary ſpeech in Latin, wherein he extolled the excellency of the liturgy of the church of England as eſtabliſhed by law, above that of all chriſtian communities, and intimated, that it wanted no amendments; and then ended with the application of this ſentence by way of triumph, nolumus leges angliæ mutari. The biſhop of London, to whom the prolocutor had been chaplain, made a ſpeech in the ſame language with great moderation and candour. He told the clergy, "that they ought to endeavour a temper in "thoſe things, that are not eſſential to religion, thereby to "open the door of ſalvation to a multitude of ſtraying chri-"ſtians: that it muſt needs be their duty to ſhew the ſame "indulgence and charity to the diſſenters under king Wil-"liam, which ſome of the biſhops and clergy had promiſed "to them in their addreſſes to king James." And he concluded with a pathetical exhortation to unanimity and concord. Many of the members being abſent, the convocation adjourned to the next day, without debating any thing of moment.

At the next meeting, the biſhop of London being ſenſible, that the majority of the lower houſe were reſolved to oppoſe the intended union with the diſſenters, acquainted the convocation, "That having communicated the royal com-"miſſion, by which they were impowered to act, to an emi-"nent civilian, he had found it defective in not having the "great ſeal; and therefore he ſhould prorogue them till "that was procured." During this interval, many arguments were uſed to bring the moſt rigid of the inferior clergy to a charitable condeſcenſion, and the deſired union; but to very little purpoſe. There was a jealouſy and a diſtruſt not to be conquered; though there could be but two arguments of any force to juſtify their averſeneſs to enter upon the terms of accommodation. One was, that it ſeemed to derogate from the dignity of the church of England, to make any ſtep towards the altering of her conſtitution, till it did appear,

appear, that the diſſenters themſelves did deſire a reconcile- 1689.
ment, and were ready to offer ſome propoſals, or to ac-
cept of others. A ſecond argument might be, that the
archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſome of his ſuffragans, and
ſome other divines, would not own the preſent government,
and were therefore ready to fall into a new ſeparation from
their bretheren; ſo that at this juncture it might be dange-
rous to make any change, that might give a pretence of be-
ing for the old church, as well as the old king.

On the 4th of December, while both houſes of convoca- The
tion were ſitting together in Henry VII's chapel, the earl king's
of Nottingham brought in the king's commiſſion, which commiſſi-
was read to the aſſembly, there being preſent twelve biſhops on read.
and a good number of the inferior clergy. This done, the
king's meſſage was alſo read:

"William R.

"HIS majeſty has ſummoned this convocation, not only The
"becauſe it is uſual upon holding a parliament, but king's
"out of a pious zeal to do every thing, that may tend to meſſage
"the beſt eſtabliſhment of the church of England; which is
"ſo eminent a part of the reformation, and is certainly the
"beſt ſuited to the conſtitution of this government; and there-
"fore does moſt ſignally deſerve, and ſhall always have
"both his favour and protection. And he doubts not but
"that you will aſſiſt him in promoting the wellfare of it, ſo
"that no prejudices, with which ſome men may have la-
"boured to poſſeſs you, ſhall diſappoint his good intentions,
"or deprive the church of any benefit from your conſulta-
"tions. His majeſty therefore expects, that the things,
"that ſhall be propoſed, ſhall be calmly and impartially
"conſidered by you; and aſſures you, that he will offer no-
"thing to you, but what ſhall be for the honour, peace,
"and advantage both of the proteſtant religion in general,
"and particularly of the church of England."

At the ſame time the earl of Nottingham made a ſpeech to the aſſembly, exhorting them to lay aſide all partial pre-poſſeſſions and animoſities in their proceedings.

The meſſage being read, the biſhops went to the Jeruſa-lem chamber, from whence they ſent a copy of it to the low-er houſe, and alſo the following form of an addreſs to the king, to which they deſired their concurrence.

"We

1689. "WE the biſhops, &c. in convocation aſſembled having "received your majeſty's gracious meſſage, together

Addreſs to the king as propoſed by the biſhops. "with a commiſſion from your majeſty, by the earl of Not-"tingham, hold ourſelves bound in gratitude and duty, to "return our moſt humble thanks and acknowledgments of "the grace and goodneſs expreſſed in your majeſty's meſſage, "and the zeal you ſhew in it for the proteſtant religion in "general, and the church of England in particular; and of "the truſt and confidence repoſed in us by this commiſſi-"on. We look on theſe marks of your majeſty's care and "favour as the continuance of the great deliverance al-"mighty God wrought for us by your means, in making "you the bleſſed inſtrument of preſerving us from falling "under the cruelty of popiſh tyranny; for which as we "have often thanked almighty God, ſo we cannot forget "that high obligation and duty, which we owe to your ma-"jeſty; and on theſe new aſſurances of your protection and "favour to our church, we beg leave to renew the aſſurance "of our conſtant fidelity and obedience to your majeſty, "whom we pray God to continue long and happily to "reign over us."

Diviſions in the lower houſe The lower-houſe, which ſeemed reſolved to do nothing, would not conſent to this addreſs; but firſt pleaded for the privilege of preſenting a ſeparate addreſs of their own drawing up; and then dropping that pretenſion, they fell to making amendments, and gave a reaſon, why they could not concur with the biſhops, in their form, in theſe words: 'we 'are deſirous to confine our addreſs to his majeſty's moſt 'gracious meſſage, and to thoſe things only therein, which 'concern the church of England.' Hereupon a conference was deſired, which was managed chiefly between the biſhop of Saliſbury and the prolocutor; and theſe reaſons were reported, why their lordſhips inſiſted on the expreſs mention of the proteſtant religion. "1. Becauſe it is the "known denomination of the common doctrine of the weſ-"tern parts of chriſtendom, in oppoſition to the errors and "corruptions of the church of Rome. 2. Becauſe the "leaving out this may have ill conſequences, and be liable "to ſtrange conſtructions both at home and abroad, among "proteſtants as well as papiſts. 3. Becauſe it agrees with "the general reaſon offered by the clergy for their amend-"ment, ſince this is expreſly mentioned in the king's meſ-"ſage; and in this the church of England being ſo much "concerned, the biſhops think it ought to ſtand in the ad-

dreſs."

"s dreſs." The lower-houſe debated theſe reaſons, and diſ- 1689.
agreed to them, and then reſolved, "that inſtead of the
"proteſtant religion, they would rather ſay proteſtant church-
"es." Their lordſhips deſired a reaſon of this alteration: which was returned in theſe words: "We being the repre-
"ſentatives of a formed eſtabliſhed church, do not think
"fit to mention the word religion any farther than it is the
"religion of ſome formed eſtabliſhed church." The lords returned the amendments with this alteration: "the intereſt
"of the proteſtant religion in this and all other proteſtant
"churches." The lower-houſe thinking it a diminution to the church of England to join it with foreign proteſtant churches, would have the words [this and] to be omitted; and at laſt, with great difficulty, the following addreſs was agreed on, and preſented to the king on Thurſday December 12.

"WE your majeſty's moſt loyal and moſt dutiful ſubjects, The con-
"the biſhops and clergy of the province of Canter- vocation's
"bury, in convocation aſſembled, having received a moſt addreſs.
"gracious meſſage from your majeſty by the earl of Not-
"tingham, hold ourſelves bound in duty and gratitude, to
"return our moſt humble acknowledgments for the ſame;
"and for the pious zeal and care your majeſty is pleaſed to
"expreſs therein, for the honour, peace, advantage, and
"eſtabliſhment of the church of England: whereby, we
"doubt not, the intereſt of the proteſtant religion in all
"other proteſtant churches, which is dear to us, will be
"the better ſecured under the influence of your majeſty's
"government and protection. And we crave leave to aſ-
"ſure your majeſty, that in purſuance of that truſt and con-
"fidence you repoſe in us, we will conſider whatſoever
"ſhall be offered to us from your majeſty, without pre-
"judice, and with all calmneſs and impartiality; and that
"we will conſtantly pay the fidelity and allegiance, which
"we have all ſworn to your majeſty and the queen; whom
"we pray God to continue long and happily to reign over
"us."

The king well underſtood, why this addreſs omitted the thanks, which the biſhops had returned for his royal commiſſion, and the zeal, which he had ſhewn for the proteſtant religion; and why there was no expreſſion of tenderneſs to the diſſenters, and but a cool regard to other proteſtant

1689. churches. However, he returned this gracious anſwer, addreſſed to the biſhops:

My lords,

The king's anſwer. "I take this addreſs very kindly from the convocation. "You may depend upon it, that all I have promiſed, and "all I can do for the ſervice of the church of England, I "will do; and I give you this new aſſurance, that I will "improve all occaſions and opportunities for its ſervice."

Proceedings of the lower-houſe. By all their proceedings hitherto, the lower-houſe of convocation had ſhown an utter diſlike to the buſineſs for which they were chiefly aſſembled, and by what followed, their averſion to the union ſo earneſtly deſired by the king, was no leſs manifeſt. For inſtead of taking any meaſures for a comprehenſion in favour of the moderate diſſenters, they turned their thoughts to their non-juring brethren, and a zealous ſpeech was made in behalf of the biſhops under ſuſpenſion, "That ſomething might be done to qualify them to ſit in "convocation; yet ſo, as that the convocation might not "incur any danger thereby." But this being a point of great difficulty, it was left to farther conſideration; whilſt they laboured to find out ſome other buſineſs to divert them from that, for which they were called together. To that end the prolocutor attended the preſident and biſhops, and in the name of the houſe repreſented to their lordſhips, "that there were ſeveral books of very dangerous conſe- "quence to the chriſtian religion and the church of Eng- "land; particularly notes upon Athanaſius's creed, and two "letters relating to the preſent convocation, lately come "abroad; and deſired their lordſhip's advice, in what way, "and how far, ſafely, and without incurring the penalty of "ſtat. 25. Hen. VIII. the convocation may proceed, in "the preventing the publiſhing the like ſcandalous books for "the future, and inflicting the cenſure of the church, ac- "cording to the canons provided in that behalf, upon the "authors of them." Upon which the prolocutor ſoon after acquainted the houſe, "that the preſident had declared "his ſenſe of the ill conſequence of thoſe books, that were "ſent up from this houſe to their lorpſhips; and that, upon "enquiry, he could not receive any ſatisfaction, how far "the convocation might proceed in that affair; but he "would, as far as lay in him, take farther order about it."

When

When the president and his bretheren saw the disposition of the lower-house, they found it was to no purpose to communicate any proposals to them; and therefore the king was advised to suffer the session to be discontinued. And thus as the convocation was not disposed to enter upon business, they were kept from doing mischief by prorogations, for a course of ten years. This was in reality a favour to them; for, ever since the year 1662, the convocation had indeed continued to sit, but to do no business: so that they were kept at no small expence in town, to do nothing, but only to meet and read a Latin litany. It was therefore an ease to be freed from such an attendance to no purpose. 1689.

The ill reception which the lower-house had given the king's message, raised a great clamour against them, since all the promises made in king James's reign, were now entirely forgot. But however, their proceedings were a great disapointment to the non-juring clergy who were under suspension. They were it seems designing to make a schism in the church, whenever they should be turned out, and their places filled up by others. They saw, it would not be easy to make a separation upon a private and personal account, and therefore wished to be furnished with more specious pretences. And if alterations had been made in the rubric, and other parts of the common-prayer, they would have pretended that they still adhered to the ancient church of England, in opposition to those who were altering it, and setting up new models (r). Thus was lost a fair opportunity not only of reviving the liturgy, rubrics and canons, but also of reconciling the moderate dissenters to the church, who with the rest have been forced to be contented with the act of toleration, under the exclusion from all offices and employments, by means of a test which was primarily intended to keep out the Roman catholics, and to which the

Remark on the proceedings of the lower house. Burnet.

(r) Bishop Burnet call this a happy direction of providence. Strange, that one who thought a reformation in the rubric, canons, and courts was much wanted, should believe the particular interposition of heaven to prevent it on account of an ill use that might have been made of it by a few non-juring clergy; whereas the reformation intended, would have been of infinite advantage to the church, as it would have removed all the exceptionable parts of her worship and discipline, and thereby enlarged the bounds of communion. But thus it is, that some of our wisest writers and speakers use the words, providence, judgments and mercies!

1689. diſſenters made no oppoſition in hopes of being relieved from it (s).

The parliament meets. Octob. 19. The parliament, purſuant to the late adjournment, met the 19th of October, when the king made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The king's ſpeech of his own compoſing Pr. H. C. II. 353. "THough the laſt ſitting continued ſo long that perhaps "it might have been more agreable to you, in relation "to your private concerns, not to have met again ſo ſoon; "yet the intereſt of the public lays an indiſpenſable obliga- "tion upon me to call you together at this time.

"In your laſt meeting you gave me ſo many teſtimonies "of your affection, as well as confidence in me, that I do "not at all queſtion, but in this I ſhall receive freſh proofs "of both.

"I eſteem it one of the greateſt misfortunes can befall "me, that in the beginning of my reign I am forced to aſk "ſuch large ſupplies; though I have this ſatisfaction, that "they are deſired for no other purpoſes, than the carry- "ing on theſe wars, in which I entered with your advice, "and aſſurance of your aſſiſtance. Nor can I doubt of the "bleſſing of God upon an undertaking, wherein I did not "engage out of a vain ambition, but from the neceſſity of "oppoſing their deſigns of deſtroying our religion and li- "berties.

"It is well known, how far I have expoſed myſelf to re- "ſcue this nation from the dangers that threatned, not on- "ly your liberty, but the proteſtant religion in general, of "which the church of England is one of the greateſt ſup- "ports, and for the defence whereof I am ready again to "venture my life.

My

(s) When the teſt (IV. 1672), againſt the catholics was debating, the court, in hopes of diverting the bill, had it propoſed, that ſome regard ſhould be had to proteſtant diſſenters. Love, member for London, and a diſſenter, ſeeing into this artifice, moved, that an effectual ſecurity might be found againſt popery, and that nothing might interpoſe till that was done; that then the diſſenters would try to deſerve ſome favour, but at preſent were willing to lie under the ſeverity of the law, rather than clog a more neceſſary work with their concerns. To this the friends of the diſſenters agreed, and the teſt was paſſed. Though it was voted, that a bill ſhould be brought in, to give eaſe to the diſſenters, no act ever paſſed in their favour, nor has the teſt been removed to this day.

See note. p. xl. Introduction.

My lords and gentlemen,

" That which I have to aſk of you at preſent is, that " what you think fit to give towards the charges of the war " for the next year, may be done without delay. And " there is one reaſon, which more particularly obliges me " to preſs you to a ſpeedy determination in this matter, be- " cauſe the next month there is appointed at the Hague, a " general meeting of all the princes and ſtates concerned in " this war againſt France, in order to concert the meaſures, " for the next campaign; and till I know your intentions, " I ſhall not only be uncertain myſelf what reſolutions to " take, but our allies will be under the ſame doubts, unleſs " they ſee me ſupported by your aſſiſtance. Beſides, if I " know not in time what you will do; I cannot make ſuch " proviſions, as will be requiſite, but ſhall be expoſed to " the ſame inconveniences the next year, which were the " cauſe, that the preparations for this were neither ſo ef- " fectual or expeditious as was neceſſary. The charge will " be alſo conſiderably leſſened by giving time to provide " things in their proper ſeaſon, and without confuſion.

" I have no other aim in this but to be in a condition to " attack our enemies in ſo vigorous a manner, as by the " help of God may, in a little time, bring us to a laſting " and honourable peace; by which my ſubjects may be " freed from the extraordinary expence of a lingering war. " And that I can have no greater ſatisfaction than in con- " tributing to their eaſe, I hope I have already given proof. " That you may be ſatisfied, how the money has been laid " out, which you have already given, I have directed the " accounts to be laid before you, whenever you ſhall think " fit to call for them.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I have one thing more to recommend to you, which is " the diſpatch of a bill of indemnity, that the minds of my " good ſubjects being quieted, we may all unanimouſly " concur to promote the welfare and honour of the king- " dom."

It is remarkable, that this ſpeech which met with univer- ſal applauſe, was compoſed by the king himſelf, who the day before produced it to the council, written with his own hand, telling them, ' He knew moſt of his predeceſſors

1689. 'were uſed to commit the drawing up of ſuch ſpeeches to 'their miniſters, who generally had their private aims and 'intereſts in view; to prevent which he had thought fit to 'write it himſelf in French, becauſe he was not ſo great a 'maſter of the Engliſh tongue. He deſired them therefore 'to look it over, and change what they found amiſs, that it 'might be tranſlated into Engliſh (t).'

At the ſame council the marquis of Halifax deſired for ſeveral reaſons, which he forbore to mention, to be excuſed from the office of ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, which was readily granted him, and a commiſſion was given to Sir Robert Atkyns, chief baron of the exchequer, to ſupply his place.

The parliament is prorogued for four days only. Pr. H. C. II. 355.

The buſineſs of Oates, and ſome other matters, which had raiſed ſuch heats between the two houſes, being only ſuperſeded by the repeated adjournment of the parliament, it was moved in council to put a final end to them by a prorogation. But the king thought fit to do nothing in an affair of ſuch a nature, without the advice of both houſes. The lords readily conſented to it; and as for the commons, though ſome of their members pretended, that ſuch a prorogation was irregular, after the king had made a ſpeech, wherein he had propoſed new matters to their conſideration, yet the contrary opinion carried it by a great majority; ſo that the king being come to the houſe of lords on Monday the 21ſt of October, Sir Robert Atkyns the new ſpeaker, acquainted both houſes, that it was his majeſty's pleaſure, that the parliament ſhould be prorogued, to the Wedneſday following. Before this prorogation, Dr. Crew biſhop of Durham, contrary to the expectation of moſt people, took the oaths, and ſubſcribed the declaration appointed by law. He had been one of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, and upon king James's abdication, had abſconded himſelf for ſome time. He had endeavoured to get beyond ſea, and offered to compound by reſigning his biſhopric, but at laſt

(t) The ſpeech was approved by all the board except the earl of Monmouth, who objected againſt the expreſſion, L' Egliſe Anglicane étoit le principal appuy de la religion proteſtante; i. e. The church of England is the chief ſupport of the proteſtant religion. So it was altered to, The church of England is one of the greateſt ſupports of the proteſtant religion. Sir Thomas Clarges, a member of the houſe of commons, found fault that his majeſty had not ſaid the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed.

he

he was prevailed on to merit a pardon for what he had done by ſubmitting to the government. 1689.

The parliament being met on the 23d of October, the king declared to them from the throne, "That having "ſpoke ſo lately to them, he need not ſay any thing "now, matters not having been altered ſince that time; "and therefore referred to what he had ſaid laſt to both "houſes, and deſired, that ſpeedy reſolutions might be "taken." Whereupon the commons unanimouſly reſolved, "that they would ſtand by and aſſiſt his majeſty in reducing "Ireland, and joining with his allies abroad in a vigorous "proſecution of a war againſt France." The parliament meets. Octob. 30. Ibid.

Accordingly, when the king at their requeſt had laid before them the neceſſary charges of the next year's ſervice, with the accounts of the laſt ſummer's expences, they unanimouſly voted a ſupply of two millions for thoſe purpoſes (u). A ſupply of two millions voted Nov. 2.

The parliament this ſeſſion was chiefly employed about the ſtate-priſoners, the inſtruments of the illegal proceedings in the late reigns, and the miſcarriages in Iriſh and other affairs.

As to the ſtate-priſoners, the act for detaining ſuſpected perſons in priſon being expired, and ſeveral of thoſe perſons having petitioned the houſe to be tried at the king's bench, a committee was appointed to inquire into the informations which had been given againſt them; and the miſdemeanors of Burton and Graham, the great oppreſſors in the late Proceedings againſt ſtate priſoners. Pr. H. C. II. 356, 357.

(u) The funds for raiſing this ſupply were a land-tax of two ſhillings, and another of one ſhilling in the pound, in which the quakers are excuſed from double taxes, additional duties upon coffee, tea and chocolate, after the following rates:

	l.	s.	d.
Upon every hundred weight of coffee	05	12	00
Upon every hundred weight of cocoa-nut	08	08	00
Upon every pound of tea	00	05	00

This is the ſame bill that had been dropped the laſt ſeſſion, upon a diſpute whether the peers can alter a money-bill or tax. It was now paſſed with the alteration propoſed by the lords of a draw-back upon exportation. An additional poll-tax was alſo paſſed, by which twenty ſhillings a head was laid upon every ſhopkeeper, tradeſman, and artificer, worth three hundred pounds perſonal eſtate. This bill had alſo been dropped the laſt ſeſſion, upon a debate, whether the lords ſhould appoint commiſſioners of their own to tax themſelves. A tax of 100,000 l. was moved (by Sir Edward Seymour, it is ſaid) to be laid on the Jews; but the motion came to nothing.

1689. reign, were again reported to the houſe. The caſe likewiſe of baron Jenner was reported, who was charged with declaring for the diſpenſing power, and acting in the affair of Magdalen college. Theſe three were ordered to be brought before the houſe to be examined, but Jenner having been bailed and releaſed, before the warrant was ſerved, the ſerjeant at arms was ordered to take him into cuſtody, and likewiſe Burton and Graham, who were brought before the houſe, and not giving ſatisfaction, a committee was appointed to prepare a charge againſt them. At the ſame time were releaſed upon bail, the lords Preſton (x), Forbes and Sir John Fenwick. But the commons reſolved to impeach the earls of Peterborough, Saliſbury, and Caſtlemain, Sir Edward Hales and Obadiah Walker, of high treaſon, for being reconciled to the church of Rome contrary to law, and other crimes. A bill was alſo ordered to be brought in to declare the late lord chancellor Jefferies's eſtate forfeited to the crown, and to attaint his blood. But this bill met with ſo much oppoſition that no progreſs was made in it. However for a terror to all the late inſtruments of popery, and arbitrary power, the houſe agreed "that the pecuniary penalties incurred by all privy counſellors, lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and militia officers, juſtices of the peace, and, by any other perſons, who had accepted or

(x) The lord Preſton preſenting to the houſe of lords a patent from king James, dated from Verſailles the 21ſt of January 1688-9, by which he was created a baron of England, their lordſhips voted him guilty of high-treaſon. However, they thought fit to refer the examination of that matter to the judges their aſſiſtants. The lord preſton pretended, that the patent being dated one day before the meeting of the convention, which had voted the throne vacant, it ought therefore to be valid. To which it was anſwered, that the vacancy was ſuppoſed to begin from the moment king James left the kingdom, whereby he abdicated the government. The next day the judges brought in the lord Preſton guilty of a high miſdemeanor, for which he was committed to the Tower. Not long after he acknowledged, and begged pardon for his fault by a petition to the lords, which was rejected upon his ſubſcribing himſelf viſcount Preſton, without expreſſing of what kingdom. The next day he preſented another, wherein he ſtiled himſelf viſcount of Scotland; and it being likewiſe alledged in his behalf, that by accepting a patent from king James, he never meant an affront to king William, but only to ſecure his own perſon from impriſonment, (being at that time proſecuted at law by the lord montague for a conſiderable ſum of money) he was releaſed from his confinement.

"exerciſed

" exerciſed any office or place of profit, either military or " civil, (other than ſuch as are now officers, in their ma- " jeſties army or fleet) contrary to the laws againſt popiſh " recuſants, ſhould be ſpeedily levied, and applied to the " public ſervice." 1689.

The lord Griffin, who was made a peer about a fortnight before king James's abdication, having been often required by letters and otherwiſe to attend the houſe of lords, and ſtill refuſing to appear, their lordſhips deſired the king by an addreſs to ſummon him by proclamation to ſurrendrr himſelf, at ſuch a day as his majeſty ſhould appoint to their houſe, if then actually ſitting, or to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. His lordſhip being accordingly ſummoned, ſurrendered himſelf to the earl of Nottingham, and having made his appearance before the houſe of lords, the ſpeaker told him, that he knew what he had to do before his ſitting in that houſe; whereupon his lordſhip deſired time to conſider of taking the oaths, he not being prepared for it; which was readily granted. Proceedings againſt the lord Griffin. Pr. H. L. I. 392. Octob. 1.

The ſame day the parliament was prorogued, a packet was intercepted, which plainly diſcovered how little the lord Griffin was inclined to own the preſent government. This diſcovery happened in the following manner. His lordſhip having cauſed a large pewter bottle to be made with a double bottom, ordered his cook to go to a pewterer's at an unſeaſonable hour of the night, to get the falſe bottom ſoldered. The pewterer finding a packet between the two bottoms of the bottle, began to ſuſpect ſomething; and the cook not giving him a ſatisfactory anſwer about the contents, he made bold to open it. The ſuperſcription of ſeveral letters directed to king James, the duke of Berwick, &c. juſtified the pewterer's ſuſpicion, who immediately ſeized the lord Griffin's cook, and carried him to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, but he being gone to bed, and the ſervants refuſing to admit the pewterer to his maſter's preſence, the lord Griffin, who by this time began to apprehend what had befallen his meſſenger, took this opportunity to make his eſcape. Beſides, the letters there was found an account of ſome private reſolutions of the council, and an exact liſt of all the land and ſea forces of England. Whereupon the lord Griffin's houſe and papers were ſearched, his lady committed to the Tower, ſeveral ſuſpected perſons arreſted, and the cuſtom-houſe officers ordered to ſtop all unknown perſons, who offered to croſs the ſeas without paſſes. The lord Griffin having abſconded himſelf ſome few days and finding it difficult to get

out

1689. out of the kingdom, ſurrendered himſelf to the earl of Shrewſbury, ſecretary of ſtate, who having examined him, committed him to the cuſtody of a meſſenger, from whence he was ſent to the Tower. The commons upon this appointed a committee to inquire how the lord Griffin came to know a reſolution, which the king had communicated to four perſons only; and the lords addreſſed his majeſty to let him underſtand, that the ſaid lord being one of their members, they were conſequently his proper judges. The king having left the cognizance of this affair to the peers, they began to examine the papers intercepted in the pewter bottle, which were the only evidence againſt the lord Griffin. And becauſe ſome few days before it had been reſolved in that houſe, that colonel Algernon Sidney was unjuſtly condemned, nothing but writings found in his cloſet having been produced againſt him, the earl of Rocheſter argued, from a parity of reaſon in favour of lord Griffin, who, after ſeveral warm debates, was ſet at liberty upon bail.

Proceedings about the authors of the execution in the late reigns, &c. Pr. H. L. I. 394. Burnet.

As to the inſtruments of the illegal proceedings of the late reigns, the lords as well as the commons, appointed a committee to examine who were the adviſers and proſecutors of the murders of the lord Ruſſel, colonel Sidney, Sir Thomas Armſtrong, alderman Corniſh and others, and who had the chief hand in the quo warranto's and delivering up of charters. This committee was appointed, at the motion of the duke of Bolton, and it was deſired by the lords, that Mr. John Hampden and Mr. John Trenchard, members of the houſe of commons, might attend the committee, to inform them what they knew of theſe matters. Theſe two gentlemen had been accuſed, for being concerned with the duke of Monmouth and the lord Ruſſel in the plot of 1683. Trenchard had been charged with undertaking to raiſe a body of men at Taunton, but he had denied every thing. And it was then well known his greateſt crime, was the being the firſt man, that had moved the excluſion in the houſe of commons. Mr. Hampden was let into all the duke of Monmouth's ſecrets, and knew the whole affair. Upon lord Howard's evidence, he was brought in guilty of a miſdemeanor, and fined 40,000 l. the moſt extravagant fine, that had ever been ſet for a miſdemeanor, and which amounted to an impriſonment for life. He was afterwards concerned in Monmouth's rebellion, and upon pleading guilty and begging his life was pardoned.

He is ſaid to have been ſo aſhamed of this, that it gave his ſpirits ſuch a diſorder, he could never maſter, and which had a terrible

a terrible concluſion, for about ten years after he cut his own throat. He was grandſon of him that pleaded the cauſe of England, in the point of ſhip-money: his father was an eminent man, and zealous in the excluſion. He himſelf was a man of great parts, and a critic in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, of great heat and vivacity, but too unequal in his temper. 1689.

Mr. Hampden appeared before the committee, and, as it is ſaid, made a long ſpeech, tending rather to extol his own ſervices, than to diſcover the authors of lord Ruſſel's death (y). However this be, though this inquiry laſted ſome

(y) This matter is thus related by Kennet after Boyer. It is certain, (ſay they) that Mr. Hampden was able to give the lords a great light into that affair, having been involved in the like danger himſelf, and out of which he diſengaged himſelf not without difficulty. But this enquiry was not ſo much intended againſt Mr. Hampden, as againſt the marquis of Halifax, who had endeavoured Mr. Hampden's ruin, by procuring a note from the late duke of Monmouth, which repreſented Mr. Hampden as the chief accomplice with the lord Ruſſel. But the duke afterwards repenting of having accuſed one of his beſt friends, earneſtly demanded his note from king Charles II, to whom the marquis had delivered it, and at laſt obtained it on this condition, never to return into his majeſty's preſence. Mr. Hampden appeared before the committee of the lords, and made a long ſpeech, in which he rather aimed at juſtifying himſelf, than at diſcovering the authors of lord Ruſſel's death. He extolled his ſervices to the preſent government, inſinuating that the whole intrigue in inviting over the prince of Orange had been managed by himſelf, and Mr. Johnſton, (a Scotſman, ſon of the lord of Warriſtoun, who had been executed in 1663, and firſt couſin of biſhop Burnet) whom he had employed to gather the reſults of the ſeveral conſultations in private houſes. He urged, that by his concern in this affair he had expoſed himſelf to imminent danger; for had Johnſton been ſuſpected, he would have been ſent into Scotland, and forced by the rack (which is allowed in that kingdom) to diſcover thoſe who ſet him at work. Upon this account it was that Mr. Hampden, after the revolution, made ſeveral offers at being ſecretary of ſtate; but the king thought him of too hot a temper for a place that requires a ſettled head. One day Mr. Hampden, with deſign to remind the king of his own ſervices, repreſented to him, that thoſe of Mr. Johnſton were ſtill left unrewarded; to which the king replied, that 'he had not 'forgot either Mr. Hampden or 'Mr. Johnſton.' However, neither of them had much reaſon to complain; the king having named the firſt to be his envoy into Spain,

1689. ſome weeks, and gave occaſion to much heat, nothing could be proved, upon which votes or addreſſes could have been grounded: yet the lord Halifax, having concurred with the miniſtry and council in the ſeverities and executions in the end of king Charles's reign, and in the quo warranto's, and ſurrendering the charters, ſaw it was neceſſary for him to withdraw now and quit the court. And ſoon after he reconciled himſelf to the tories and upon all occaſions protected the whole party. The privy-ſeal was put in commiſſion after the lord Halifax had reſigned, and given to William Cheney, Sir John Knatchbull, and Sir William Pulteney.

Miſcarriages in Ireland examined into. Nov. 11. Pr. H. C. II. 358.

As to the miſcarriages in the Iriſh affairs, which had been a continual ſubject of complaint, the commons being informed that duke Schomberg's army was ſcarce fourteen thouſand ſtrong, though there were twenty-three thouſand upon the eſtabliſhment, they deſired the king to appoint commiſſioners to go over and inquire into the condition of the army in Ireland. Though the king aſſured the houſe, that he would comply with their addreſs, yet ſome members moved, that the commons ſhould ſend commiſſioners of their own nomination, both to look into the expence, and to prevent falſe muſters; which ſeemed to be an encroachment on the royal prerogative. Others ſaid, that duke Schomberg would have done well to have come himſelf in perſon, to acquaint the houſe with the cauſes of the weakneſs of his army,

Spain, and the other into Switzerland; which employments they both refuſed.

Great part of this relation ſeems to be taken from uncertain memoirs; for as it is not true that the inviting over the prince of Orange was managed by him and Johnſton, Mr. Hampden cannot be juſtly ſuppoſed to ſay ſo. Nor is the dialogue with the king any more likely. Neither could they with juſtice ſay, that an envoyſhip to Spain was a ſufficient reward for the ſervice Mr. Hampden had done the king; ſince, by their own confeſſion, he had contributed ſo much towards the revolution. However, it muſt be owned, Mr. Hampden thought himſelf neglected, and was ſo far diſguſted as to ſay, 'I think I deſerve to 'have ſomething offered me at 'leaſt.' This is the worſt that thoſe who knew him intimately, heard him ever ſay. However this be, Mr. Cox, upon Mr. Hampden's recommendation was ſent to Switzerland, and Mr. Stanhope, brother to the lord Cheſterfield, was diſpatched to Madrid. About the ſame time, the lord Paget was ſent envoy to the emperor, and the lord Durſley, afterwards earl of Berkley to Holland, to relieve the earl of Pembroke, who was made a privy-counſellor, and not long after firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, upon the reſignation of the lord Torrington.

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in order to ſecure his own reputation. And others went far- 1689.
ther, reflecting on that general for not fighting king James's forces. Though the duke wanted no apology among thoſe, who knew his capacity, yet being informed, that his conduct was called in queſtion, even in the parliament itſelf, he acquainted the king with the reaſons, that had obliged him not to ſtir from his camp upon the approach of king James; alledging, that his army had never exceeded twelve thouſand effective men, moſt of them newly raiſed, and little better than thoſe of the late king, who had double that number: that he had waited for artillery, horſes and carriages above a month: that the army had all along wanted bread; the horſes, ſhoes and provender; and the ſurgeons and apothecaries, proper medicines for the ſick. This account was confirmed by Mr. Lumley, brother to the lord Lumley, and by count Solmes, who at this time arrived from Ireland, and reported further, that the army was cantoned in pretty good winter-quarters; that abundance of men and horſe had been ſwept away by ſickneſs, and want of food or cloathing; but that the ſick now recovered very faſt; and as for the officers, that ſeveral of them had killed themſelves with drinking too plentifully Iriſh uſquebaugh, particularly Sir Edward Deering, colonel Wharton, and Sir Thomas Gower: that the miſcarriages of Ireland were wholly to be charged on Mr. John Shales, purveyor-general to the army; and that upon duke Schomberg's landing at Dundalk, there was ſo general a conſternation among the Iriſh, that he might have marched directly to Dublin, if he had not wanted proviſions and a train of artillery. Dr. Walker alſo acquainted the commons Ibid.
with theſe things, whereupon they addreſſed the king that p. 362.
Shales might be taken into cuſtody, and all his accounts, Nov. 16.
papers, and ſtores ſecured; and that duke Schomberg might be impowered to appoint an abler perſon. Next day major Wildman brought the king's anſwer: "That he had ſome "time ſince taken order therein, being informed of captain "Shale's miſdemeanors in his employment, and had written "to duke Schomberg for that purpoſe; and believed what "was deſired was already done, though the wind being "contrary, he had not yet received any account from Ire-"land." But the commons ſtill eager upon this affair, reſolved upon another addreſs, to requeſt his majeſty to name thoſe, who had recommended Shales to his ſervice, which however the king declined to do, becauſe, as he ſaid, Shales had been propoſed in full council. This Shales had been purveyor to king James's army, whilſt encamped on Hounſlow-

1689. flow-Heath; and upon that account was greatly ſuſpected of diſhoneſt practices under king William. A few days after, the king ſent the following meſſage to the commons in writing:

William R.

A meſſage from the king. Pr. H. C. II. 364. Nov. 30.

"HIS majeſty having already declared his reſolutions to "proſecute the war in Ireland with the utmoſt vi- "gour; and being deſirous to uſe the means, that may be "moſt ſatisfactory and effectual in order to it, is graciouſly "pleaſed, that this houſe do recommend a number of per- "ſons, not exceeding ſeven, to be commiſſioned by his ma- "jeſty to take care of the proviſions, and ſuch other prepa- "rations, as ſhall be neceſſary for that ſervice.

"His majeſty is further pleaſed to let the houſe know, "that upon conſideration of the addreſs of the 21th of No- "vember, he gives them leave to nominate ſome perſons to "go over into Ireland, to take an account of the number "of the army there, and the ſtate and condition of it, who "ſhall receive his majeſty's orders accordingly."

This condeſcending meſſage was ſo well received by the houſe, that both theſe affairs were left to the king. However they took this opportunity to preſs him to diſcover thoſe, who had recommended Shales; to which he replied, 'it is 'impoſſible for me to give an anſwer to this queſtion,' but promiſed to take all poſſible care, to carry on the war in Ireland with vigour, and to employ ſuch perſons, as might be moſt proper for the ſervice. But the complaints of miſmanagement were ſo great, that on the 15th of December, the commons reſolved, "that an humble addreſs be pre- "ſented to his majeſty, to lay before him the ill conduct "and ſucceſs of affairs in reference to Ireland, the armies "and fleet; and humbly to deſire his majeſty, that he will "pleaſe to take it into his conſideration, and, in his wiſ- "dom, to find out the authors of theſe miſcarriages, and "to appoint affairs to be managed by perſons unſuſpected, "and more to the ſafety of his majeſty, and ſatisfaction of "his ſubjects." The houſe likewiſe having been informed, that the miſcarriages of the fleet proceeded from a raging ſickneſs amongſt the ſeamen, occaſioned by great quantities of corrupt and unwholeſome proviſions, which had been furniſhed to the navy, the laſt ſummer, and the ſame being atteſted by ſeveral members of the houſe upon their own knowledge,

An addreſs voted about the ill conduct of affairs. Pr. H. C. II. 366.

ledge, it was reſolved, on the 23d of November, "that 1689.
"Sir John Parſons, Sir Richard Haddock, alderman Sturt,
"and Mr. Nicholas Fenn, victuallers of the fleet, ſhould be
"ſent for in cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, to anſwer to
"the ſaid complaints." And within a few days after, the king appointed Thomas Papillon, Simon Mayne, John Agar, Humphrey Ayles, and James How, commiſſioners for victualling the navy.

About the ſame time the commons took into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, and ſeveral members made complaints of the late miſcarriages, and charged them on the miniſtry. Mr. Hampden made a ſpeech wherein he urged, "that he "could not but wonder to ſee thoſe very perſons in the mi-"niſtry, whom the late king James had employed, even "when his affairs were moſt deſperate, to treat with the "then prince of Orange," and moved for an addreſs to deſire the king to remove the perſons, whom he had marked out, from his preſence and councils. This ſpeech (ſays a certain hiſtorian) might have made greater impreſſion, had he not at the ſame time complained, that ſeveral commonwealth's-men were then employed by the government; upon which the houſe, who knew, that both he, his father, and their predeceſſors had ever adhered to the republican party, broke out into a general laughter. As ſoon as the houſe was compoſed, ſeveral members ſtood up in defence of the perſons, on whom Mr. Hampden had reflected, alledging, "that the reaſon why they had been deputed to the "prince of Orange, was not becauſe they were in king "James's intereſt, but rather becauſe they had all along diſ-"approved that king's conduct, and, as ſuch, had the ge-"neral approbation of the nation, and were moſt likely to "be agreeable to his higneſs." However the houſe voted an addreſs to repreſent to the king the miſcarriages of Ireland and of the fleet, and to deſire, that he would diſcover the authors of them, that they might be brought to puniſhment. Mr. Hampden, with ſome others, being named to draw up this addreſs, gave ſome people occaſion to think that his principal aim was to have the earl of Nottingham removed, that he might himſelf ſtep into his place of ſecretary of ſtate.

Hampden's ſpeech againſt the miniſtry. Kennet.

Kennet.

This addreſs was accordingly preſented to the houſe on the 23d of December, by Mr. Hampden, and becauſe it contained a long detail of the miſcarriages, and ill ſucceſſes both at ſea and land; it was ſpoke againſt by ſeveral members, and even by his own father, who inſiſted to have it drawn

1689. drawn up again. But others were of another opinion, and ſaid, inſtead of contracting, it ought to be enlarged. In this debate it was remarkable to ſee Mr. Hampden and Sir Edward Seymour, Sir John Guiſe and Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, Sir Francis Winnington and Mr. Francis Gwin, on the ſame ſide of the queſtion.

A queſtion put about placemen.

In December a queſtion was put in the houſe of commons, "Whether a perſon having a place at court, or any depend-"ance on the king, ſhould be a member of that houſe?" The debate was warm and obſtinate; for, as it always happens on ſuch occaſions, the diſguſted and diſappointed joined with the enemies of the government, to keep others out of places, ſince they themſelves could not get into them. The queſtion was however carried for the place-men, and this reaſon given, "becauſe otherwiſe the fitteſt perſons for pub-"lic employments would remain excluded, and be debarred "the opportunity of ſerving either the king or the country."

King grows jealous of the whigs. Burnet.

During theſe proceedings in the parliament, the whigs began to loſe much of the king's good opinion, not only by the heat which they ſhowed in both houſes againſt their enemies, but by the coldneſs that appeared in every thing that related to the public, as well as to himſelf, and particularly in the affair of his revenue. For though he had expreſſed an earneſt deſire to have it ſettled for life, alledging, he was not a king till that was done, ſince without it the title of a king was only a pageant, the civil liſt was nevertheleſs granted but for one year (z). For a jealouſy was now infuſed into many, that he would grow arbitrary in his government, if he once had the revenue, and would ſtrain for a high ſtretch of prerogative, as ſoon as he was out of difficulties and neceſſities. Thoſe of the whigs who had lived ſome years at Amſterdam, had got together a great many ſtories, that went about the city, of his ſullenneſs and imperious way of dictating. The Scots likewiſe, who were now come up to give an account of the proceedings in parliament, ſet about many things, that heightened their apprehen-

(z) He ſpoke of this with more than ordinary vehemence. So that ſometimes he ſaid he would not ſtay and hold an empty name, unleſs he had a revenue for life. He ſaid once to biſhop Burnet, that he underſtood the good of a commonwealth as well as of a kingly government, and it was hard to determine which was the beſt; but he was ſure, the worſt of all governments was that of a king, without treaſure and without power. Burnet, II. 34.

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[illegible]ons (a). One Simpson, a Scots presbyterian, was recommended to the earl of Portland, as a man, whom he might trust, 1689.

(a) The earl of Belcarras observes, that the session of parliament "ended with so little satisfaction to all parties in it, "that most of them ran to London, some to complain, that "those things had not been performed, that the prince of Orange promised, when he "came to the crown; others to "defend themselves; for there "were great animosities among "them, particularly against the "lord S——r, who, though he "always had been a fanatic, yet "was generally abhorred among "them, as they said, being a "man neither of religion, nor "honour: besides he had complied with all governments, "and had taken all oaths and "engagements, that were a going for fifty years before, and "was the contriver of several of "them, yet never was faithful "to any party. The favours "done by the prince of Orange, to the lord S——r "and his son, and those other "things not done in parliament, "which were expected, made "many dissatisfied. But to take "off the odium of the last, and "to shew he was not to blame "for their not having all they "desired in parliament, he caused to be printed all his instructions to duke Hamilton, "and laid all the fault on him, "which he most patiently suffered, and might very well "have justified it, since all he "neglected to do was to satisfy the most bigotted fanatics, in not settling religion, "as they would have it, and "whereabout they could not agree, among themselves; so "it was delayed. The next "thing was the not restoring "the forefaulted estates, which "indeed duke Hamilton thought "unjust, but not the less, that "his son and brother were so "much concerned, being in "possession of two of the best of "them by a gift from your majesty. But to do him justice, "he was not for going such a "length of extravagances and "cruelty, as those inraged fanatic rebels, who came over "with the prince of Orange, "which made the most part of "his enemies, until they took "a general hatred at the lord "Melvill. This made them "join together more for interest "than inclination; others went "up to get the rewards of their "services; but finding themselves disappointed of those "employments, which they "thought due to their merit, "quite broke off from the rest, "though to cover their design "the better, they continued still "the most bigotted of the party. "The chief of these were Sir "James Montgomery, earl of "A——e, lord R——s, Mr. "William Hamilton, and Mr. "James O——e, who at first in "the convention had behaved "himself very well, but by great "promises made him by duke "Hamilton, he went over to "him; and finding himself "disappointed, joined again at "London in all, that was proposed to him for your majesty's service by Sir James Montgomery,

truſt, and who would bring him good intelligence; upon which account he was often admitted, and was entertained as

" gomery, who managed the " reſt as he pleaſed, and having " got acquainted with Mr. Fer- " guſon, Mr. Payne, capt. W—n, " and ſome others, that were in " your intereſt, engaged not " only for himſelf, but for the " others without their know- " ledge, truſting to his power " over them. The firſt of his " own ſett he propoſed his de- " ſign to, was the earl of A—e, " his brother-in-law, whom he " found very frank, as he al- " ways was, when the change of " a party was offered, then the " lord R——s; and laid before " them two the ingratitude of " the prince of Orange in not " giving them employments, and " the great offers made by your " friends, if they would return " to their duty. He wanted not " encouragement to ſay ſo, for " Mr. Payne had promiſed him " all that his ambition, vanity, " or avarice could ſuggeſt; nor " were there ever two better " matched than Mr. Payne and " Sir James Montgomery; for " Mr. Payne made him believe, " that he could diſpoſe both of " titles, of honour, employ- " ments, and money, as he " pleaſed; and the other im- " poſed ſo far upon him, as " to make him believe, he was " able to turn the whole nation " with a ſpeech, to do whatſo- " ever he propoſed.

" After they had conferred " their affairs together, and diſ- " poſed of every thing accord- " ing to their fancy, they pro- " poſed their reſolutions of ſer- " ing you to the earl of A——n, " then priſoner in the Tower of " London who embraced it moſt " willingly, judging it, that to " get thoſe, who had been moſt " eminent againſt you, to come " over, could not but make a " conſiderable intereſt. The " next ſtep they made was to " ſend one over to your majeſty, " with the offer of their ſervice, " and adviſe how all things " ſhould be diſpoſed. Though " they found a meſſenger fit for " their affair, called Mr. J——s, " yet they had great difficulty, " how to get their commiſſions, " titles of honour, and inſtruc- " tions to the parliament, word- " ed according to form; for " none of them knew any thing " of the matter. But Sir An- " drew F——r, gave doubles of " all they deſired, to Mr. Fergu- " ſon, without knowing any " thing of them, believing it " could not be but for your ma- " jeſty's ſervice, ſince the earl " of A——n was concerned in " it. After they had diſpatched " their meſſenger with all his " inſtructions, and having no- " thing to do till his return, " Sir James and Mr. Ferguſon " being openly declared ene- " mies to the lord Melvill, wrote " a pamphlet, which they called, " the grievances. It gave great " offence, and broke Sir James " Montgomery for ever with " the prince of Orange and all " his favourites; in which was " laid open all their follies and " breach of promiſes, with all " the bitterneſs, which Mr. Fer- " guſon's pen was capable of, " who had been in conſtant uſe " of ſuch undertakings for many " years.

The

's a good ſpy. But he was in a ſecret confidence with one 1689.
Melvill Payne, the moſt active and dextrous of all king James's agents, who had indeed loſt the reputation of an honeſt man entirely, and yet had ſuch arts of management, that even thoſe who knew what he was, were willing to employ him. Simpſon and he were in a cloſe league together, and Payne diſcovered ſo much of the ſecret intelligence of his party to Simpſon, that he might carry it to the earl of Portland, as made him paſs for the beſt ſpy the court had. When he had gained a conſiderable ſhare of credit, he made uſe of it to infuſe into the earl of Portland jealouſies of the king's beſt friends; and as the earl hearkened too attentively to theſe, ſo by other hands it was conveyed to ſome of them, that the court was now become jealous of them, and was ſeeking evidence againſt them.

Sir James Montgomery, who had been very inſtrumental in ſettling the crown of Scotland upon king William, was eaſily poſſeſſed with theſe reports; and he and ſome others, by Payne's management, entered into a correſpondence with Conſpiracy againſt the government. Burnet.

"The winter 1689 was thus "ſpent at London in their pri"vate councils, which made the "prince of Orange ſo weary of "both ſides, that he told duke "Hamilton, that he was ſo "much troubled about their "debates, that he wiſhed he "were a thouſand miles from "Scotland, and that he were "never king of it. Duke Ha"milton, though he was ex"tremely both the lord Mel"vill's and lord Stair's enemy, "who were the chief cauſe of "thoſe debates, yet went not "publicly to the meetings of "your enemies, which was then "called the club, but lived in "outward civility with all, till "the ſpring that lord Melvill "came down commiſſioner.

"While they were thus loſt "upon their debates at London, "the council of Scotland, where "the earl of Crawford conſtant"ly preſided, without any com"miſſion, was very buſy with "the epiſcopal clergy, who had "not prayed for the prince of "Orange, as was ordered by "the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. "A great many were ſummoned "before the council; and upon "their refuſal turned out. O"thers, who would have com"plied, and alſo made it ap"pear by their defences, that "it was impoſſible for them to "be informed of the order in ſo "ſhort a time, were likewiſe "turned out. His zeal carry"ing all things before him, and "the reſt complying with all "that he propoſed; ſo that by "the council, the rabble, and "the new levied dragoons the "worſt of either, there were "but very few in their churches "before the next ſpring, ſave "ſome, that were willing to "comply with every thing; "which rendered them con"temptible even to their ene"mies." Acc. of the aff. of Scot. p. 114.

1689. king James's party in England. They demanded an assurance for the settlement of presbytery in Scotland, and to have the chief posts of the government shared among them. Princes in exile are apt to grant every thing, that is asked of them; for they know, that, if they are restored, they shall have every thing in their power. Upon this they entered into a close treaty for the way of bringing all this about. At first they only asked money for furnishing themselves with arms and ammunition; but afterwards they insisted on demanding three thousand men, to be sent over from Dunkirk; because by duke Schomberg's being posted in Ulster, their communication with Ireland was cut off. In order to the carrying on this design, they reconciled themselves to the duke of Queensberry, and the other lords of the episcopal party; and on both sides it was given out, that this union of those, who were formerly such violent enemies, was only to secure and strengthen their interest in parliament; the episcopal party pretending, that since the king was not able to protect them, they, who saw themselves marked out for destruction, were to be excused for joining with those, who could secure them. Simpson brought an account of all this to the earl of Portland, and was pressed by him to find out witnesses to prove it against Sir James Montgomery. He carried this to them, and told them that the whole business was discovered, and that great rewards were offered to such as would merit them by swearing against them. With this they alarmed many of their party, who did not know what was at the bottom, and thought, that nothing was designed but an opposition to the lord Melvill and the elder Dalrymple, now created lord Stair; and they were possessed with a fear, that a new bloody scene of sham-plots and suborned witnesses was to be opened. And when it began to be whispered about, that they were in a treaty with king James, that appeared to be so little credible, that it was said by some discontented men, what could be expected from a government, that was so soon contriving the ruin of its best friends? some feared, that the king himself might too easily receive such reports: and that the common practises of ministers, who study to make their masters believe, that all their own enemies are likewise his, were like to prevail in this reign, as much as they had formerly done. Montgomery came to have great credit with some of the whigs in England, particularly with the earl of Monmouth and the duke of Bolton; and he employed it all, to persuade them not to trust the king, and to animate them against the earl

of

of Portland. This wrought ſo much, that many were diſpoſed to think, that they would have good terms from king James; and that he was now ſo convinced of his former errors, that they might ſafely truſt him. The earl of Monmouth intimated this to biſhop Burnet twice, but in ſuch a manner, as if he was afraid of it, and endeavoured to prevent it; but he ſet forth the reaſons for it with great advantage, and thoſe againſt it very faintly. Matters were truſted to Montgomery and Payne; and Ferguſon, who had been very deeply engaged with the enemies to the court in the two preceding reigns, was taken into it, as a man, who naturally loved to embroil things. Thus a deſign was formed, firſt to alienate the city of London ſo entirely from the king, that no loans might be advanced on the money-bills, which, without credit upon them, could not anſwer the end, for which they were given. It was ſpread about, that king James would give a full indemnity for all that was paſt; and that, for the future, he would ſeparate himſelf intirely from the French intereſt, and be contented with a ſecret connivance at thoſe of his own religion. It was ſaid, that he was weary of the inſolence of the French court, and ſaw his error in truſting to it ſo much as he had done. The corrupted party had gone ſo far, that they ſeemed to fancy, that the reſtoring him would be not only ſafe, but happy to the nation. Biſhop Burnet owns, that it was long before he could ſuffer himſelf to think, that the matter was gone ſo far; but he was at laſt convinced of it. He received a letter from an unknown hand, with a direction how to anſwer it. The ſubſtance of it was, that the writer of it could diſcover a plot deeply laid againſt the king, if he might be aſſured not to be made a witneſs, and have his friends, who were in it, pardoned. That prelate, by the king's order, engaged for the firſt; but as an indefinite promiſe of pardon was thought too much, the informer was told that he might, as to that, truſt to the king's mercy. Upon this, he came to the biſhop, who found him to be Sir James Montgomery's brother. He acquainted the biſhop, that a treaty was ſettled with king James; that articles were agreed on: and an invitation ſubſcribed by the whole cabal, to king James to come over, which was to be ſent to the court of France, both becauſe the communication was eaſier and leſs watched when it went through Flanders than with Ireland; and to let that court ſee, how ſtrong a party he had, and by that means to obtain the ſupplies and force that was deſired. He ſaid, that he ſaw the writing, and ſome hands to it; but that he knew many more were to ſign

1689.

Diſcovered by biſhop Burnet.

1689. ſign it; and he undertook to put the biſhop in a method to ſeize on the original paper. The king could not eaſily believe the affair had gone ſo far; yet he ordered the earl of Shrewſbury to receive ſuch advices, as the biſhop ſhould bring him, and immediately to do what was proper. A few days after this, Montgomery told the biſhop that one Williamſon was that day gone to Dover with the original invitation. The biſhop found the earl of Shrewſbury inclined enough to ſuſpect Williamſon, who had for ſome days ſollicited a paſs for Flanders, and had got ſome perſons, of whom it was not proper to ſhew a ſuſpicion, to anſwer for him. A perſon was therefore ſent poſt after him, with orders to ſeize him in his bed, and to take his clothes and portmanteau from him, which were ſtrictly examined, but nothing found. Yet upon the news of this, the party was extremely affrighted, but ſoon recovered themſelves; the true ſecret of which was afterwards diſcovered. Simpſon was it ſeems, to go over with Williamſon, but firſt to ride to ſome houſes, which were in the way to Dover; whereas the other went directly in the ſtage-coach. It was thought ſafeſt for Simpſon to carry thoſe papers, for there were many different invitations, as they would not truſt their hands to one common paper. Simpſon came to the houſe at Dover, where Williamſon was in the meſſengers hands; upon which he went away immediately to Deal, and hired a boat, and got ſafe to France with his letters. Montgomery finding that nothing was diſcovered by the way, which he had directed biſhop Burnet to, imagined, that he ſhould be deſpiſed by king William's friends, and perhaps ſuſpected by his own party; and therefore went over to France ſoon after, and turned papiſt. The fear of this diſcovery went preſently off; and Simpſon came back with large aſſurances; and twelve thouſand pounds were ſent to the Scots, who undertook to do great matters.

All pretended diſcoveries were laughed at, and looked upon as fictions of the court; and upon this the city of London were generally poſſeſſed with a very ill opinion of the king.

A bill concerning corporations. Pr. H. C. II. 369. Burnet.

In this ſituation of affairs, the whigs diſcovered that the tories were treating with the court about the diſſolution of the parliament. Though the commons had granted the ſupplies that were demanded for the reduction of Ireland, and for the quota to which the king was obliged by his alliances, yet the remoteneſs of the funds making it neceſſary to offer great premiums to thoſe who advanced the money upon ſecurity

security that was thought ſo hazardous, ſince few believed the government would laſt ſo long, the ſupplies, though ſeemingly great, brought not in the half of what they were eſtimated at. This the tories perceived, and ſeeing the whigs grow fallen, and that they would make no advance of money, they applied to the court, and promiſed great advances of money if the parliament might be diſſolved, and a new one ſummoned. Upon this the commons prepared a bill, "for reſtoring corporations to their ancient rights and privileges," by which they hoped to have made ſure of all future parliaments; for in it was inſerted the following clauſe, "That every mayor, recorder, ſheriff, common-council-man, town-clerk, magiſtrate, or officer, who did take upon him to conſent to, or join in the ſurrender of any charters, or inſtrument purporting ſuch ſurrender, did ſolicit, procure, proſecute, or did pay or contribute to the charge of proſecuting any ſcire facias, quo warranto, or information in the nature of quo warranto, by this act declared unlawful, ſhall be, and is declared, adjudged, and enacted to be, for the ſpace of ſeven years, incapable and diſabled to all intents and purpoſes, to bear or execute any office, employment, or place of truſt, as a member of ſuch reſpective body corporate, or in or for ſuch reſpective city, town, borough, or cinque-port, whereof or wherein he was member at or before the time of making ſuch ſurrender or inſtrument purporting ſuch ſurrender, or the ſuing out, or proſecuting ſuch ſcire facias, quo warranto, or information in the nature of quo warranto; any thing in this act contained, or any other caſe, ſtatute, or any ordinance, charter, cuſtom, or any thing to the contrary, in any wiſe notwithſtanding." This was oppoſed in the houſe by the whole ſtrength of the tory party; for they ſaw, that the carrying of it would be the total ruin of their intereſt through the whole kingdom. They ſaid a great deal againſt the declaratory part of the bill; but whatever there might be in that, they urged, that ſince the thing had been ſo univerſal, it ſeemed hard to puniſh it with ſuch ſeverity; and that by this means the party for the church would be diſgraced, and the corporations caſt into the hands of diſſenters. And now both parties made their court to the king. The whigs promiſed every thing, that he deſired, if he would help them to get this bill paſſed; and the tories were not wanting in their promiſes, if the bill ſhould be ſtopped, and the parliament diſſolved. The bill was carried in the houſe of commons by a great majority. When it was brought up 1689.

1689. to the lords, the first point in debate was upon the declaratory part, whether a corporation could be forfeited or surrendered. The lord chief justice Holt, and two other judges, were for the affirmative, but all the rest for the negative. No precedents for the affirmative were brought higher than the reign of king Henry VIII. in which the abbies were surrendered; which was at that time so great a point of state, that the authority of these precedents seemed not clear enough for regular times. The house was so equally divided, that it went for the bill only by one voice. After which, little doubt was made of the passing the act. But now the applications of the tories were much quickned: they made the king all possible promises; and the promoters of the bill saw themselves exposed to the corporations, which were to feel the effects of this bill so sensibly, that they made as great promises on their part. The matter was now at a critical issue: the passing the bill put the king and the nation in the hands of the whigs; and the rejecting it, and dissolving the parliament upon it, was such a trusting to the tories, and such a breaking with the whigs, that the king was long in suspence what to do. He was once very near a desperate resolution, he thought he could not trust the tories, and he resolved he would not trust the whigs. He imagined, however, that the tories would be true to the queen, and confide in her, though they would not in him. He therefore resolved to go over to Holland, and leave the government in the queen's hands.

Upon this he called together the marquis of Carmarthen, the earl of Shrewsbury, and some few more, and told them, that he had a convoy ready, and was resolved to leave all in the queen's hands, since he did not see how he could extricate himself out of the difficulties, into which the animosities of parties had brought him. They pressed him vehemently to lay aside all such resolutions, and to comply with the present necessity. Much passion appeared among them; and the debate was so warm, that many tears were shed. In conclusion, the king resolved to change his first design into another better resolution, of going over in person into Ireland, to put an end to the war there. The queen knew nothing of the first design, so reserved was the king to her in a matter, that concerned her so nearly. The king's intention of going to Ireland, appeared by the preparations, that were ordered; but a great party was formed in both houses to oppose it. Some really apprehended, that the air of that country would be fatal to so weak a constitution; and the

jacobites

Jacobites had no mind, that king James ſhould be ſo much preſſed, as he would probably be, if the king went againſt him in perſon. It was by concert propoſed in both houſes on the ſame day, to prepare an addreſs to the king againſt this voyage: ſo the king, to prevent the addreſs, came to the parliament, and acquainted both houſes with his reſolution of going in perſon to Ireland, "and as I have (ſays he) "already ventured my life for the preſervation of the reli- "gion, laws and liberties of this nation, ſo I am willing "again to expoſe it, to ſecure you the quiet enjoyment of "them." 1689.

When the king had ended his ſpeech, the parliament was prorogued to the 2d of April, but on the 6th of February was diſſolved by proclamation. At the ſame time, a new one was ſummoned to meet the 20th of March (b). The parliament prorogued and diſſolved. Jan. 17. Feb. 6. Pr. H. C. II. 372.

In this ſeſſion was paſſed the declaration of rights and act of ſettlement, of which an account has already been given.

The affair likewiſe of the princeſs of Denmark's revenue was now compleated, which had been left unfiniſhed the laſt ſeſſion. A motion being made for ſettling part of the public revenue on the princeſs, the houſe was divided into three parts. The lord Eland, ſon of the marquis of Halifax, Mr. Finch and Mr. Godolphin, who ſpoke in favour of the princeſs, A revenue ſettled on the princeſs of Denmark.

(b) As to the honours and preferments conferred this year, his majeſty, at the beginning of November, was pleaſed to create Richard lord Coote, baron of Coloony in Ireland, an earl of that kingdom by the name of the earl of Bellamont; and about the middle of that month, he appointed Thomas Kirke, eſq; to be his conſul at Genoa, Lambert Blackwell, eſq; conſul at Leghorn; Walter Dolman, eſq; conſul at Alicant; Hugh Broughton, eſq; conſul at Venice; Lancelot Stepney, eſq; conſul in the city and port of Oporto in the kingdom of Portugal; and James Paul, eſq; conſul for the iſlands of Zant, Corfu, Cephalonia, and Theaca, with the other adjacent iſlands belonging to the Venetian territories, and the province of Morea, &c. and Robert Godſchall, eſq; conſul at Seville, St. Lucar, and places adjacent within the kingdom of Spain. On the 12th of February, Sir Henry Goodrick, knight and baronet, lieutenant-general of their majeſties ordnance, was ſworn of the privy-council; and on the 19th of March, a commiſſion for the lord high-treaſurer's place was given to Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, bart. vice-chamberlain of his majeſty's houſhold, Richard Hampden, eſq; (who was alſo made chancellor of the Exchequer) Thomas Pelham, eſq; and Sir Stephen Fox; and Henry Guy, eſq; ſucceeded Mr. Pelham in his place as one of the commiſſioners of their majeſties cuſtoms.

ceſs,

1689. ceſs, inſiſted that 70,000l. a year, was as little as could be allowed her, as it had been repreſented the former ſeſſion. Pr. H. C. II 367. Burnet. Others were for reducing that ſum to 50,000l. and others again, who knew the king's inclination, would have the matter left entirely to his diſcretion. Mr. Hampden in particular alledged the danger of ſettling a revenue on a princeſs, who had ſo near a claim to the crown, independently of the king, whoſe title was diſputed by many malecontents; and ſupported his argument, by the example of the queen, on whom it had been lately propoſed to ſettle 100,000 pounds a year, but which was thought improper and therefore rejected, though her majeſty had no ſeparate intereſt, from that of her royal conſort. This debate being adjourned to the next day, the king who was unwilling ſuch an affair ſhould be thus canvaſſed in parliament, ſent the earl of Shrewſbury to the counteſs of Marlborough, lady of the bed-chamber to the princeſs, who told her "that he came Conduct of the d. of Marl. p. 34. "from his majeſty who promiſed to give the princeſs 50,000 "pounds a year, if ſhe would deſiſt from ſolliciting the ſettlement by parliament; and that he was confident, the "king would keep his word: that if he did not, he was "ſure, he would not ſerve him an hour after he broke it." The counteſs anſwered, "that ſuch a reſolution might be "very right as to him; but that ſhe did not ſee it could be "of any uſe to the princeſs:" The earl to convince her of the reaſonableneſs of what he propoſed, added a great deal, which had no effect, and ſhe deſired him to attend the princeſs herſelf, to which he conſented. The counteſs went to the princeſs to acquaint her of the earl's coming, and her anſwer to him was, "that ſhe could not think herſelf in the "wrong to deſire a ſecurity, for what was to ſupport her; "and that the buſineſs was now gone ſo far, that ſhe thought "it reaſonable to ſee what her friends could do for her." This anſwer was taken very ill both by the king and queen. More particularly the queen complained, that ſuch a motion was made before the princeſs had tried in a private way, what the king intended to aſſign her. The princeſs, on the other hand, ſaid, ſhe knew the queen was a good wife, ſubmiſſive and obedient to every thing that the king deſired; ſo ſhe thought, the beſt way was to have a ſettlement by act of parliament. The cuſtom indeed had always been, that the royal family (a prince of Wales not excepted) was kept in dependance on the king, and had no allowance but from his mere favour and kindneſs; yet in this caſe, in which the princeſs was put out of the ſucceſſion, during the king's life,

it

it seemed reasonable that somewhat more than ordinary should be done in consideration of that. Accordingly the commons addressed the king to settle 50,000 pounds a year on the prince and princess of Denmark, to which he consented. The blame of this motion was cast on the countess of Marlborough, as most in favour with the princess: and it is thought, this greatly contributed to alienate the king from the earl her husband, who was some time after dismissed from all his employments, as will hereafter be seen. 1689.

Whilst the parliament was sitting, Ludlow, who upon the restoration, was excepted out of the general pardon in 1661, for having been one of the judges of king Charles I, on some encouragement given him came into England to offer his service in the reduction of Ireland, where he had formerly commanded under Cromwell. Many were surprised at his coming, whilst there was an act of attainder against him, which he could not reasonably expect would be dispensed with in his favour. But no one was more alarmed at it than Sir Edward Seymour; for his seat and estate at Maiden-Bradley in Wiltshire, where he lived, had belonged to Ludlow, and came to him by a grant. It is no wonder therefore that he so strongly represented to the commons, "how highly it reflected on the honour of the nation, that "one of the parricides of that king, whose death the church "of England had justly dignified with the title of martyr-"dom, should not only be suffered to live here, but also en-"tertained with hopes of preferment." Upon this the commons, at his motion, voted an address to the king to issue out a proclamation for apprehending colonel Ludlow, and proposing a reward for such as should take him. Not content with making the motion, Sir Edward took care to present the address himself the next day (c), which, though the king complied with, it was observed that the proclamation was not published, till it was known that Ludlow was safely arrived in Holland with the Dutch ambassadors (d). From Holland he returned to Vevay in the county of Vaux in Switzerland, which he had chosen for his retirement after he had left Geneva and Lausanne. He had been warned out

Ludlow comes into England, and is obliged to retire again. Pr. H. C. II. 357. Nov. 6.

Pr. H. C. II. 357.

Nov. 15.

(c) It would have been doubtless, more decent for Sir Edward to have got some friend to make the motion and present the address; but the doing it himself made people say, "He had a "great deal of reason to do it, "as well for Ludlow's crime as "for his estate."

(d) Messieurs N. Witsen, Odycke, Van Cittart and de Weede.

of

1689. of Geneva by the magiſtrates at the ſollicitation of the ducheſs of Orleans, as the death of his friend Liſle (who was aſſaſſinated by three Iriſhmen) made him quit Lauſanne. His life had alſo been attempted more than once, which probably made him chuſe to live at Vevay, as a place of great ſafety, it being eaſy to know what ſtrangers are in the town by reaſon of its ſituation (e). Here he lived to the 73d year of his age, and then died after a thirty-two years exile. He has left two volumes of memoirs, by which it appears that he acted upon a different foot from Cromwell, whoſe uſerpation he always deteſted, and to whom he was as much an enemy as to king Charles, his ſole view being the eſtabliſhment of a free republic. He was a man of great courage and conduct, and unſhaken in his principles.

Affairs of Scotland. Boyer. Burnet.

During theſe proceedings in England, the rebels in Scotland having laid hold of the act of oblivion, and colonel Cannon, with thoſe under his command, retired to the iſland of Mull, ſeveral regiments were ſent into Ireland to reinforce duke Scomberg's army. The Highlanders upon this were encouraged to renew their excurſions, burning and plundering wherever they came, and having gathered into a body of eight hundred men, under the laird of Lochelly, they marched out of Inverlochy, thinking to have ſurpriſed Inverneſs, but were timely prevented. Mean while thoſe under colonel Cannon, though not otherwiſe conſiderable for their ſtrength than by the inacceſſible holds, in which they lurked, continued ſtill in a body, and being preſſed by hunger and want, made frequent depredations in the low lands, more like robbers than regular troops. To ſtop their progreſs, the council of Scotland ordered general Mackay and Sir Thomas Levingſton to march northward with a proper force; and the nobility, and all the reſt of the inhabitants of the countries moſt expoſed to their incurſions, to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. On the other hand, Cannon endeavoured to engage in the rebellion ſeveral perſons in Edinburgh, to whom he ſent letters and a pardon from king James. But theſe being intercepted, and moſt of thoſe,

(e) The houſe he lived in had over the door an inſcription conſiſting of part of a verſe in Ovid, with an addition of his own:

"Omne ſolum fori patria-
"quia patris."

He lies buried in the beſt of the churches, with an epitaph, which the reader may ſee in Addiſon's travels, p. 265. Ludlow (ſays Addiſon) was a conſtant frequenter of ſermons and prayers: but would never communicate with thoſe either of Geneva or Vevay.

to

whom they were directed, being already confined, they were immediately put under a cloſer reſtraint, and orders diſpatched to ſecure the reſt. This diſappointment obliged Cannon to retire into Ireland, as finding his intereſt and authority ſinking among the Highlanders, who immediately choſe Sir Hugh Cameron for their leader, and he being born amongſt them, and acquainted with their genius, knew how to govern them. Under this new chief the rebels renewed their incurſions, which obliged king William to ſend duke Hamilton into Scotland, to keep a vigilant eye over them, but notwithſtanding all precautions, they received a conſiderable ſuccour from without; for king James depended ſo much upon them, that though he had neither ammunition nor proviſion to ſpare, he cauſed two frigates to be fitted out at Dublin, laden with clothes, arms and ammunition, and ſent them to his friends in Scotland, having beſides on board them colonel Buchan, colonel Wauchop, and about forty officers more, who all got ſafe into the iſle of Mull. This reinforcement ſo encouraged the Highlanders, that ſometime after they ventured, to the number of fifteen hundred, to march as far as Strathſpage in the county of Murray, where they expected to be joined by the other malecontents, whoſe number was conſiderably increaſed by the late prorogation of the parliament of that kingdom. To prevent this junction, Sir Thomas Levingſton took with him eight hundred foot, ſix troops of dragoons, and two troops of horſe, and fell ſo unexpectedly upon the rebels, that they betook themſelves to flight, leaving near five hundred of their men killed upon the ſpot, and one hundred taken priſoners, and amongſt them four captains, with other inferior officers. After this exploit, Sir Thomas advanced immediately to the caſtle of Lethinday, commanded by colonel Buchan's nephew; and having lodged a mine under it, quickly brought the garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion. Neither was major Ferguſon leſs ſucceſsful in the iſle of Mull, where he landed, and deſtroyed ſeveral places poſſeſſed by the enemy, forced them to abandon the caſtle of Dewart, and betake themſelves to the hills. This broke all the meaſures, which had been taken for king James's intereſt in Scotland; and upon this, thoſe who had engaged in Sir James Montgomery's plot, looked upon that deſign as deſperate; yet reſolved to try what ſtrength they could make in parliament. The earl of Melvill carried down powers, firſt to offer to duke Hamilton, if he would join in the common meaſure heartily with him, to be lord high commiſſioner in parliament; or, if 1689.

1689. if he ſhould prove intractable, as he really did, to ſerve in that poſt himſelf. He had full inſtructions for the ſettlement of preſbytery; for he aſſured the king, that, without this, it would be impoſſible to carry any thing. But his majeſty would not conſent to the taking away the rights of patronage, and the ſupremacy of the crown. Yet lord Melvill found theſe ſo much inſiſted on, that he ſent a perſon to the king, then in Ireland, for fuller inſtructions in thoſe points. Theſe inſtructions were enlarged, but in ſuch general words, that the king did not underſtand, that they could warrant what lord Melvill did; for he gave them both up; and his majeſty was ſo offended with him for it, that he loſt all credit with him, though the king did not think fit to diſown him, or to call him to an account for going beyond his inſtructions.

The parliament of Scotland, which had been adjourned to the 27th of March, and from thence to the 15th of April, being met accordingly at Edinburgh (f); the earl of Melvill, as

(f) "The ſpring, ſays the earl of Belcarras, being far advanced, and the money that was laid on in the then laſt ſeſſion of parliament exhauſted, this put the prince of Orange to great difficulties, either to grant the extravagant demands urged by Sir James Montgomery and thoſe of his party; or to let all the army, which conſiſted of near ten thouſand men, be abſolutely ruined for want of pay. The more the club-party ſaw him ſtrained, the more they augmented their pretenſions; and being in this neceſſity, he ſeemed to yield to their demands, ſending my lord Melvill down with inſtructions to grant thoſe things; yet only in caſe he could do no better, and ſaw imminent danger from your friends; which gave a pretext for yielding to ſeveral things in parliament above his inſtructions, and contrary to the prince of Orange's intentions, (this was after the treachery of ſome of our number, that had ruined all) and for which he would have been in diſgrace, if the villainy of thoſe, who made the diſcovery of what was intended for your ſervice, had not brought him off, ſerving as a piece of abſolute neceſſity for what he did. For ſeveral months before, the parliament had been adjourned from time to time. This put the fanatics, and thoſe, who were to have their eſtates reſtored, in a mighty rage, that they began to doubt of his intentions, either to eſtabliſh their religion, or to reſtore their eſtates to them. But ſeeing he lord Melvill was named commiſſioner, and prepared to go down, they all took leave, moſt part very diſcontent, the prince of Orange not having it in his power to ſatisfy

...rd high-commiſſioner, made a ſpeech to them, wherein he informed them of his majeſty's great regret, that he could not be preſent at their meeting, according to their deſires, and his own wiſhes; and after having laid before them what his majeſty had done, to deliver them from the yoke, under which they groaned, he deſired an aſſiſtance of money anſwerable to the expences, which his majeſty had been, and was 1689.

" tisfy the third part of theſe
" pretenders. Having ended
" their affairs at London, both
" ſides haſted down to Scotland,
" to ſecure their party. Such
" members as had ſtaid there
" was only Sir James Montgo-
" mery, who was the chief ma-
" nager of this party, who for
" ſome weeks ſtaid behind, and
" imparted his deſign to ſeveral
" of your friends there, who ſo
" believed him, and truſted ſo
" much to his underſtanding,
" that he had 1100 guineas gi-
" ven him by Mr. A——n
" to advance your intereſt. But
" the marquis of A——l, to
" whom Sir James had imparted
" all his intentions, got the car-
" rying of them down, and
" made his own uſe of them, as
" ſhall be made appear. Of all
" that had paſſed among the
" club-party at London, and of
" their intentions to ſerve your
" majeſty, nothing was known
" in Scotland among your
" friends, until the earl of
" Annandale and lord Roſs
" came down. They openly
" exclaimed againſt the uſage
" they had met with from the
" prince of Orange; but there
" was little notice taken of it,
" conſidering the unfitneſs of
" their tempers, until the whole
" ſett did the ſame. Their diſ-
" courſes made your friends
" hope ſome uſe might be made
" of their diviſions; and ſo
" made them live more friendly
" with them than formerly. The
" earl of Annandale, as he was
" always the moſt forward of
" his party, ſo in this he was
" the firſt, that propoſed the
" whole affair to the earl of
" D——e and me, then in the
" caſtle of Edinburgh. He ſaid,
" that I, of all men living, had
" leaſt reaſon to believe what he
" was about to tell me, conſi-
" dering how he had uſed me in
" the convention, in leaving us
" abruptly, and becoming the
" moſt violent againſt us. He
" acknowledged his fault, and
" wiſhed, that the blood of his
" body could waſh off the ſtains
" of his paſt miſcarriages both
" to his king and friends; and
" hoped, that theſe misfortunes
" ſhould for the future ſerve as
" ſo many beacons to warn him
" to avoid the like in time com-
" ing: with a great deal more
" of this ſort; which he ſpoke
" with ſo much paſſion and
" appearance of ſincerity, that
" we were but too ſoon taken
" with it, and were the more
" eaſily deceived, as being glad
" to find any returning to their
" duty. He told us likewiſe,
" that he entirely confided in
" us, and put his life and
" fortune in our hands, with-
" out pretending any truſt from
" us: only deſired we might

" live

1689. was ſtill obliged to be at, to ſecure their religion and liberty; and laſtly, he exhorted them to lay aſide all animoſities and private intereſts, and jointly to labour the ſettlement of the public affairs.

The jacobites perſuaded all their party to go to this parliament, and to take the oaths; for many of the nobility had before refuſed them, and would not own the king. Great

" live in friendſhip, until the " marquis of Athol, duke of " Queenſberry, earl of Arran, " viſcount of Tarbat, and Sir " James Montgomery, ſhould " come to town, who would " inform us of all that had paſſed " in London: and ſince they had " received your majeſty's pardon " for what was paſſed, and now " venturing their lives to ſerve " you, they expected all your " friends would join in the com- " mon cauſe to ruin the prince " of Orange, and reſtore your " majeſty.

" A few weeks after the lord " D—— and I had our liberty, " my lord Melvill came down, " and all the parliament mem- " bers met, but were adjourned " for a fortnight. This gave " time for the club-party to be " induſtrious with your friends, " to come in and join with them " for ſettling the peace of the " nation, as they pretended; " for any deſign for your maje- " ſty's ſervice was to be kept ſe- " cret amongſt a few. The diffi- " culties were extraordinary, " how to reconcile ſuch different " intereſts, tempers, and perſua- " ſions, as were that of your " friends and the club party; " for they both in the convention " and parliament had been the " moſt violent againſt your ma- " jeſty and your friends. Be- " ſides, their whole deſign at the " bottom was for the height of " violence and oppreſſion; for " their greateſt quarrel at the " prince of Orange was, for not " ſuffering them to go to all the " extravagancies of their religion " and revenge; which is ſo " mingled together, that it is " hard to know one from the " other. And they were like- " wiſe divided among themſelves; " for none, except James lord " Roſs, earl of Annandale, and " Mr. O—e were to know of " any reſolution to ſerve your " majeſty; and duke Hamilton " and his followers had no deſign " but the ruin of the lords Mel- " vill and Stair, and to get the " ſeſſion filled with his own " creatures, having at that time " many law-ſuits in hand. But " though they had all different " deſigns, yet they all agreed " in this, that nothing could be " done, except your friends " could be perſuaded to join; " without which they ſaw lord " Melvill's and Stair's party would " be too ſtrong for them, having " all the profitable employments " and ſeſſion in their hands.

" Sir James Montgomery un- " dertook to manage this affair, " pretending he knew the incli- " nation of a great many of " your friends, who would join " with any party to ruin the " lords

Great pains were taken by archbiſhop Paterſon, to induce them to take the oaths, though with a deſign to break them; for he thought by that means to have a majority in the parliament; which they failed in, ſome of the laity being too honeſt to agree to ſuch advices. The party being therefore diſappointed in this and other ſchemes, ſaw a neceſſity of deſiring a force to be ſent over from France. But this appeared 1689.

" lords Melvill and Stair, and " keep public burdens to be em- " ployed in parliament, and to " oblige the prince of Orange " to eſtabliſh the ſeſſion accord- " ing to the claim of right voted " in the convention, and to " have an habeas corpus and " freedom of ſpeech in parlia- " ment. Theſe were the pre- " texts he made uſe of, which " were ſo taken with the moſt " bigoted part of them, that " they doubted not to get theſe " acts paſſed if we would join " with them in all other de- " mands; which were to have " the preſbyterian government " eſtabliſhed at its height of " power, the king's ſupremacy, " and the committee of parlia- " ment, called the articles (which " was already voted in the con- " vention a grievance) taken a- " way. This by the majority " of them was believed at firſt " to be all deſign, without know- " ing in the leaſt, that it was " only to make them diſobliged " at the prince of Orange, if " he ſhould refuſe their demands; " and to try next, if your ma- " jeſty would grant them; for " all kings, juſt or unjuſt, are " alike to them.

" To all your friends it was " very evident, how great an ad- " vantage might be had by join- " ing with the violent party; " for by that we thought our- " ſelves ſure of breaking their " army, which conſiſted of a- " bout ten thouſand men, and " which muſt immediately be " diſbanded, when they ſaw " the parliament eſtabliſh no " fund, neither for paying their " arrears nor ſubſiſtence. And " all having gone in confuſion, " and your majeſty being then " in Ireland, and the Highland- " ers in a better diſpoſition to " riſe, it were eaſy to make a " good uſe of their diſorders.

" Sir James, in the firſt meet- " ing we had with him, laid " out the great advantages your " intereſt would obtain, if this " ſucceeded; the ſtrength of his " party, and all the influence " he had over them. He told " us likewiſe of their ſending a " meſſenger to your majeſty, " with aſſurances of their re- " turning to their duty; but " ſaid nothing of the inſtruc- " tions, commiſſions, and per- " nicious advices he had ſent a- " long with them, believing un- " doubtedly it would have hin- " dered us from joining with " them; for by this we ſhould " have clearly ſeen it was only " trying to make a better bar- " gain for themſelves, that " made them change parties, " and not out of any ſentiments " of conviction for having done " amiſs.

1689. peared so odious and so destructive of their country, that some of them refused to concur in it; others were not pleased with the answers, which king James had returned to the propositions they had made him. He had indeed granted all they had asked upon their own particular interests, and had promised to settle presbytery; but he rejected all those demands, that imputed a diminution of his prerogative, in as firm

" amiss. But though it was evi-
" dent to us, what disorders
" we should make among our
" enemies, and what profit to
" your party by going into the
" parliament; yet to join with
" our mortal enemies, only to
" make the one half ruin the o-
" ther, and to take the oath of
" allegiance to an usurper, and
" to comply with them in
" things, that had always been
" against our principles, were so
" hard to get over, that some
" of us had great difficulties to
" overcome them; nor even
" could any thing have done it
" but the great desire we had
" to be instruments of your ma-
" jesty's restoration, and ruin of
" your enemies.

" There were two things, that
" made us very willingly join
" with them, the marquis of
" Atholl and the earl of Arran
" asserted your majesty's know-
" ing the design, and approv-
" ing of it, so far as to be con-
" vinced at that time you
" thought it the greatest piece
" of service could be done you.
" Next the viscount of Tarbat
" assuring us particularly, that
" the prince of Orange was ful-
" ly resolved never to grant any
" of those demands, which he
" knew the club party intended
" to propose in parliament, and
" being sure of their firm reso-
" lution never to grant any
" thing, except they obtained
" all they desired, we could not
" doubt to obtain all we pretend-
" ed, which was the dissolution
" of the parliament. Nor could
" it be imagined but lord Tar-
" bat wished it as well as we,
" though on different motives;
" for then he was intirely in the
" prince of Orange's interest,
" and trusted more by him than
" any of the nation, insomuch
" that at his coming from London
" had a trust given him, that
" few subjects ever had the like;
" for he had a full power to
" make a cessation of arms or
" peace with the Highlanders,
" and to dispose of twenty thous-
" and pounds sterling, as he
" thought fit, for the prince of
" Orange's service, and three
" titles of honour to whom he
" pleased; and was to give ac-
" count of what passed in par-
" liament, and had full power
" to adjourn or dissolve as he
" thought fit. But though he
" had all this trust, and might
" dissolve the parliament, when
" he pleased; yet he durst not
" venture it; and though he had
" more enemies, that were
" more afraid of its sitting than
" of any of your servants; yet
" he thought he could get it
" easier done, and with less haz-
" ard to himself, by the high
" hand of the club-party which
" would have the same effect to

" secre

firm a manner, as if he had been already placed on the throne again. Having this answer of his so little to their satisfaction, they proposed to send him a second message. Upon this the earls of Argyle, Annandale and Braidalbin withdrew from them. The earl of Annandale came up to the Bath, pretending ill health; and the earls of Argyle and Braidalbin went to Chester, pretending, as they said afterwards, that they in- 1689.

" secure himself, and enrage the " prince of Orange at his ene- " mies. These considerations " made him take more pains " under-hand than any, to en- " gage your friends with the " club-party, and to get them " to come to the parliament. " To some, who believed him, " he said he designed nothing but " your service; but to others, that " it was for the good of the nati- " on by obtaining acts, that would " be so beneficial to it. Being " thus made believe, that your " majesty liked the proposition " and hopes of doing what he " designed, made us resolve, " notwithstanding all our scru- " ples, not only to join with " the club-party, but to use all " our endeavours to persuade " our friends and all those we " had any influence upon, to do " the like; which succeeded as " we could wish; for most part " of all, who had continued " firm to your interest, resolved " to follow our example, with- " out desiring to know the bot- " tom of that secret correspon- " dence we had with the club- " party. Some there were, that " made difficulty, the earl of " H—e, the earl of L——e, " lord O——d, lord S—t, and " the master of B—e; but their " reasons were rather or more " out of apprehensions of be- " traying and yielding to the " prince of Orange, than any " other scruples; though I " doubt not some of them had " their reasons, and so might " they very justly, considering " how nice a point it was. O- " thers appeared resolved, and " engaged fairly, but when the " time of the sitting down of " the parliament drew nigh, " they absented themselves; " which gave great encourage- " ment to lord Melvill and all " his party to meet in parlia- " ment, who were in such ap- " prehensions of success before " that several times he was re " solved to dissolve it, and to " take a venture of another. " But when they saw, that se- " veral of your friends drew " back, and had secured to " themselves several votes, by " dividing the office of every re- " giller into six, and giving " each a vote, and one for a " treasurer deputy, and by giv- " ing money to some, and pro- " mises of employments to o- " thers, they so strengthened their " party, that they again took " heart, and resolved to begin " their parliament, which sate " down the 15th of April 1690. " But notwithstanding all the " sinistrous courses, that were " taken to procure votes, never " were men in such apprehen- " sions and fears, as were lord " Melvill and all his friends; " for

1689. tended to diſcover the whole matter to the king; [illegible] had paſſed over to Ireland, before they got to Cheſter. Montgomery, upon this, looked on the deſign as broken; and ſo he went, and reconciled himſelf to earl Melvill, and diſcovered the whole negotiation to him. Upon which the earl preſſed the king to grant a general indemnity, and gave Montgomery a paſs to go to London; and wrote to the queen in

" for they not only ſaw the dan-
" ger of their whole party, if
" they ſucceeded not, but im-
" mediate ruin to themſelves
" from the prince of Orange,
" to whom they had ſo fairly
" undertaken. After that he
" had read over the ſpeech,
" that he had got made for him,
" and that his preſident the earl
" of Crawford had made ano-
" ther, all taken from the old
" prophets, which he applied
" to the occaſion, as of Ezra
" and Nehemiah's building a-
" gain the temple of Jeruſalem,
" they brought in a vote about
" the election of a burgh, only
" to know their ſtrength, which
" they found above their expec-
" tation. They carried it but
" by ſix or ſeven, which makes
" a demonſtration, that if thoſe
" of your friends, which en-
" gaged to us, had not failed,
" we had outvoted them in that,
" and ſo conſequently had gain-
" ed all our deſign; for it was
" firmly reſolved among them,
" that if they had loſt that vote,
" though of no conſequence,
" they would have adjourned
" the parliament next day: but
" gaining it, they took heart,
" and that which befell your
" friends in the convention,
" happened juſt again; for ſeve-
" ral, who pretended to be our
" friends, when they thought
" us ſtrongeſt, left us immedi-
" ately, and joined with the
" other party. Sir James Mont-
" gomery alſo failed, and ſeve-
" ral alſo he had engaged; he
" believing his intereſt far great-
" er with them, than truly it
" was. So from that minute we
" loſt hopes of doing any good;
" but ſeeing we had once made
" ſuch a ſtep, we reſolved to
" ſtay in the houſe, though it
" ſhould be for nothing, but
" to hinder them from going on
" ſo faſt in their deſign of for-
" feiting all thoſe, who had ap-
" peared for your majeſty, and the
" giving money as ſoon as they
" intended, to ſupport their forces
" and government. But never
" men made a more miſerable
" figure in any meeting, than
" your friends did in this. Af-
" ter they ſaw themſelves aban-
" doned and outvoted in every
" thing, they had nothing to
" do but ſit and hear duke Ha-
" milton baul and bluſter, ac-
" cording to his uſual cuſtom,
" and then acquieſced to all that
" was propoſed; and Sir James
" Montgomery and Sir John
" Dalrymple ſcolded like kail-
" wives, that rogue, villain, and
" lyar were their uſual terms.
" Theſe two were the chief ma-
" nagers of both ſides; Sir
" John pretending to maintain
" the king's prerogative, Sir
" James the liberty of the ſub-
" ject and claim of right. And
" though

in his favour. But the king was reſolved to know the bottom of the plot, and particularly how far any of the Engliſh were engaged in it. So Montgomery abſconded for ſome time in London, ſince he ſaw no hopes of pardon, but upon a full diſcovery. A warrant was ſent to the Bath for the earl of Annandale, of which he had notice given him, and went up privately to London. Montgomery ſent Mr. Ferguſon to 1689.

" though he was never bred for " ſuch undertakings, yet with " abundance of confidence and " eloquence he managed the af- " fair, and he undoubtedly put " them to great ſtraits; for the " things he urged were very po- " pular and agreeable to the incli- " nations of many of the mem- " bers. Notwithſtanding all diſ- " appointments we were ſtill to " make them break among them- " ſelves, by propoſing what we " thought never would be grant- " ed. But in this alſo we were diſ- " appointed. For my lord Melvill, " to juſtify what he and his party " had ſo great a deſire to do, " but durſt not adventure be- " fore, having got the pretext " of the imminent danger of " the prince of Orange by the " ſecret plots and contrivances " of your majeſty's friends, " yielded to all that was de- " manded in his inſtructions; " he was allowed to paſs what " acts of parliament he ſhould " think fit, and eſtabliſh what " form of government they " liked beſt.

" Several days paſt, without " daring to mention preſbytery, " though moſt there deſired it; " knowing, that it was contra- " ry to the prince of Orange's " inclinations, who feared the " conſequence it might have in " England. Beſides, he liked " beſt to have it undeter- " mined, till his affairs were " better eſtabliſhed, that he " might keep both parties in " hopes. But Sir James in a " fair ſet ſpeech ſpoke out what " they all wiſhed generally, but " feared to name; and that he " knew there were inſtructions " for ſetling religion; and he " ſaid he thought it was aſhame " for that meeting, that it was " not done. But the reaſon " was well known, for ſome " among them, to flatter the " court, againſt their own prin- " ciples, had delayed it. He " knew likewiſe ſome were for " one kind of government, " ſome for another; ſome were " for a certain kind of preſby- " tery, called, craſtianiſm, like " that of Holland. But he " told them, there could not, " nor ought there any to be eſ- " tabliſhed in Scotland, but the " preſbyterian as it was in 1648, " which was the government in " the world not only according " to the word of God, but beſt " to diſturb the extravagant pow- " er of king's and arbitary go- " vernment, under which they " had groaned many years. This " ſpeech to us, that knew his " ſecrets, ſeemed a little extraor- " dinary; but he excuſed him- " ſelf by being obliged to do ſo; " otherwiſe he ſhould loſe all " credit with his party; and " that it ſignified nothing, ſince

" he

1689. him, assuring him, that he had discovered nothing, and desiring him to continue firm and secret. But when he had certain notice, that Montgomery had discovered all the negotiation among the Scots, he cast himself on the queen's mercy, asking no other conditions, but that he might not be made an evidence against others. He himself had not treated

" he knew, that lord Melvill never durst pass it, though it " came to be approved. This " speech was approved by the " house, and a committee appointed to receive all the forms " of government, that should " be brought before them, and " to report their opinion of " them; and till this was ready, " they adjourned some days, " during which Sir James received from Ireland a return " of his message with Mr. J—s. " The first night he opened alone " a great black box with papers, where all the commissions and instructions were; " and then sent for the earl of " A———e, Arran, and my " lord Ross, and told them the " return of all was come, " but that he believed there " were several things among " them would be improper to " let the duke of Queensberry, " earl of L———w, B——ne, " and me see, though we were " only those of your friends, " whom they had trusted with " their message these four times. " After they had considered " them all, made up another " box of such as they thought " fit to shew, and sealed it, to " make us believe it never had " been opened, and in a great " haste Sir James desired us to " meet in the marquis of A—le " lodging; and after a formal " discourse of his endeavours to " serve your majesty ever since " he went up with an offer of " the crown to the prince of " Orange, and of the message " he had sent to your majesty, " said, he was now desired to " meet with us to tell us, he " had got a return; and that " there was a great bundle of " papers come over; but considering we were all of one " interest, he would not open " it nor look on any thing till " we did it altogether, and entreated we might meet that " afternoon; and to shew the " intire trust he had in us, he " would keep nothing that he " knew from us, but would " shew what he received from " the king. The earl of Arran excused himself from meeting, pretending he was obliged to go out of town; but the " true reason was, he thought " they had cheated him in not " sending for his commission to " be general, as was agreed " among them at London. The " duke of Queensberry also excused himself, so that none " came but the marquis of A-" tholl, L—w, Ross, B—ne, " and myself; Sir James brought " in a black box, which was a " burthen for him to carry, " which I looked upon and considered the seals, because I " always expected a trick from " him. He told us, he had " brought all except a letter " from

treated [illegible] any in England; ſo that as to them, he was only a ſecond and witneſs. Only he informed againſt Nevil Payne, who had been ſent down to Scotland, to manage matters among them. Payne was taken there, but would confeſs nothing. Upon the earl of Annandale's information, which he gave upon oath, the earl of Nottingham wrote to 1689.

" from your majeſty to himſelf " without knowing, as he ſhall " anſwer to almighty God, what " was in the box, which none " of us believed; for he did " quite change the pack-thread, " and clapped on his own " ſeal, after he had opened the " box, and ſhewn what he " thought fit to bring. We were " all in a great confuſion, to " find, that we had joined our- " ſelves to ſuch a crew that had " ſo much knavery to impoſe " things on your majeſty, and " ſo much weakneſs to think " they could bring about all " your enemies to declare for " you without any force. They " were in no leſs confuſion than " we; finding we ſaw their fol- " ly in undertaking things they " had not the leaſt ſhadow of " power to perform. They " had promiſed to get all the " parliament to declare for your " majeſty, and immediately " meet in your name, and the " earl of A——le commiſſioner, " who was made a marquis, and " Sir James made earl of A—r, " lord Roſs likewiſe an earl, " and all employments of church " and ſtate, and army intirely " put into their hands, and thoſe " of their friends, who were " generally the greateſt enemies " to monarchy.

" There were likewiſe great " bundles of letters not di- " rected, but left to their di- " rection to be given to any of " your friends they thought fit " to truſt; which indeed we " thought a little hard to be " put into their hands, who had " been for fighting your majeſty, " and alſo endeavouring to ruin " us on your account. Beſides " what we ſaw, there were ma- " ny other commiſſions, pa- " tents, and remiſſions, that " were made public by them- " ſelves, after they made their " diſcovery to the lord Melvill. " But though they were fond " to get theſe commiſſions, " when they came, they were " confounded what to do with " them. To keep them, they " ſaw there would be no uſe for " them, and they put them in- " to a continual hazard: ſo it " was reſolved, that they ſhould " all be burnt, but their patent. " Next how to diſpoſe of their " meſſenger put them in a great " diſorder, which made the earl " of L——w carry him to " his houſe ſome miles from " Edinburgh, where, after he " had ſtaid ſome nights, he got " from him all that Sir James " had concealed. Notwithſtand- " ing Sir James wrote to Mr. " J——s not to truſt any of " us with his meſſage, but as " far as he had already ſhewn; " yet all was out before the " letter came to his hands. Be- " ſides Mr. J—s had been but " a few years in Edinburgh, " yet

1689. the council of Scotland, that he had in his hands a petition upon oath containing matter of high treaſon againſt Payne. Upon which it was pretended, that, according to the law of Scotland, he might be put to the torture; and that was executed with rigour. He reſiſted a double queſtion, yet, was ſtill kept a priſoner; and this was much cried out againſt as barbarous

" yet he plainly ſaw all Sir " James's projects were miſera- " bly founded; which made " him beg to be employed back " again to your majeſty. But " few of us deſired any more to " do with Sir James or his meſ- " ſenger; for afterwards we " had little medling with them, " though they extremely deſired " it, and that we ſhould ſend " back Mr. S———s with a " blank ſheet of paper, ſub- " ſigning to be filled up when " he came to your majeſty with " our advice; which the duke " of Queenſberry, L———w, " B——w, and myſelf abſolute- " ly refuſed; which almoſt " broke us entirely with them; " and the more becauſe ſome of " our number complied with " their deſires. For the earl of " Arran not only did it himſelf, " but alſo got the lord M——y " to do it alſo, though he had " not been engaged with us in " any of your concerns, but, on " the contrary, we looked upon " him as one of the principal " deſtroyers of your affairs, " both in the Highlands, and at " the beginning of the revolu- " tion.

" In the Highlands your af- " fairs had no better ſucceſs " than in parliament; for ge- " neral Buchan having come too " near the enemy, Sir Thomas " Levingſton, with a party of " dragoons, ſurprized him at " Cromdell, killed about an " hundred, made ſeveral priſo- " ners, and diſperſed his whole " party. When this news came " to Edinburgh of a defeat, " your friends repented their " not embracing the offer of a " ceſſation of arms made them " by the prince of Orange, which " Tarbat had the manage- " ment of; but not being de- " ſirous to appear above board " himſelf, in ſuch a tranſaction, " he propoſed it to the earl of " B———e with the offer of " five thouſand pounds ſterling " if he could accompliſh it; " for the prince of Orange was " extremely deſirous to have all " ſettled before he went to Ire- " land. But the earl of B——e " would not meddle in ſuch an " affair without the conſent of " your friends at Edinburgh, " who at that time would not " hear of it. So the earl of " B———e very generouſly " gave it over, though beſides " the five thouſand pounds ſter- " ling he had other conſidera- " ble rewards offered him. So " after this defeat we were all " willing a treaty might be " brought on again, conſider- " ing, at leaſt it would gain " time, until the Highlanders " put themſelves in a poſture of " defence. The prince of O- " range was juſt then going to " Ireland, which made the earl " of B——e endeavour to meet " him,

barbarous and illegal. Montgomery lay hid for ſome months at London; but when he ſaw, that he could not have his pardon, but by making a full diſcovery, he choſe rather to go beyond ſea; ſo fatally did ambition and diſcontent hurry a man to ruin, who ſeemed capable of greater things. His art in managing ſuch a deſign, and his firmneſs in not diſcovering 1609.

" him, to get the ceſſation end-
" ed; but he was gone before
" he got to him; by which the
" Highlanders were left to the
" mercy of their enemies, who
" might have ruined them, if
" they had purſued the victory
" at Cromdell.

" Your friends at Edinburgh
" were in no better condition, be-
" ing forced to ſit in a meeting in
" the middle of their enemies,
" and hear them eſtabliſh preſby-
" tery, and reſcind all acts, that
" had been any ways made
" for your intereſt, reſtoring all
" forefaulters and fines, (though
" tranſacted for) that was grant-
" ed by your brother or your
" majeſty, for thoſe, that ſerved
" you againſt them; and above
" all, their forefaulting thoſe,
" who appeared for you in arms,
" except Sir William W——e,
" who was overlooked, though
" they had as full probation
" againſt him as any of the reſt.
" And to finiſh our misfortunes,
" the moſt conſiderable of that
" party we had joined, not on-
" ly left us, but betrayed us ſo
" ſoon as they ſaw probability
" of effectuating their own de-
" ſigns, which was the only
" thing they had ſtill and all
" along aimed at, and not your
" ſervice, as they pretended.

" Some days before the prince
" of Orange went to Cheſter, I
" had notice given me by Mr.
" O——e, that the lord Roſs
" deſigned to go to meet him,
" and make a diſcovery of all
" he knew; which made us
" ſend the earl of L——w to
" him, to try, if he had ſuch
" inclinations. But he proteſted
" to the contrary with great
" oaths. Some were inclined
" to believe him, and others
" were for taking a ſure way to
" hinder his diſcovery, ſince
" their own lives and eſtates de-
" pended on your affairs. But
" it was of ſo dangerous a con-
" ſequence, and ſo unjuſt, un-
" leſs we had great proof or ſuſ-
" picion, that moſt of us abhor-
" red the motion.

" A few days after, though
" he gave over his journey to
" Cheſter, believing by what
" the earl of L——w ſaid to
" him, that we ſuſpected him,
" and ſo might have way-laid
" him: yet notwithſtanding all
" his renewed oaths he ſent for
" one Mr. D———p, a fanatic
" miniſter, and revealed all to
" him, and alſo told him, that
" he was under great troubles
" of conſcience, and deſired his
" prayers to enable him to open
" his heart to him. After long
" prayers, and many ſighs and
" tears, he told him all he knew.
" God was thanked, as being
" the effect, Mr. D—p's prayers
" being heard. The next morn-
" ing he ſent the miniſter to lord
" Melvill, to tell him, that he
" had buſineſs of great import-
" ance

1689. covering his accomplices, raiſed his character as much as it ruined his fortune. He continued in perpetual plots after this to no purpoſe. He was once taken, but made his eſcape; and at laſt, ſpleen and vexation put an end to a turbulent life.

The earl of Melvill had now a clear majority in parliament by the diſcovery of the plot. Some abſented themſelves; and others, to redeem themſelves, were compliant in

"ance to tell the queen, for "which he deſired a paſs, and "immediately had it; and be- "fore he went, he told Melvill "in general, that there were "dangerous matters againſt the "king and government, in "which he had too great a "ſhare, and for which he ſought "God's pardon, but was denied, "and was now going to ſeek it "from the queen, to whom he "would diſcover all he knew, "when at London.

"The firſt meeting he had "with the princeſs of Orange, "he told her the whole affair, "and laid the blame on Sir "James Montgomery. When "ſhe had heard all the hiſtory, "ſhe ſent for the earls of D—h "and Nottingham, that he might "tell it all over again before "them. But when they came "in, he denied all he had ſaid "to the princeſs; he never "thought ſhe would make any "other uſe of it, than to pre- "vent the danger ſhe and the "king were in; but nothing "ſhould ever force him to give "evidence againſt thoſe he had "been in friendſhip with. For "this he was immediately ſent "to the Tower, where he lay "for eight or ten months; "nor could any thing ever "induce him to ſay more, "though he had both threat- "nings and all arguments to "inforce him.

"It was no ſooner known, "that lord Roſs was gone, but "his errand was made public. "Mr. D———p (according to "the cuſtom of his profeſſion) "made no ſecret of his confeſ- "ſion; which ſo much alarmed "Sir James Montgomery, that "he reſolved not to be long "behind him; for he ſaw him- "ſelf ruined by his violent par- "ty. He had been profeſſing "to all of them all along prin- "ciples ſo far to the contrary; "but to make a confeſſion to his "mortal enemy lord Melvill, to "ſeek mercy from the prince "and princeſs of Orange, who, "he knew, abhorred him, were "a hard ſtep; yet with a good "ſhare of confidence and aſ- "ſurance of making a fine ſtory "of it to their advantage, he "doubted not to ſucceed with "lord Melvill. He inſinuated "ſo far as to be truſted to go to "London, to tell his buſineſs "himſelf; and to gain the "greater credit with Melvill, "he put into his hands what "letters he had received from "the queen, which was a joy- "ful ſight to him, he ventured "to touch all the acts, (which "was believed he could never "do) which were diſpleaſing to "the prince of Orange, though

"he

in all things. The main point, by which he deſigned to fix himſelf and his party, was the aboliſhing of epiſcopacy, and the ſetting up preſbytery. The one was ſoon done by repealing all the laws in favour of epiſcopacy, and declaring it contrary to the genius and conſtitution of that church and nation; for the king would not conſent to a plain and ſimple condemnation of it. But it was not ſo eaſy to ſettle preſbytery. 1689.

" he was forced to pleaſe the " club-party to put them in his " inſtructions, and ſeveral for " which he had no warrant, " making the imminent dangers " they were in an excuſe of all. " In theſe letters were ſeveral " promiſes of aſſiſtance from " France, of men, money, and " arms. He likewiſe gave up " the inſtructions ſent to the " earl of A——e, when he " ſhould be commiſſioner to the " parliament. There was never " a word mentioned of their pa- " tents, and remiſſions, which " were ſent to duke Hamilton " and others of their friends.

" When Sir James Montgo- " mery came to London, he " was ſo cautious, as not to go " near the princeſs of Orange, " till he had aſſurance, that, in " caſe they would not agree in " their terms, he ſhould not be " detained, which was granted. " But though he confeſſed moſt " of all that paſſed of his tranſ- " actions with your majeſty; " yet he would neither promiſe " to be an evidence, nor give " his advice how things might " be prevented, (in which, to " magnify himſelf, he made the " hazard much greater than it " was) unleſs he were ſecure of " a full pardon of all the crimes " he ſhould name, and then " have a good employment; " pretending the lowneſs of his " eſtate, which was drained by " the ſeverity of the laſt govern- " ment. The princeſs of O- " range would have willingly " granted all he demanded, and " wrote to the prince of Orange " in his favour, into Ireland. But " ſome things had paſſed betwixt " the prince of Orange and Sir " James in private, which made " the prince to have ſuch an ab- " horrence of him, that he could " not hear of employing him. " A remiſſion he would have " granted, upon condition of his " being an evidence; but that " could not do Sir James's bu- " ſineſs. So he abſented, and " a few months after did all he " could again to juſtify himſelf " to your friends; which took " not with a few. The earl of " A——e quickly followed Sir " James, yet went not to Lon- " don, but lived privately at the " Bath; which when it was " known, there was a warrant " ſent down to bring him up; " but one Mr. * * who had been " mayor of the town, helped " him to eſcape. When he was " come to London, Mr. Fergu- " ſon maintained him privately " for ſeveral weeks. At laſt he, " wearied of lurking, ſent for " Mr. L——t, whom lord Mel- " vill kept then at London to " do buſineſs in his abſence, and " told him of the mayor of Bath, " and of Mr. Ferguſon, that " had

1689. tery. If they had followed the pattern ſet them in the year 1638, all the clergy, in a parity, were to aſſume the government of the church; but thoſe being epiſcopal, they did not think it ſafe to put the power of the church in ſuch hands. It was therefore pretended, that ſuch of the preſbyterian miniſters, as had been turned out in the year 1662, ought to be conſidered as the only ſound part of the church. And of theſe there happened to be then threeſcore alive. The government of the church was therefore lodged with them; and they were impowered to take to their aſſiſtance, and to a ſhare in the church government, ſuch as they ſhould think fit. Some furious men, who had gone into very frantic principles, and all thoſe, who had been ſecretly ordained in the preſbyterian way, were preſently taken in. This was like to prove a fatal error at the firſt ſetting out. The old men among them, who by reaſon of their age or their experience of former miſtakes, were diſpoſed to more moderate councils; but the taking in ſuch a number of violent men, put it out of their power to purſue them. Theſe men broke out therefore into a moſt extravagant way of proceeding againſt ſuch of the epiſcopal party, as had eſcaped the rage of the former year. Accuſations were raiſed againſt them: ſome were charged for their doctrine, as guilty of arminianiſm; others were loaded with more ſcandalous imputations, but theſe were only thrown out to defame them; and where they looked for proof, it was in a way more becoming inquiſitors than judges; ſo apt are all parties, in their turns of power, to fall into thoſe very exceſſes, of which they did formerly make ſuch

" had entertained him; and " ſigned a confeſſion the moſt " ſcandalous, that any thing of " the name of a gentleman ever " did; for he not only told " what had paſſed among us in " public, but the private con- " verſation he had with ſeveral " of your friends, and likewiſe " of Payne, all that had paſſed " between them at their firſt " meeting; for which Mr. Payne " was put to the torture, and " endured it with great courage " and conſtancy. And that " which made his part more " baſe, was, after Mr. Payne " had eſcaped out of priſon, and " fled to Scotland, thinking he " ſhould be ſecure with the earl " of A——le, he came to a " country-houſe, and was taken " there by A——le's own ſer- " vants, and brought to Edin- " burgh, where, upon the earl " of A——le's confeſſion againſt " him in England, he ſuffered " the utmoſt barbarity. The " treachery of theſe three made " all our friends at Edinburgh " ſo concerned, though they " were not fully informed of " their hazard, that moſt of them " left it" Account of the affairs of Scotland, p. 122.

tragical

tragical complaints. All other matters were carried in the parliament of Scotland, as the lord Melvill and the presbyterians desired. In lieu of the king's supremacy, his majesty had chimney-money given him; and a test was imposed on all in office, or capable of electing or being elected to serve in parliament, declaring the king and queen to be their rightful and lawful sovereigns, and renouncing any manner of title pretended to be in king James. 1689.

Whilst these things passed in Scotland, the different parties in England were busy in influencing the elections of parliament-men. There was a great struggle all over the kingdom. The tories had taken care to publish a list of those who had voted for the corporation-bill, in order to exasperate the persons that were to have been disgraced by it; and by that and other means they became by far the greater number in the new parliament. One thing was a part of the bargain, which the tories had made, that the lieutenancy of London should be changed; for upon the king's coming to the crown, he had given a commission, out of which the tories were all excluded; which was such a mortification to them, that they said, they could not live in the city with credit, unless some of them were again brought into that commission. The king recommended it to the bishop of London, to prepare a list of those, who were known to be churchmen, but of the more moderate, and of such as were liable to no just exception, that so the two parties in the city, might be kept in a balance. The bishop brought in a list of the most violent tories in the city, who had been engaged in some of the worst things, that passed in the end of king Charles's reign. A committee of council was appointed to examine the list; but it was so named, that they approved of it. This was done to the great grief of the whigs, who said, that the king was now putting himself in his enemies hands, and that the arms of the city were now put under a sett of officers, who, if there was a possibility of doing it without hazard, would certainly use them for king James. This matter was managed by the marquis of Carmarthen and the earl of Nottingham; but opposed by the earl of Shrewsbury, who was much troubled at the ill conduct of the whigs, but much more at this great change in the king's government. It was also a farther mortification to the whigs, when the commons in the next parliament made an address to the king, thanking him for the alterations he had made in the lieutenancy of London.

The elections for the new parliament in favour of the tories. Burnet.

The

1689. The elections of parliament went generally for men, who would probably have declared for king James, if they could have known how to manage matters for him. The king made a change in the miniſtry, to give them ſome ſatisfaction: the earls of Monmouth and Warrington were both diſmiſſed. Other leſſer changes were made in inferior places, ſo that whig and tory were now pretty equally mixed.

1690. The parliament meets. April 20. Pr. H. C. II. 373. Burnet. The parliament being met on the 20th of March, the commons, by the king's order, proceeded to the choice of a ſpeaker; and Sir John Trevor was pitched upon for that office. He was a bold and dextrous man, and knew the moſt effectual ways of recommending himſelf to every government. He had been ſpeaker to king James's parliament, and in great favour with that prince, by whom he was made maſter of the rolls; and if Jefferies had ſtuck at any thing, he was looked upon as the likelieſt man to have had the great-ſeal. He now got himſelf to be choſen ſpeaker; and was made firſt commiſſioner of the great-ſeal. Being a tory in principle, he undertook to manage that party, provided he was furniſhed with ſuch ſums of money, as might purchaſe ſome votes; and by him began the practice of buying off men, in which the king had hitherto kept to ſtricter rules. But the king, though he hated the practice, ſaw it was not poſſible to avoid it, ſuch was the corruption of the age, unleſs he would endanger the whole.

The ſpeaker being choſen, and preſented the next day to the king, his majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

"I Am reſolved to leave nothing unattempted on my part, "which may contribute to the peace and proſperity of "this nation. And finding my preſence in Ireland will be "abſolutely neceſſary for the more ſpeedy reducing of that "kingdom, I continue my reſolution of going thither as "ſoon as may be; and I have now called you together, for "your aſſiſtance to enable me to proſecute the war with "ſpeed and vigour, in which I aſſure myſelf of your chear-"ful concurrence, being a work ſo neceſſary for your own "ſafeties.

"In order to this I deſire you will forthwith make a ſettle-"ment of the revenue; and I cannot doubt but you will "herein have as much regard for the honour and dignity of "the monarchy in my hands, as has been lately ſhewed to "others. And I have ſo great a confidence in you, that "if no quicker or more convenient way can be found for the

"raiſing

" raiſing of ready-money, (without which the ſervice can- 1690.
" not be performed) I ſhall be very well content for the pre-
" ſent to have it made ſuch a fund of credit, as may be uſe-
" ful to yourſelves, as well as me, in this conjuncture; not
" having the apprehenſions, but that you will provide for
" the taking off all ſuch anticipations, as it ſhall happen to
" fall under. It is ſufficiently known, how earneſtly I have
" endeavoured to extinguiſh, or at leaſt, compoſe all dif-
" ferences amongſt my ſubjects; and to that end, how often
" I have recommended an act of indemnity to the laſt par-
" liament. But ſince that part of it, which related to the
" preventing of private ſuits, is already enacted; and becauſe
" debates of that nature muſt take up more of your time,
" than can now be ſpared from the diſpatch of thoſe other
" things, which are abſolutely neceſſary for our common
" ſafety; I intend to ſend you an act of grace, with excep-
" tions of ſome few perſons only, but ſuch as may be ſuffi-
" cient to ſhew my great diſlike of their crimes, and at the
" ſame time my readineſs to extend protection to all my other
" ſubjects, who will thereby ſee, that they can recommend
" themſelves to me by no other methods, than what the
" laws preſcribe, which ſhall always be the only rule of my
" government.

" A farther reaſon, which induceth me to ſend you this
" act at this time, is, becauſe I am deſirous to leave no co-
" lour of excuſe to any of my ſubjects for raiſing of diſturb-
" ances in the government, and eſpecially in the time of my
" abſence. And I ſay this, both to inform you, and to let
" ſome ill-affected men ſee, that I am not unacquainted,
" how buſy they are in their preſent endeavours to alter it.

" Amongſt other encouragements, which I find they give
" themſelves, one of the ways, by which they hope to com-
" paſs their deſigns, is, by creating differences and diſa-
" greements in your counſels; which, I hope, you will be
" very careful to prevent. For be aſſured, that our great-
" eſt enemies can have no better inſtruments for their pur-
" poſes, than thoſe, who ſhall any way endeavour to diſ-
" turb or delay your ſpeedy and unanimous proceedings up-
" on theſe neceſſary matters.

" I muſt recommend alſo to your conſideration an union
" with Scotland. I do not mean, it ſhould be now entered
" upon; but they having propoſed this to me ſometime
" ſince, and the parliament there having nominated com-
" miſſioners for that purpoſe, I ſhould be glad, that commiſ-
" ſioners might alſo be nominated here to treat with them,
" and to ſee, if ſuch terms could be agreed on, as might

" be

1690. " be for the benefit of both nations, ſo as to be ready to be " preſented to you in ſome future ſeſſion.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I have thought it moſt convenient to leave the adminiſ- " ſtration of the government in the hands of the queen " during my abſence; and if it ſhall be judged neceſſary to " have an act of parliament for the better confirmation of it " to her, I deſire you will let ſuch a one be prepared to be " preſented to me.

" I have this only to add, that the ſeaſon of the year, " and my journey into Ireland, will admit but of a very " ſhort ſeſſion; ſo that I muſt recommend to you the ma- " king ſuch diſpatch, that we may not be engaged in de- " bates, when our enemies ſhall be in the field. For the " ſucceſs of war, and the more thrifty management of it, " will both principally depend upon your ſpeedy reſolutions. " And I hope it will not be long before we ſhall meet again, " to perfect what the time will not now allow to be done."

The revenue ſettled for four years. Pr. H. C. II. 376. Burnet.

Purſuant to this ſpeech, the commons immediately proceeded to ſettle the revenue, and make it a fund of credit for the ſupplies which were ſtill wanted for the next campaign (g). They began with voting a ſupply of one million two

(g) Sir Charles Sidley, a gentleman of great wit, made the following ſpeech on this occaſion againſt penſions and ſalaries, which is inſerted here, not ſo much becauſe it is thought very a propos at that juncture, but becauſe it is mentioned with applauſe by moſt of the hiſtorians: " Mr. ſpeaker, we have pro- " vided for the army; we have " provided for the navy; and " now at laſt a new reckoning is " brought us, we muſt likewiſe " provide for the liſts. Truly, " Mr. ſpeaker, it is a ſad re- " flection, that ſome ſhould wal- " low in wealth and places, " whilſt others pay away in taxes " the fourth part of their reve- " nues for the ſupport of the " ſame government. We are not " upon equal terms for his ma- " jeſty's ſervice; the courtiers " and great officers charge, " as it were, in armour; they " feel not the taxes by reaſon " of their places, whilſt the " country gentlemen are ſhot " through and through by them. " The king is pleaſed to lay his " wants before us, and, I am " confident, expects our advice " upon it. We ought there- " fore to tell him what penſions " are too great; what places " may be extinguiſhed, during " the time of the war and public " calamity. His majeſty ſees " nothing but coaches and ſix " and great tables, and therefore " cannot imagine the want and " miſery

two hundred thouſand pounds, between that time and Michaelmas, of which two hundred thouſand pounds was to be raiſed by a poll, and a million by a clauſe of credit in the revenue bills. Though the whigs now as well as the tories ſtudied to court the king, by making advances upon the money-bills, yet he could not prevail to have the revenue ſettled for life, which he moſt earneſtly deſired. All he could obtain was, to have the hereditary exciſe ſettled for life, and the cuſtoms to be continued only for four years, from the 24th of December next enſuing (h). The ſettling the revenue 1690.

" miſery of the reſt of his ſubjects. He is a brave and generous prince, but he is a young king, encompaſſed and hemmed in by a company of crafty old courtiers. To ſay no more, ſome have places of three thouſand pounds, ſome of ſix thouſand pounds, and others of eight thouſand ſix hundred pounds per annum and I am told, the commiſſioners of the treaſury have one thouſand ſix hundred pounds per ann. a piece. Certainly public penſions, whatever they have been formerly, are much too great for the preſent war and calamity, that reigns every where elſe. And it is a ſcandal, that a government ſo ſick at heart as ours is, ſhould look ſo well in the face. We muſt ſave the king's money wherever we can; for I am afraid the war is too great for our purſes, if things be not managed with all imaginable thrift. When the people of England ſee all things ſaved, that can be ſaved; that there are no exorbitant penſions nor unneceſſary ſalaries, and all this applied to the uſe, to which they are given; we ſhall give, and they ſhall pay whatever his majeſty can want, to ſecure the proteſtant religion, and to keep out the king of France, and king James too; whom, by the way, I have not heard named this ſeſſion, whether out of fear, diſcretion, or reſpect, I cannot tell. I conclude, Mr. ſpeaker, let us ſave the king what we can, and then let us proceed to give what we are able."

(h) In order to have a diſtinct notion of the revenue, it muſt be obſerved, that the duties upon the exportation and importation of merchandizes croſſing the ſeas, (for protection of trade, &c.) were the moſt antient tribute paid to our kings, and diſtinguiſhed by two different names, cuſtoms and priſes, or priſage.

PRISAGE was a duty payable for foreign commodities imported, not at any certain ſum of money, but by taking ſuch a part in ſpecie, as the kings thought ſufficient for their own uſe, paying ſuch a price as they thought reaſonable, which was called the king's price. For wines it was the practice to take one tun in ten, or two in twenty; paying twenty ſhillings a tun, and the price of the priſage of other goods, was doubtleſs in proportion. This duty was remitted by the mercatorial charter, granted by king Edward I, to all merchant ſtrangers, who in lieu of

1690. nue thus for a term of years, made it, as they ſaid, a ſurer fund for borrowing money upon than if given for life; the one was ſubject to accidents, the other was more certain. Beſides, it was taken up as a maxim, that a revenue for a ſhort term was the beſt ſecurity that the nation could have for frequent parliaments. However the king did not like this, and thought it ſtrange that a jealouſy ſhould be entertained of him, who came to ſave religion and liberty, and king James ſo much truſted, who intended to deſtroy both. But being told that it was not of him but of his ſucceſſors that the jealouſy was entertained, and if he would accept the gift for a term of years, and ſettle the precedent, he would be reckoned the deliverer of future ages as well as of the preſent, he was perſuaded to take the grant as it was made him.

of it, gave him a duty of three pence in the pound (commonly called petty-cuſtom) upon all native commodities exported over and above the great cuſtoms, and alſo upon all merchandizes imported, except wines; and upon all wines imported, two ſhillings for every tun; being the duty ſince called Butlerage.

CUSTOMS were the duty payable for native commodities exported, particularly wool, woolfells and leather, after certain rates; and from their antiquity were called great and ancient cuſtoms. But now, the word cuſtoms is uſed to ſignify the ſeveral duties which are payable on the importation, as well as exportation of all goods, and merchandizes whatſoever, and are always compoſed of two parts, tonnage and poundage.

TONNAGE was payable upon all wines imported after the particular rates, and according to the methods preſcribed by the laws which granted this duty, being at firſt, no more than two ſhillings a ton, though in ſucceeding reigns it was very much increaſed.

POUNDAGE, was payable on all other merchandizes imported and exported, according to the rates and values preſcribed by the ſeveral laws, by which this duty was granted, being at firſt no more than ſix pence in the pound of the particular rates and values, though afterwards advanced to twelve pence in the pound. To this ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage, there was likewiſe, in the latter reigns, annexed,

A ſubſidy of woollen cloths or old drapery which was payable upon all woollen cloths exported, according to certain rates and proportions.

Theſe ſubſidies after having undergone various regulations, were after the reſtoration ſettled on the foundations they now ſtand, and granted to king Charles II, for life. The firſt act paſſed for that purpoſe, was entitled "a ſubſidy "granted to the king of tonnage "and poundage, and other ſums "of money, payable upon mer-"chandize exported and im-"ported, referring to and en-"forcing a book of rates of mer-"chandize, and according to "which,

him. In all probability king James would never have run into thoſe councils that ruined him, had he not obtained the revenue for life. The commons granted likewiſe the poll-bill, with ſome other ſupplies, which they thought would anſwer 1690.

" which, the ſaid duties were to " be levied and collected."

This ſubſidy it called the old ſubſidy, or ſubſidy inwards conſiſting of two diſtinct parts.

I. TONNAGE, payable in ready money upon all wines, except priſage-wines after the following rates,

		Groſs ſubſidy, per ton.
Rheniſh or Hungary wines imported into any port	by Britiſh	6 0 0
	by aliens	7 10 0
Levant wines imported to London, Southampton, or Briſtol,	by Britiſh	4 10 0
	by aliens	6 0 0
To other ports	by Britiſh	3 0 0
	by aliens	4 10 0
All other wines of Spain, Portugal, Madras, &c. imported to London,	by Britiſh	4 10 0
	by aliens	6 0 0
To other ports	by Britiſh	3 0 0
	by aliens	4 10 0
Additional duty upon every ton wine of France, Germany, Portugal, Madeira, payable in nine months after importation,		3 0 0
Of all other wines,		4 0 0
To theſe were added the next year perry, rape of grapes, cyder, cyder-egar and vinegar imported	by Britiſh	4 10 0
	by aliens	6 0 0

II. POUNDAGE, payable in ready money upon all goods, and merchandizes imported, (except wines) according to the rate of twelve pence a pound, or five per cent. for the Engliſh, and two ſhillings a pound, or ten per cent. for aliens. And alſo for every piece of broad cloth exported by Engliſh 3 s. and 4 d. by aliens 6 s. and 8 d.

Upon the model of this old ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage, there have (as ſhall be remembred in the proper places) been granted by ſubſequent acts of parliament, for defraying the expences of war, &c. ſeveral additional ſubſidies, impoſitions and new duties; which being to be levied after the manner of the old ſubſidy, are uſually, though improperly, comprehended under the general title of cuſtoms. As the new ſubſidy, one third ſubſidy, two thirds ſubſidy, &c.

By this means the cuſtoms are now really become a perfect ſcience, there having been no leſs than thirty additional branches, or particular duties, impoſed ſince the reſtoration.

The next branch of the revenue, ſettled on king Charles II,

1690. anſwer all the occaſions of the year. But as what they gave did not quite come up to what was demanded; ſo when the ſupply was raiſed, it came far ſhort of what it was eſtimated at;

was the hereditary exciſe, which was given him in lieu of the court of wards and liveries, and by an act entitled, "A grant of "certain impoſitions upon beer, "ale, and other liquors for the "increaſe of his majeſty's reve- "nue during his life." The rates were,

		l.	s.	d.
A barrel of beer or ale	above 6 gall.	0	1	3
	of or under 6 gall.	0	0	2
Hogſhead of cyder ſold by retail		0	1	3
Metheglin or mead, per gallon		0	0	0½
A barrel of vinegar-beer,		0	0	6
Aqua-vitæ, or ſtrong water, per gall.		0	0	1
A barrel of beer or ale imported		0	3	0
A tun of cyder, or perry imported		0	5	0
Spirits made of wine, or cyder imported, per gall.		0	0	2
Strong water imported, per gall.		0	0	4
Coffee made and ſold, per gall.		0	0	4
Chocolate, ſherbet and tea, per gall.		0	0	8

The collecting the exerciſe in this manner upon coffee, tea and chocolate, being found very troubleſome, it was repealed by king William, and a duty laid upon thoſe commodities to be paid at the cuſtom-houſe. See p. 295.

About the ſame time, the poſt-office was eſtabliſhed, which had been firſt erected under Cromwell, and the wine-licences were alſo granted. After which, another branch of the revenue was ſettled for life on king Charles II, namely the chimney-money, or two ſhillings a year upon every fire-hearth. This was aboliſhed by king William. Theſe branches were then valued in the following manner,

	l.
The cuſtoms were farmed at about	350,000
The hereditary and temporary exciſe farmed at	275,000
Wine licences	7,000
Hearth-money	100,000

The ſmall branches	l.	l.
Crown-lands, per annum	70,000	
Poſt-office	20,000	
Coinage and pre-emption of tin	12,000	130,000
Forreſt of Dean	5,000	
Courts of juſtice	6,000	
Firſt-fruits	18,000	

The

at; ſo there were great deficiencies to be taken care of in every ſeſſion of parliament, which run up every year, and made a great noiſe, as if the nation was, through miſmanagement, running into a great arrear. 1690.

The firſt great debate aroſe in the houſe of lords, upon a bill that was brought in, acknowledging the king and queen to be their rightful and lawful ſovereigns, and declaring all the acts of the convention-parliament to be good and valid. The firſt part paſſed with little contradiction, though ſome excepted to the words rightful, and lawful, as not at all neceſſary. But the other article, declaring the acts of the laſt parliament to be good and valid, bore a long and warm debate. The tories offered to enact, that theſe ſhould be all good laws for the time to come, but oppoſed the doing it in the declaratory way. They ſaid, that it was one of the fundamentals of our conſtitution, that no aſſembly could be called a parliament, unleſs it was called and choſen upon the king's writ. On the other hand it was ſaid, that whatſoever tended to the calling the authority of that parliament in queſtion, tended likewiſe to the weakening of the preſent government, and brought the king's title into queſtion. That a real neceſſity, upon ſuch extraordinary occaſions, muſt ſuperſede forms of law; otherwiſe the preſent government was under the ſame nullity. That forms were only rules for peaceable times; but in ſuch a juncture, when all that had a right to come, either in perſon, or by their repreſentatives, were ſummoned and freely elected; and when, by the king's conſent, the convention was turned into a parliament, the eſſentials, both with relation to the king and people, were

A bill recognizing the acts of the convention. Burnet. Pr. H. C. II. 377.

The crown-lands were ſold in 1670, for about 1,300,000 pounds, by which means the ſmall branches were reduced to about 60,000 l. a year. How theſe branches were increaſed at the abdication of king James, the reader may ſee p. 136.

The hereditary exciſe only was now ſettled upon king William for life, with a clauſe to make it a ſecurity for raiſing 250,000 pound. The only ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage, or the cuſtoms, were continued for four years, with a clauſe to make it a ſecurity for raiſing 500,000 pounds. In the bill for the hereditary revenues a clauſe was added, that theſe revenues having been much encumbered by letters-patents in the late reigns, all penſions or ſums of money granted hereafter by letters patentsout of any part of the hereditary-exciſe, poſt-office or wine-licenſes ſhall ceaſe at the death of the king or queen who ſhall make any ſuch grant. Pro. H. C. II. 381.

1690. still maintained in the conſtitution of that parliament. After a long debate the act paſſed in the houſe of lords with this temper, declaring and enacting that the acts of the convention-parliament were and are good and valid. Many lords, at the head of whom was the earl of Nottingham, entered the following proteſts againſt it:

The acts of the convention-parliament confirmed. Pr. H. L. I. 402.

" 1ſt, Becauſe we conceive, that ſaying, [It is enacted " by the authority of the preſent parliament, that all and " ſingular the acts made in the laſt parliament were laws] " is neither good Engliſh nor good ſenſe.

" 2dly, If it were good ſenſe to enact for the time paſt, it " muſt be underſtood, on this ſubject, to be the declaring of " laws to be good, which were paſſed in a parliament not " called by writ in due form of law; which is deſtructive of " the legal conſtitution of this monarchy, and may be of " evil and pernicious conſequence to our preſent govern- " ment under this king and queen (i).

But theſe reaſons of diſſent were ordered to be expunged out of the journal of the houſe of lords, againſt which another proteſt was entered as againſt an unprecedented thing.

The bill paſſes in the houſe of commons without oppoſition. April 9. Pr. H. C II: 377. Burnet.

The bill being paſſed and ſent down to the commons, it was expected that it would have occaſioned long and great debates. But to the wonder of all men it paſſed that houſe in two days, without any debate or oppoſition. The truth was, the tories had reſolved to commit the bill; and in order to that, ſome trifling exceptions were made to ſome words, that might want correction; for bills are not committed, unleſs ſome amendments are offered; and it was reſolved to oppoſe it, when it ſhould be committed. But one of that party diſcovered this deſign too early, for he queſtioned the legality of the convention, ſince it was not ſummoned by writ. Mr. Sommers, the ſollicitor-general, anſwered this with great ſpirit, declaring, if that was not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and had taken the oaths, enacted by that parliament, were guilty of high-treaſon: that the laws repealed by it were ſtill in force; and therefore they muſt preſently return to king James; and that all

(i) Theſe reaſons were ſubſcribed by Somerſet, Rocheſter, J. Jermyn, Weſtmoreland, H. London, W. Landaffe, Huntingdon, Abingdon, Tho. Money, Feverſham, P. Wincheſter, W. Aſaph, Scarſdale, Weymouth, Dartmouth, Nottingham, Wigorn',

the

the money levied, collected, and paid by virtue of the acts of that parliament, made every one, who was concerned in it, highly criminal. This he ſpoke with much zeal, and ſuch an aſcendant of authority, that none were prepared to anſwer it; ſo the bill paſſed without any more oppoſition. This was a great ſervice, done in a very critical time, and contributed not a little to raiſe Mr. Sommers's character. 1690.

The greateſt debate in this ſeſſion was concerning a bill, that was brought into the houſe of commons, requiring all their majeſties ſubjects to abjure the late king James under pain of impriſonment. Some of the tories were at firſt for it, as were all the whigs. The clergy were excepted out of it, to ſoften the oppoſition, that might be made. But ſtill the main body of the tories declared, they would never take any ſuch oath; and therefore oppoſed every ſtep, that was made in it with a great vehemence: they inſiſted much on this, 'That when the government was ſettled, oaths 'were made to be the ties of the ſubject to it; and that all 'new impoſitions, were a breach made on that, which 'might be called the original contract of the preſent ſettle-'ment. That things of that kind ought to be fixed and 'certain, and not mutable and endleſs. That by the ſame 'reaſon, that the abjuration was now propoſed, another 'oath might be prepared every year; and every party, that 'prevailed in parliament, would bring in ſome diſcriminating 'oath or teſt, ſuch as could only be taken by thoſe of their 'own ſide; and thus the largeneſs and equality of a govern-'ment would be loſt, and contracted into a faction.' On the other ſide it was urged, 'that this was only intended to 'be a ſecurity to the government during the war; for in 'ſuch a time it ſeemed neceſſary, that all, who were em-'ployed by the government, ſhould give it all poſſible ſecu-'rity. That it was apparent, that the comprehenſive words 'in the oaths of allegiance had given occaſion to much equi-'vocation; many who had taken them, having declared, as 'ſome had done in print, that they conſidered themſelves as 'bound by the oaths only while the king continued in peace-'able poſſeſſion; but not to aſſiſt or ſupport his title, if it 'was attacked or ſhaken.' That it was therefore neceſſary, 'that men in public truſts ſhould be brought under ſtricter 'ties.' The abjuration was debated in both houſes at the ſame time. The whigs preſſed the king to ſet it forward; alledging, that every one, who took it, would look on himſelf as unpardonable, and ſo would ſerve him with the more zeal and fidelity; whereas thoſe, who thought the right to

A bill for abjuring king James. Kennet. Boyer. Burnet.

1690. the crown to be ſtill in king James, might perhaps ſerve faithfully as long as the government ſtood firm; but as they ſtill kept meaſures with the other ſide, to whom they knew they would be always welcome, ſo they will never act with that life and zeal, which the preſent ſtate of affairs required. At the ſame time the tories were as earneſt in preſſing the king to ſtop the farther progreſs of thoſe debates; that much time was already loſt in them; and it was evident, that much more muſt be loſt, if it was intended to carry it on; ſince ſo many branches of this bill, and ſo many incidents, that aroſe upon the ſubject of it, would give occaſion to much heat and conteſt; and it was a doubt, whether it would be carried, after all the time, which was beſtowed upon it, or not: that thoſe, who oppoſed it, would grow ſullen, and oppoſe every thing elſe that was moved for the king's ſervice; and that, if it ſhould be carried, it would put the king again into the hands of the whigs, who would immediately return to their old practices againſt the prerogative; and that it would drive many into king James's party, who might otherwiſe adhere firmly to his majeſty, or at leaſt be neutral. Theſe reaſons prevailed with the king to order an intimation to be given in the houſe of commons, that he deſired they would let that debate fall, and go to other matters, that were more preſſing (k).

The bill is dropped.

The whigs are diſguſted at it.

This gave a new diſguſt to the whigs, but was very acceptable to the tories; and it quickned the advances of money upon the funds, that were given. It had indeed a very ill effect abroad; for both friends and enemies looking on it as a ſign of a great declenſion of the king's intereſt with his people. And his majeſty's interpoſing to ſtop further debates in the matter, was repreſented as an artifice only, to ſave the affront of its being rejected. The earl of Shrewſbury was at the head of thoſe, who preſſed the abjuration moſt; and therefore, upon this change of counſels, thought he could not ſerve the king longer with reputation or ſucceſs. He ſaw the whigs, by uſing his majeſty ill, were driving him into the hands of the tories; and he thought, that theſe would ſerve the king with more zeal, if he left his poſt. Beſides, the credit, that the marquiſs of Carmarthen

The earl of Shrewſbury retires from court.

(k) When this bill was read a third time, a motion was made to have it committed; which paſſed in the negative, a hundred and ſeventy-eight for it, and a hundred and ninety-two againſt it. This, in great meaſure, ſhows how the houſe was divided at that time as to tories and whigs. Pr. H. C. II. 378.

had

had gained, was not eaſy to him. For theſe reaſons he reſolved to deliver up the ſeals as ſecretary of ſtate (l). 1690.

The king ſent Dr. Tillotſon, and all thoſe, who had moſt credit with the earl, to divert him from his reſolution; but all was to no purpoſe. The agitation of mind, which this gave his lordſhip, threw him into a fever, that almoſt coſt him his life. The king preſſed him to keep the ſeals, till his return from Ireland, though he ſhould not act as ſecretary; but he could not be prevailed upon.

Debate in the houſe of lords on the bill. Ibid.

The debate upon the abjuration laſted longer in the houſe of lords. It had ſome variation from that, which was propoſed in the houſe of commons, and was properly an oath of a ſpecial fidelity to the king in oppoſition to king James. The tories offered, in bar to this, a negative engagement againſt aſſiſting king James, or any of his inſtruments, knowing them to be ſuch, with ſevere penalties on ſuch as ſhould refuſe it. In oppoſition to this, it was ſaid, that this was only an expedient to ſecure all king James's party, whatever ſhould happen, ſince it left them the intire merit of being ſtill in his intereſts, and only reſtrained them from putting any thing to hazard for him. The houſe was ſo near an equality in every diviſion, that what was gained in one day, was loſt in the next; and by the heat and length of thoſe debates the ſeſſion continued till June.

An act to inveſt the queen with the government in the king's abſence. May 20. Pr. H. C. II. 382.

The king having declared in his ſpeech, his intention to leave the adminiſtration of the government in the hands of the queen, and propoſed the having it confirmed by an act, if judged neceſſary, a bill was accordingly prepared for that purpoſe, by which, the queen was inveſted with the adminiſtration of affairs, not only during the king's being in Ireland, but whenever he ſhould be called out of the kingdom; with this reſtriction however, "that the queen might be "controlled by an order from his majeſty, while he was a-

(l) Biſhop Burnet was the firſt perſon, to whom the earl diſcovered this; he had the ſeals in his hand, when he told that prelate of his reſolution, who prevailed with him not to go that night. The earl was in ſome heat; and the biſhop was afraid, that he might have ſaid ſuch things to the king, as would have provoked him too much. The biſhop therefore ſent the king word of it; who was very much troubled at it. He loved the earl; and apprehended, that his leaving his ſervice at this time might alienate the whigs more entirely from him; for now they, who thought the earl before of too cold a temper, when they ſaw, how firm he was, came to conſider and truſt him more than ever.

"broad,"

1690. "broad." During the debates, the queen ſeemed to take no notice of the matter, nor of thoſe who had appeared for and againſt it. When this bill received the royal aſſent, an act was alſo paſſed for reverſing the judgment on a quo warranto, againſt the city of London, and reſtoring it to its ancient rights and privileges. This bill had been projected by the tories, and was intended to change the hands which then governed the city: but through haſte or weakneſs of thoſe, who drew it up, the court of aldermen was not comprehended in it. So that by this act, the city was fixed in their hands, who were generally whigs.

The act of indemnity paſſed. May 23. Pr. H. C. II. 383.

The bill of indemnity which had cauſed ſo many debates in every ſeſſion, and had been ſo conſtantly and ſo earneſtly recommended by the king, did at laſt paſs both houſes. Of all the late inſtruments of popery and arbitrary power, thirty-five only were expreſsly excepted, and of them few or none were made examples of the juſtice of the nation (m).

(m) The perſons excepted were,

William, marquis of Powis.
Theophilus, earl of Huntingdon.
Robert, earl of Sunderland.
John, earl of Melfort.
Roger, earl of Caſtlemain.
Nathaniel, lord biſhop of Durham.
Thomas, lord biſhop of St. Davids.
Henry, lord Dover.
Lord Thomas Howard.
Sir Edward Hales.
Sir Francis Wythens.
Sir Edward Lutwych.
Sir Thomas Jenner.
Sir Nicholas Butler.
Sir William Herbert.
Sir Richard Holloway.
Sir Richard Heath.
Sir Roger L'Eſtrange.
William Mollineux.
Thomas Tindeſley, alias Tildeſley.
Colonel Townley.
Colonel Robert Lundee.
Robert Brent.
Edward Morgan.
Philip Burton.
Richard Graham.
Edward Petre.
Obadiah Walker.
Matthew Crone.
George lord Jeffreys, deceaſed.

When the bill of indemnity was ſent down to the commons, Mr. baron Turton brought this meſſage from the lords:

"Mr. ſpeaker, his majeſty "hath been pleaſed to ſend this "bill, which the lords have ac-"cepted and paſſed nemine con-"tradicente, and now ſend it "down to this houſe." Though the commons immediately paſſed the bill; they demanded a conference, in which they intended to acquaint their lordſhips, "that "it is unuſual for either houſe to "acquaint the other by what "number any bill before them "do paſs, and the introducing "any alteration in the uſual me-"thod of proceeding may be of "dangerous conſequences." But a ſtop was put to this affair by the adjournment.

The

The king thought fit to put an end to the ſeſſion with this act of grace, and coming to the houſe of peers for that purpoſe, made the following ſpeech: 1690.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I Have had ſuch aſſurance of your good affections to me, that I come now to thank you particularly for the ſupply you have given me. The ſeaſon of the year is ſo far advanced, that I cannot longer delay my going into Ireland; and therefore I think it neceſſary to have an adjournment of the parliament. And though it ſhall be but to a ſhort day, yet unleſs ſome great occaſion require it. (of which you ſhall have due notice) I do not intend you ſhall ſit to do buſineſs until the winter; and, I hope, by the bleſſing of God, we ſhall then have a happy meeting. The king's ſpeech. Pr. H. C. II. 383.

"In the mean time, I recommend to you the diſcharge of your duties in your reſpective counties, that the peace of the nation may be ſecured by your vigilance and care in your reſpective ſtations."

Then the lord chief baron Atkyns ſignified his majeſty's pleaſure, that both houſes ſhould adjourn to the 7th of July; after which the parliament was twice prorogued, twice adjourned, and then prorogued again (n).

To

(n) In this ſeſſion were paſſed,

1. An act for enabling the ſale of goods diſtrained for rent, in caſe the rent be not paid in a reaſonable time.

2. An act for diſcouraging the importation of thrown ſilk, except of the growth of Italy, Sicily or Naples.

3. An act to declare the right and freedom of the election of members, to ſerve in parliament for the cinque ports. Before this act, the wardens of the cinque ports, claimed a right of nominating to each of the cinque ports one perſon to ſerve as a baron or member of parliament.

The honours and promotions about this time, were as follows: the king created, April 17, Richard lord viſcount Lumley, earl of Scarborough in the county of York; Henry lord Delamere, earl of Warrington, in the county of Lancaſter; and Henry lord de Grey of Rothen, a viſcount by the name and ſtile of viſcount de Langueville; and on the 21ſt of that month, the lord Willoughby of Ereſby, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, was, by virtue of his majeſty's writ of ſummons, called up to the houſe of peers. About the ſame time his majeſty named admiral Torrington, Sir Ralph Delaval vice-admiral, and Mr. Rook rear-admiral, to command the red ſquadron of his fleet; and appointed Mr.

1690. To prevent any attempt againſt the peace of the nation, during his majeſty's abſence, the deputy-lieutenants were authoriſed to raiſe the militia in caſe of neceſſity, and all papiſts ordered to repair to their places of abode, and not ſtir above five miles from thence without leave. A proclamation was likewiſe publiſhed, for the apprehending of ſeveral diſaffected perſons, who, as his majeſty was informed, had conſpired to raiſe a rebellion, and for that purpoſe had made proviſion of arms, and had inliſted themſelves into ſeveral regiments. But though many diſcoveries were made of the practices from St. Germains and Ireland, few were apprehended upon them, and thoſe were too inconſiderable to know more than that many were provided with arms and ammunition; and that a method was projected for bringing men together upon a call. However, on the 5th of June Sir John Cockran and Mr. Ferguſon were ſeized on ſuſpicion of high-treaſon and treaſonable practices; Ferguſon having returned to his old habits of diſturbing the government, though he had been preferred by his majeſty to the place of houſe-keeper to the exciſe-office, worth near five hundred pounds per annum, with little trouble (o).

Mr. Ruſſel admiral of the blue, with Sir John Aſhby vice-admiral, and Sir Cloudſley Shovel rear-admiral under him. On the 30th of May he conſtituted Richard Payne, eſq; Sir Richard Reeves, knt. and Robert Rochford, eſq; commiſſioners of the great ſeal of Ireland, as alſo commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer, and general goal delivery within the ſaid kingdom; and on the 3d of June, Sir John Trevor, knt. ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, Sir William Rawlinſon, knt. and Sir George Hutchins, knt. were ſworn lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal of England, Sir Anthony Peck, who had been deſired to continue in that poſt, having declined it; and on the ſame day the marquis of Wincheſter, chamberlain to the queen, was ſworn of the privy-council.

(o) MS. letter of Mr. Richard Warre to Sir William Colt, from Whitehall, June 1690. Ferguſon (ſays Burnet) was a hot and bold man, and naturally given to plotting; always unquiet and ſetting people on to ſome miſchief. He was concerned in the plots in king Charles IId's time; one of thoſe that preſſed the duke of Monmouth to invade England, ſaying, it was a good cauſe, and God would not leave them unleſs they left him. He was afterwards, as will be ſeen, in plots both againſt king William and queen Anne. He was at firſt among the preſbyterians, but being caſt out, he went among the independents, where his boldneſs raiſed him to ſome figure, though he was an empty man.

The

The day before the king set out for Ireland, he called bi- 1690.
shop Burnet into his closet, and seemed to have a great weight upon his spirits from the state of his affairs, which were then very cloudy. He said, that for his own part, he would either go through with his business, or perish in it. He only pitied the poor queen, repeating that twice with great tenderness, and wished, that those, who loved him, would wait much on her, and assist her. He lamented the factions and the heats, that were in the nation, and that the bishops and clergy, instead of allaying them, did rather foment and inflame them. He declared, that going to a campaign, was naturally no unpleasant thing to him; and he was sure he understood that better than how to govern England. He added, that though he had no doubt or mistrust of the cause he went on, yet the going against king James in person was hard upon him, since it would be a vast trouble both to himself and to the queen, if he should be either killed or taken prisoner. Then he dismissed the bishop, deeply affected with what he had said (p).

The king expresses great tenderness for king James's person. Burnet.

The king set out for Ireland on the 4th of June, and on the 14th landed at Carrickfergus, being attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Manchester, and many other persons of distinction; and the same evening went to Belfast,

The king set out for Ireland. June 4.

(p) How tender the king was of king James's person, appears from this instance. A proposition was made to him, that a third rate ship, well manned by a faithful crew, and commanded by one, who had been well with king James, but in whom he might trust, should sail to Dublin, and declare for king James. The person who told bishop Burnet this, offered to be the person, who should carry the message to king James, (for he was well known to him) to invite him to come on board, which he seemed to be sure he would accept of; and, when he was aboard, they should sail away with him, and land him either in Spain or Italy, as the king should desire, and should have twenty thousand pounds to give him, when he should be set ashore. The king thought this a well-formed design, and likely enough to succeed, but would not hearken to it, declaring, that he would have no hand in treachery; and alledging, that king James would certainly carry some of his guards and of his court aboard with him, who probably would make some opposition, and in the struggle some accident might happen to king James's person, in which he would have no hand. The bishop acquainted the queen with this, who shewed great tenderness for her father's person, and was much touched with the answer, which the king had made. Burnet II. 47.

where

1690. where he was met by duke Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, major-general Kirk, and other general officers.

State of Ireland at the king's arrival. Story. Boyer.

As to the affairs of Ireland before the king's arrival, the camp at Dundalk was not the only place, which proved fatal to the Engliſh army; for both officers and ſoldiers died in great numbers in their winter-quarters; ſo that about the beginning of the new year, ſeveral regiments were broken into others, and the officers continued at half-pay, till proviſions could be made for them in other regiments, whilſt others went over into England to raiſe recruits. However, the ſickneſs by degrees abating, duke Schomberg, who took a fatherly care of ſuch as ſurvived, found them very much refreſhed by the good proviſions he had procured for them, and rather inclined boldly to encounter death in the field, than languiſh in their quarters. About the beginning of February, the duke being informed that the enemy was drawing down ſome forces towards Dundalk, and that they had provided magazines with a deſign to diſturb his frontier garriſons, ſent a conſiderable body of horſe and foot that way, and marched himſelf, on the 11th towards Drummore to obſerve the enemy's motion. But the deſigns of the Iriſh lay, at this time, another way; for while the duke was upon this expedition, colonel Woolſey was informed, that they intended to fall upon Belturbat, a town, which that colonel had taken from them not long before. Upon this Woolſey marched with great diligence from Belturbat with ſeven hundred foot and three hundred horſe and dragoons, towards the enemy; but being acquainted with their numbers, and they having had notice of his approach, inſtead of ſurpriſing them, he was himſelf ſurpriſed, finding them nine thouſand ſtrong, and in a poſture to receive him. However there being now no way to reteat either with honour or ſafety, he made his men ſenſible of their common danger, and ſo animated them by his own example, that having engaged the Iriſh, he defeated them with conſiderable loſs; purſued them as far as Cavan where they had a little fort; ſet that town on fire; and in his return to Belturbat, took the caſtle of Killiſhandra with a great booty of cattle. In the mean time Sir John Lanier, with a party of one thouſand horſe, foot, and dragoons, made an attempt upon Dundalk, took Bedloe caſtle, and about fifteen hundred cows
April 18. and oxen; and Sir Cloudeſly Shovel on good-friday, took the only frigate king James had in his poſſeſſion, in that prince's own ſight in Dublin bay; notwithſtanding all the oppoſition, that could be made againſt him by ſea and land.

But

But what afflicted king James more ſenſibly was, the loſs of the caſtle of Charlemont, a ſtrong place, chiefly by nature, as being ſeated upon a piece of ground in the middle of the Bay; and only acceſſible by two ways, which the Iriſh had partly broke down. This poſt being of great importance, duke Schomberg reſolved to make himſelf maſter of it, and ſucceeded in his attempt, partly by a ſtratagem. The garriſon of that place, which for ſome time had been blocked up by the French regiments of La Caillemote and Cambon, being put to great ſtraits for want of victuals, king James ſent a ſtrong detachment under Mac Mahone with proviſion to relieve it. Duke Schomberg being informed of this, ordered the blockade to let Mac Mahone paſs with his convoy after a ſlight reſiſtance, but to drive back all that returned from the caſtle. By this means the garriſon, which had received but a ſlender ſupply of proviſions, and were forced to feed their new gueſts as well as themſelves, were ſoon reduced to greater exigencies than before; and by a vigorous proſecution of the ſiege forced at laſt to capitulate on the 13th of May. The next day they marched out to the number of eight hundred men; and the duke, who was come to view them, ſeeing many women and children among them, aſked the reaſon of it, ſince they could not but conſume their proviſions. He was anſwered, that the Iriſh were naturally very hoſpitable, and that they all fared alike. But the greateſt reaſon was, that the ſoldiers would not ſtay in the garriſon without their wives and miſtreſſes; the duke replied, that there was more love than policy in it. There were found in the place good ſtore of ammunition, ſeventeen pieces of braſs cannon, and two mortars; ſo that the enemy might have held out longer, if they had not wanted either courage or proviſions. The ſame day that Charlemont ſurrendered, colonel Woolſey, who had been conſiderably reinforced by a party of Danes, made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong caſtle of Balingargy near Cavan. Upon the loſs of theſe conſiderable poſts, the Iriſh quitted and burnt ſeveral caſtles on that ſide, and prepared to abandon Dundalk, Ardee, Caſtle-Blaney, and Carichmarh-Croſs. 1690.

In this ſituation was Ireland, when the king arrived there, who two or three days after he came to Belfaſt marched to Liſburn, where duke Schomberg kept his head quarters, and from thence to Hilſborough, where on the 20th of June he publiſhed an order, forbidding the preſſing of horſes, and the committing of any violences on the country people; and having ſome cautious adviſes propoſed by the general officers, he

The king's proceedings in Ireland. Story, Boyer.

1690. he declared, that he did not come there to let the graſs grow under his feet, but would purſue the war with the utmoſt vigour. He ordered therefore the whole army to encamp at a place called Loughbritland, where upon an exact review he found them to conſiſt of thirty-ſix thouſand Engliſh, Dutch, French, Danes, and Germans, all well appointed in every reſpect. From Loughbritland the king marched his army to Dundalk, where he did not ſtay long, but upon advice, that the enemy had abandoned Ardee, immediately directed his march thither.

June 17.

King James and his court had been ſo much elated with the news of the debates in the Engliſh parliament, and of the diſtractions of the city of London, that they had flattered themſelves with falſe hopes, that the king durſt not leave England, nor venture over to Ireland; and the king had been ſix days landed, before they knew any thing of it (q). But no ſooner had king James certain intelligence of his arrival, but he began to ſtir, committing the guard of Dublin to a body of militia, under the command of colonel Lutterel, marched with about ſix thouſand French foot (old experienced ſoldiers lately come from France) to join the reſt of his forces, which now amounted to almoſt an equal number with the king's, beſides fifteen thouſand, which remained in garriſons. After the junction, a council of war was held, wherein both French and Iriſh were of opinion, that though they had a very advantageous poſt on the Boyne, yet their army being inferior both in number and in every thing elſe, they ſhould put too much to hazard, if they ſhould venture on a battle. They propoſed therefore the ſtrengthening their garriſons, and marching off to the Shannon with the horſe and a ſmall body of foot, till they ſhould ſee how matters went at ſea; for the French king had ſent them aſſurances, that he would not only ſet out a great fleet, but that, as ſoon as the ſquadron, which lay in the Iriſh ſeas, to guard the tranſport fleet, and to ſecure the king's paſſage over, ſhould ſail into the channel, to join the grand fleet of England, he would then ſend into the Iriſh ſeas a fleet of

King James marches to the Boyne.

Burnet.

(q) A party of two hundred foot and dragoons, June 19, going from Newry towards Dundalk, to diſcover the enemy, fell into an ambuſcade at a place called four-mile-houſe, and captain Farlow being taken priſoner, was the firſt who gave king James, a certain account of king William's being in Ireland, for till then he would not believe it. Story's cont. of the wars in Ireland, p. 19.

ſmall

small frigates and privateers to destroy the king's transports. This would have proved fatal, if it had taken effect; and the execution of it seemed easy and certain. It would have shut up the king in Ireland, till a new transport fleet could have been brought thither, which would have been the work of some months; so that England might have been lost, before he could have passed the seas with his army. 1690.

The destruction of his transports likewise must have ruined his army; for his stores both of bread and ammunition were still on board, and they sailed along the coast, as he advanced on his march; nor was there in all that coast a safe port to cover and secure them. The king indeed reckoned, that by the time the squadron, which lay in the Irish seas, should be able to join the rest of the fleet, they would have advanced as far as the mouth of the channel, where they would guard both England and Ireland. In expectation of this fleet of smaller vessels, to destroy the king's transports, it was that king James's officers were against bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. But in opposition to all their opinions, king James himself was positive, that they should stay and defend the Boyne. If they should abandon Dublin, they would so lose their reputation, that the people would leave them and capitulate, and all their friends in England be also dispirited. Therefore he resolved to maintain the post he was in, and seemed pleased to think, that he should have one fair battle for his crown. He had all the advantages he could desire. The river was deep, and rose very high every tide: there was a morass to be passed after the river, and then a rising ground. But with all these advantages, he thought fit to order Sir Patrick Trant, the commissioner of the Irish revenue, to prepare him a ship at Waterford, that in case of a defeat, he might secure his retreat to France.

On the 30th of June the king being informed, that the enemy had repassed the Boyne, ordered his whole army to move by break of day, in three lines towards the river, which was about three miles distant from them; whereupon the advanced guards of horse, commanded by Sir John Lanier, moved in very good order, and by nine of the clock got within two miles of Drogheda. The king, who marched in the front of them, observing, that there was an hill to the east of the enemy, and north from the town, rode thither to view their camp, which he found to be all along the river in two lines. Here the king held a long consult with the prince of Denmark, the dukes of Schomberg and Ormond, count Solmes, major-general Scravenmore, the

1690. lord Sidney, and other great officers, who made all their obſervations upon the enemy. Among the reſt Scravenmore ſeemed to deſpiſe them, ſaying, they were but an handful of men, for he could not reckon above forty-ſix battalions, that lay encamped. But the king and prince George juſtly anſwered, that they might have a great many men in the town; and that there was alſo an hill to the ſouth-weſt, beyond which, part of their army might be encamped. "However, added the king, we ſhall ſoon be better ac- "quainted with their numbers." From this place the king rid on to the paſs at the Old bridge, and ſtood upon the ſide of the bank within muſket-ſhot of the fort, to take there a nearer view of the enemies ſituation; and ſome time after rid about two hundred paces up the river, nigh the weſt of all the enemies camp. Whilſt the army was marching, he alighted from his horſe, and ſate down upon a riſing ground, where he refreſhed himſelf for about an hour; during which time a party of about forty horſe advancing very ſlowly, made a ſtand upon a plowed field over againſt the king, and brought two field pieces with them, which they planted at the corner of a hedge undiſcovered. The king was no ſooner re-mounted, but the Iriſh fired at him, and with the firſt ſhot killed a man and two horſes very near him. This bullet was preſently ſucceeded by another, which having firſt grazed on the bank of the river, did in its riſing ſtant upon the king's right ſhoulder, took out a piece of his coat, and ſtruck off the ſkin, and afterwards broke the head of a gentleman's piſtol. Mr. Coningſby, afterwards earl Coningſby, ſeeing this, rid up and clapped his handkerchief upon the wound, while the king himſelf mounted again and kept on his pace, and only ſaid, 'there was no neceſſity the bullet 'ſhould have come nearer.' The enemy ſeeing ſome diſorder among thoſe, who attended the king, concluded, that he was killed, and immediately ſet up a ſhout all over their camp, and drew down ſeveral ſquadrons of their horſe upon a plain towards the river, as if they meant to paſs and purſue the Engliſh army. Nay, the report of the king's death flew preſently to Dublin, and from thence ſpread as far as Paris, where the people were encouraged to expreſs their joy by bonfires and illuminations.

The king having got his ſlight wound dreſſed, mounted again on horſeback, and ſhowed himſelf to the whole army, in order to diſſipate their apprehenſions. He continued on horſeback, without the leaſt concern, till four in the afternoon, when he dined in the field, and in the evening

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mounted again, though he had been up from one in the morning. About nine at night he called a council of war, and declared his reſolution to paſs the river the next day; which duke Schomberg at firſt oppoſed; and finding the king poſitive, adviſed, that part of the army, horſe and foot, ſhould be ſent that night towards Slane-bridge, in order to paſs the Boyne there, and ſo get between the enemy and the paſs at Dulcek. This advice, which if followed, would perhaps have ended the war in one campaign, ſeemed at firſt to be reliſhed; but being afterwards oppoſed by the Dutch generals, duke Schomberg retired to his tent, where not long after the order of the battle was brought him, which he received with diſcontent and indifference, ſaying, It was the firſt that ever was ſent him. Lieutenant-general Douglas was to command the right wing of foot, and count Maynard de Schomberg the horſe, who were to march on early towards Slane-bridge, and other fords up the river, to flank the enemy, or get between their camp and Drogheda, whilſt a body of foot were to force their way at the paſs at Old Bridge. 1690.

On the other ſide, king James having alſo called a council, lieutenant-general Hamilton adviſed him to ſend a party of dragoons to the ford, which was below the town of Drogheda, which the Engliſh either knew not of, or elſe did not regard; and all the reſt, being eight regiments, towards the bridge of Slane. But king James ſaid, he would ſend fifty dragoons up the river, which juſtly put Hamilton into great amazement, conſidering the importance of the place to be defended.

Towards the cloſe of the evening the cannon ceaſed on both ſides, when the king gave orders, that every ſoldier ſhould be provided with a good ſtock of ammunition, and all to be ready to march at break of day, with every man a green bough or ſprig in his hat, to diſtinguiſh him from the enemy, who wore pieces of white paper in their hats. The word that night being Weſtminſter, the king rode in perſon about twelve at night with torches quite through the army, and then retired to his tent, impatient of the approaching day.

The expected day being come, about ſix in the morning, lieutenant-general Douglaſs marched towards the right with ſome foot, as did count Schomberg with the horſe; which the enemy obſerving, drew out their horſe and foot to oppoſe them. King William's right wing was at firſt ordered to paſs all at Slane; but upon better information from the guides, ſeveral regiments were commanded to go over at Battle of the Boyne. July 1.

1690. other fords between the camp and that place. When the horſe approached the river, a regiment of the enemies dragoons made a ſhew of oppoſing their paſſage; but being ſoon forced to retire with loſs, the Engliſh got over, and advanced towards the enemy's main body, which they found drawn up in two lines. Hereupon Douglaſs drew up his detachment in two lines alſo; but having but ſix battalions of foot, to twenty-four ſquadrons of horſe, he ſent for more foot; and in the mean time, according to the earl of Portland's advice, the horſe and foot were intermixed for their greater ſecurity. More foot being come up, this figure was immediately altered, and all the horſe drawn to the right; whilſt the foot moved towards a bog on the left, which lay between them and the enemy, and through which it was impoſſible for the horſe to march. The Iriſh obſerving their motion, retreated in ſome haſte towards Duleck, but were vigorouſly purſued by count Schomberg.

Though the king was ignorant of what had paſſed between his men and the enemy, yet ſuppoſing, that by this time they were over the river, ordered three attacks to be made; the firſt at a good ford before a ſmall village, where the Iriſh were advantageouſly poſted. The Dutch regiment of foot guards took the river firſt at Old Bridge, wading to the middle, and being got over amidſt the enemy's fire, without making halt, drew up in two files, and then fired upon the Iriſh, who not bearing the charge abandoned their intrenchments. But before the third battalion of that regiment had paſſed the ford, five battalions of the enemy advanced very boldly within piſtol-ſhot of the Dutch, who received them ſo warmly, that they retreated with the loſs of ſome men and one pair of colours. Upon this the Dutch marched beyond the village, and repulſed a ſquadron of king James's horſe, that would have ſtopt their progreſs.

At the ſame time a ſquadron of general Hamilton's horſe, rode briſkly to the very brink of the river, in order to oppoſe Sir John Hanmer's and count Naſſau's regiments in paſſing it; and though they failed in that attempt, yet in their retreat they fell upon the French foot with ſuch reſolution, that part of them broke through La Caillemote's and Cambon's regiments, which wanted pikes to ſtem their furious career. But the Iriſh wheeling about through the village, to recover their own men, they were intercepted by the Dutch and Inniſkillin foot, and moſt of them, after a ſtout reſiſtance, cut in pieces. By this time the Dutch guards being advanced as far as the hedges into the open field, the

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Iriſh horſe came down upon them again with greater numbers and redoubled fury; but the Dutch remained ſo firm and cloſe, and other regiments coming to their aſſiſtance, that the Iriſh were forced to retire. Upon this a freſh ſquadron of horſe advanced to ſupport them, but were vigorouſly repulſed by the French proteſtants and Innifkilliners. In the firſt of theſe onſets monſieur La Caillemote received his mortal wound, and as he was carried back by four ſoldiers to the Engliſh camp, he encouraged thoſe who were croſſing the river, by theſe words, A la gloire, mes enfans, a la gloire; "To glory, my boys, to glory." 1690.

In the mean time the Danes came up to the left, as did the brigades of Hamner and La Melloniere on the right. The firſt were ſo valiantly attacked in front by Hamilton's horſe, that they were obliged to give way, and ſome of them to repaſs the river. Duke Schomberg perceiving this diſorder, and ſeeing the French proteſtants were alſo left expoſed without a commander, immediately paſſed the river in order to head them, with ſo much hurry, that he could not be perſuaded by monſieur Foubert, one of his aids de camp, to put on his armour. He was no ſooner on the other ſide, but he encouraged the French proteſtants by this ſhort harangue, Allons, meſſieurs, voila vos perſecuteurs; "Come on, gentlemen; behold your perſecutors," pointing to the French papiſts in the enemy's army. Theſe words were ſcarce out of his mouth, when fifteen or ſixteen of king James's guards, who were returning full ſpeed to their main body, after the ſlaughter of their companions, and whom the French refugees ſuffered to paſs, thinking them to be of their ſide, fell furiouſly upon the duke, and gave him two wounds in the head, which however were not mortal. Upon this the regiment of Cambon acknowledged their error, by committing a greater; for firing raſhly on the enemy, they ſhot the duke through the neck, of which wound he inſtantly died; and monſieur Foubert alighting to relieve him, was ſhot in the arm. Not long before Dr. Walker, ſo famous for the defence of Londonderry, received a wound in the belly, which he ſurvived but ſome few minutes.

The king during all theſe actions might be ſaid to be every where, ſince he directed all by his conduct; but now his courage was likewiſe to have a ſhare in the honour of the day. His majeſty, accompanied by the prince of Denmark, paſſed the river with the left wing of horſe, and that with ſome difficulty; for his horſe was bogged on the other ſide, and himſelf forced to alight, till one of his attendants helped

1690. him to get his horſe out, and remount. As ſoon as his troops were over, and put in ſome order, the king drew his ſword, (though the wound, which he had received the day before, made it uneaſy for him to wield it) and marched at the head of them towards the enemy, who were coming on again in good order towards the Engliſh foot, that had now got over the paſs, and were advancing bravely towards the Iriſh, though they were double their number. When theſe two bodies were come almoſt within muſket ſhot of one another, the enemy diſcovered the left wing of the Engliſh horſe moving towards them; at which they made a ſudden halt, faced about, and retreated up the hill to a little village called Dunmore, about half a mile from the paſs. The Engliſh marching in good order came up with them at this village, where the enemy reſuming courage, faced about, and made the Engliſh horſe give way, though they had the king at their head. The king ſhocked at this, rid up to the Inniſkilliners, and aſked them, what they will do for him? their chief officer telling them, that is was the king who was doing them the honour to head them, they boldly came forward, and at the head of them the king received the enemy's fire, and then wheeling to the left to fetch up his own men again, the Inniſkilliners, through a miſtake, retired after him above an hundred yards. This made the king move to the left, to put himſelf at the head of ſome Dutch troops, that were advancing; while in the mean time the Inniſkilliners growing ſenſible of their error, went on again ſucceſsfully to the charge. In this place, duke Schomberg's regiment of horſe, compoſed of French proteſtants, and ſtrengthened by an unuſual number of officers, behaved with undaunted reſolution, like men who fought for a nation, amongſt whom themſelves and their friends had found ſhelter againſt the perſecution of France. At the ſame time another party, commanded by lieutenant-general Ginckle, charged in a lane to the left, but was ſoon overpowered by the Iriſh, and forced to give way. This being obſerved by a party of Sir Albert Cunningham's dragoons, and another of colonel Levinſon's, the officers ordered the men to alight and line a hedge, as alſo a ruined houſe, that flanked the lane, from whence they fired upon the enemy. Ginckle continued in the rear of his men, endeavouring to make them maintain their ground, and was in ſome danger from the Engliſh dragoons; for the enemy being cloſe upon him, they could not well diſtinguiſh. However the dragoons did a great piece of ſervice by ſtopping the enemy, who

who came up very boldly; and the Dutch horſe having the opportunity of rallying, as they did to the right, the enemy, after half an hour's ſharp diſpute, were beat back again with conſiderable loſs. 1690.

On the other ſide lieutenant-general Hamilton finding, that his foot did not anſwer his expectation, put himſelf at the head of the horſe, which was likewiſe routed, and himſelf taken priſoner. When he was brought to the king, he was aſked by him, whether the Iriſh would fight any more? yes ſir, anſwered Hamilton, upon my honour, I believe they will. When he pronounced the word honour, the king looked diſdainfully at him, and then turned about, repeating once or twice, your honour: intimating, that what he affirmed upon his honour was not to be regarded, ſince that was forfeited before by his ſiding with Tyrconnel; and this was all the rebuke the king gave him for his breach of truſt.

In the mean time, count Schomberg, who was now informed of his father's death, purſued the enemy with that zeal and ſpirit, which a noble and juſt reſentment inſpires, and drove them ſeveral miles beyond the village of Duleck, covering the ground with the ſlaughtered enemies. Nor did he deſiſt, till the earl of Portland, by the king's expreſs command, obliged him to return to the place where the foot made an halt, and where they remained under their arms all night.

The king had reaſon not to regard what Hamilton told him; for, that general was no ſooner taken, but the fight ceaſed on the ſide of the Iriſh; and count Lauzun making up to king James, (who, during the whole action, ſtood with ſome ſquadrons of horſe upon the hill called Dunmore,) repreſented to him how near he was being ſurrounded; adding, that he ought to think of nothing but a retreat, which he doubted not to make good with many brave officers then about him, and the remains of his French and Swiſs troops. This advice king James was very inclinable to take; and therefore being attended by the regiment of Sarsfield, marched off to Duleck, and from thence in great haſte to Dublin; whilſt count Lauzun, Sheldon, and ſome other officers, diſpoſed all things for a retreat, which they performed in very good order.

King James's whole loſs in this battle was generally computed at fifteen hundred men, amongſt whom were the lord Dongan, the lord Carlingford, Sir Neile O Neile, the marquis D'Hocquincourt; and ſeveral priſoners, the chief of whom was lieutenant-general Hamilton, who, to do him juſtice,

1690. juſtice, behaved with great courage, and kept the victory doubtful till he was taken priſoner. On the ſide of the Engliſh, fell about five hundred; an inconſiderable loſs for the gain of ſo important a battle, had not the renowned duke Schomberg been one of the number.

An account of duke Schomberg. Burnet. Boyer. Birch.

This great man was deſcended of a noble family in the palatinate, and ſon of count Schomberg by his firſt wife, an Engliſh lady, daughter of lord Dudley (which count was killed at the battle of Prague in Bohemia in 1620, with ſeveral of his ſons.) The duke was born about the year 1608, and had for his godfather the unfortunate Frederic, elector palatine, who was afterwards king of Bohemia, and deprived of all his dominions. Forced by the calamities of his country, the duke retired to Holland, where he ſerved firſt in the army of the United Provinces, under Frederic Henry, prince of Orange, and afterwards became the particular confident of his ſon William II. after whoſe death in 1650 he retired into France, where he gained ſo high a reputation, that, next to the prince of Condé and Turenne, he was eſteemed the beſt general in that kingdom, though, on account of his firm adherence to the proteſtant religion, he was not for a conſiderable time raiſed to the dignity of marſhal. In November 1659 he offered his ſervice to king Charles II. for his reſtoration to the throne of England; and the year following, the court of France being greatly ſollicitous for the intereſts of Portugal againſt the Spaniards, he was ſent to Liſbon, and in his way thither paſſed through England, in order to concert meaſures with king Charles II. for the ſupport of Portugal. He adviſed king Charles to ſet up for the head of the proteſtant religion, which, he ſaid, would keep the princes of Germany in great dependance, and make him umpire of their affairs, and alſo, by gaining him great credit with the hugonots, keep France in continual fear of him. He adviſed him likewiſe to employ the military men, that had ſerved under Cromwell, whom he thought the beſt officers he had ever ſeen. But above all, he adviſed him to keep Dunkirk, which would be a check both upon France and Spain. But in all theſe things his advice was rejected. When he came to Portugal he did ſuch eminent ſervices there that he was created a grandee of that kingdom, and count of Mertola with a penſion of five thouſand pounds ſterling to himſelf and his heirs. In 1673 he came over again into England, to command the army; but the French intereſt being then very odious to the Engliſh, though he would at any other time have been very acceptable to them, he was at that

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triſis conſieered as one ſent from France to bring our army under a French diſcipline, and ſo grow obnoxious to the nation, and at the ſame time not much loved by the court, as being found unfit for their purpoſes, for which reaſon he ſoon returned to France. In 1676 he was left by the king of France, upon his return to Paris, with the command of his army in Flanders, and ſoon after obliged king William then prince of Orange to raiſe the ſiege of Maeſtricht, and was made a marſhal of France. But when the perſecution againſt thoſe of the reformed religion was begun in that kingdom, he deſired leave to return into his own country; which was denied him, and all the favour he could obtain was to go to Portugal. And though he had preſerved that nation from falling under the yoke of Caſtile, yet now when he came thither for refuge, the inquiſition repreſented the giving harbour to an heretic ſo odiouſly to the king, that he was forced to ſend the marſhal away. He went from thence to England, and paſſed through Holland, entered into a particular confidence with the prince of Orange; and being invited by the elector of Brandenburgh to Berlin, was made governor of Pruſſia, and ſet at the head of all the elector's armies. He was treated likewiſe by the young elector with the ſame regard, that his father had ſhewn him, and in 1688, was ſent by him to Cleves, to command the troops, which were raiſed by the empire for the defence of Cologn. When the prince of Orange was almoſt ready for his expedition into England, the marſhal obtained leave of the elector of Brandenburgh to accompany the prince in that attempt: upon whoſe advancement to the throne of England he was made a duke. He was a man of great calmneſs, application, and conduct, and thought much better than he ſpoke; of true judgment, exact probity, and of an humble and obliging temper. He had a thorough experience of the world; knew men and things better than any man of his profeſſion ever did; and was as great in council as at the head of an army. In his declining years his memory very much failed, but his judgment remained true and clear to the laſt. He appeared courteous and affable to every perſon, and yet had an air of grandeur, that commanded reſpect from all. He was eighty-two years of age, when he was killed. And as monſieur Caillamotte had followed him in all his fortunes while alive, ſo did he in his death, for he did not long ſurvive his wounds. 1698.

As for the king himſelf, he received no manner of hurt in the action, though he was in all the height of it; only a cannon-

1690. a cannon-ball carried away a piece of his boot. His majeſty did all that the greateſt of generals could do upon the occaſion. He choſe the field, diſpoſed the attacks, drew up his army, charged the enemy ſeveral times, ſupported his forces when they began to ſhrink, and behaved throughout with that conduct, courage, reſolution, and preſence of mind, and was ſuch a poize for the inclining victory to his own ſide, that the Iriſh themſelves declared, "that if the Engliſh would change kings with them, they would fight the "battle over again." However, both kings have been equally blamed for not improving, the one the advantage of his victory, and the other that of his retreat. Thoſe, who have written in favour of king James, ſay that king William might have marched directly to Dublin, a place open and unfortified on every ſide; and prevented the Iriſh from aſſembling any more, and ſecuring Limerick, Galway, and ſeveral other important places. And ſuch as are partiſans of king William, cenſure both king James for leaving Ireland with ſo much precipitation, and thoſe he left behind, for not having collected the remains of a defeat, that had coſt them but few men.

King James retreats to Dublin. Boyer. Kennet. His ſpeech.

King James being arrived at Dublin, and having immediately aſſembled the magiſtrates and council of the city, told them, "That his army in England having made a total "defection againſt him, when he had the greateſt occaſion "for them, he retired into France, where he was kindly re"ceived by that king, and had all the aſſurance imaginable "of being re-eſtabliſhed on his throne. That ſometime af"ter he came to this kingdom of Ireland, and found all his "Roman catholic ſubjects as well equipt and prepared to "defend his cauſe, as their ability would bear. And though "he had been often told, that when it came to the touch, "they would never bear the brunt of a battle, he could ne"ver credit the ſame till that day, when having a good ar"my, and all preparations fit to engage a foreign invader, "he found the fatal truth of what he had been ſo often pre"cautioned about; and though the army did not deſert him, "as they did in England, yet when it came to the trial, "they baſely fled the field, and left it a ſpoil to his ene"mies; nor could they be prevailed upon to rally, though "the loſs in the whole defeat was but inconſiderable, ſo that "henceforward he determined, never more to head an Iriſh "army, and now reſolved to ſhift for himſelf, as they them"ſelves muſt do. That it had been often debated, in caſe "ſuch a revolution ſhould happen, whether upon deſerting

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" the city of Dublin, the ſame might not be fired? he did 1690.
" therefore charge them on their allegiance, that they ſhould
" neither riſle it by plunder, nor deſtroy it by fire; which
" in all kingdoms would be judged very barbarous, and muſt
" be believed to be done by his orders; and if done, there
" would be but little mercy to be expected from an enraged
" enemy." He concluded, " that he was neceſſitated to
" yield to force, but would never ceaſe to labour their deli-
" verance as long as he lived."

Having ſtaid at Dublin one night, the next morning, attended by the duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis, he poſted away to Waterford, where he arrived the ſame day, taking care to have the bridges broken down behind him, for fear of being purſued. There he went on board a veſſel, called the Count de Lauzun, that was ready to receive him; but the ſieur de Foran, who commanded the ſquadron, meeting him at ſea, deſired him to go on board one of his frigates for his quicker paſſage; and by this means he got over once more into France, and fix'd his reſidence at St. Germains. Embarks for France.

As ſoon as king James was gone, all the conſiderable papiſts fled from Dublin, and the proteſtants were releaſed, who poſſeſſed themſelves of the militia arms; and with the aſſiſtance of the biſhops of Meath and Limerick, formed a committee to take care of things, and ſent letters to king William, to give him an account of what had paſſed, and to pray him to honour that city with his preſence. The king invited to Dublin.

In the mean time the queen ſuſtained the weight of affairs in England with great prudence. This was a new ſcene to her. She had for above ſixteen months before, made ſo little figure in buſineſs that thoſe, who thought that every woman of ſenſe loved to be meddling, concluded, ſhe had but a ſmall proportion of it, becauſe ſhe lived ſo abſtracted from all affairs. Her behaviour was indeed very exemplary; ſhe was exactly regular both in her private and public devotions. She was much in her cloſet, and read a great deal; ſhe was often buſy at work, and ſeemed to employ her time and thoughts in any thing rather than matters of ſtate. Her converſation was lively and obliging; every thing in her was eaſy and natural. She was ſingular in great charities to the poor, of whom, as there are always great numbers about courts, ſo the crowds of perſons of quality, that had fled over from Ireland, drew from her liberal ſupplies. But all this was nothing to the public: If the king talked with her of affairs, it was in ſo private a way, that few ſeemed to believe it. The queen's adminiſtration of affairs in the king's abſence.

1690. it. The king had indeed, upon many occaſions, ſaid to the earl of Shrewſbury, that though he could not hit on the right way of pleaſing England, he was confident the queen would; and that the nation would be happy under her. He named a cabinet-council of nine perſons, on whoſe advice her majeſty was chiefly to rely (r). Of theſe, the lord preſident and the earl of Nottingham, had the chief ſway in the management of affairs, which made the whigs not ſatisfied with the nomination. But the queen balanced all things with an extraordinary temper, and became univerſally beloved and admired by all about her. She had a vaſt weight of cares upon her; the danger of her royal conſort in Ireland; the imminent appearance of an invaſion from France; and at home a divided people, ſome profeſſedly owing an allegiance to king James, and even others, who had taken the oaths waiting for an opportunity to renounce them. Under all theſe apprehenſions ſhe betrayed no fear, and loſt no time. As ſoon as ſhe heard the king was ſafely landed in Ireland, ſhe began to exerciſe the power veſted in her by parliament, in two ſeaſonable proclamations, one "commanding all "papiſts and reputed papiſts forthwith to depart the cities June 17. "of London and Weſtminſter, and from within ten miles "of the ſame;" the other "for the confinement of popiſh "recuſants within five miles of their reſpective dwellings." And there was great need of the utmoſt vigilance and care to prevent the ruin of the nation; for king James's adherents, who by this time began to be extinguiſhed by the name of jacobites, being furniſhed by the king's abſence with a promiſing opportunity to attempt the reſtoring of their abdicated monarch, were concerting meaſures with France to put their deſigns in execution. It was agreed, that while part of the French fleet ſhould bear up the Thames, to countenance the jacobites in London, who were grown very bold and numerous by the flocking thither of a great number of that party, from all parts of the country, they ſhould make an inſurrection, and ſeize the queen and her chief miniſters. Which done, certain perſons were to have taken upon them the adminiſtration of affairs till the return of king James, who was to leave the command of his army to his generals,

Meaſures taken with France and the jacobites.

(r) Theſe were the lord preſident, the lord ſteward, the lord chamberlain, the earls of Pembroke, Nottingham, Monmouth, and Marlborough, Sir John Lowther vice-chamberlain, and firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and Mr. Edward Ruſſel. MS. letter of Mr. Waire to Sir W. Colt, June 6, 1690.

and

and haſten with all ſpeed to England. The other part of the French fleet, having joined their gallies, was to have landed eight thouſand men at Torbay with arms for a greater number; after which the gallies and men of war were to ſail in the Iriſh ſeas, to hinder the return of the king and his forces; and the diſcontented Scots were to have revolted at the ſame time, in ſeveral parts of that kingdom. 1690.

The French fleet entered the channel, as before concerted; at a time when the Engliſh were ill prepared to receive them, occaſioned chiefly by an unhappy complement paid to the king of Spain, who having married Marianna of Newburgh, (ſiſter to the empreſs and the queen of Portugal) deſired of king William a convoy to conduct her from Holland to the Groyne. Accordingly admiral Ruſſel was ordered to attend her with a ſquadron, which was partly to conſiſt of ſome ſhips belonging to a fleet that was going to the mediterranean, under Killigrew, to watch the motions of the French at Toulon. The admiral was ſo delayed in this voyage by contrary winds, that though he ſailed to Zealand, the 24th of November 1689, he did not return from the Groyne to England, till the latter end of April, when the ſquadron put into Plymouth to refit, and he himſelf went on to Spithead. By this means, not only the deſign of blocking up Toulon was loſt, (for the French were ſailed before the Engliſh arrived there) but the ſquadron at Plymouth joined by that which came from the Iriſh ſeas, (in all thirty ſhips of the line) were prevented from coming to the main fleet at Spithead, by the French entering the channel, while they lay thus divided. It is alſo ſaid, the earl of Torrington, (who had the chief command) did not make the haſte that was neceſſary to join the fleets, which, perhaps, was owing to his not believing the French were in ſuch forwardneſs. For ſo little did he expect them, that he had ordered no ſcouts to the weſtward, to obſerve their motion; and they came with ſo fair a wind, they were near the iſle of Wight, before he had notice of their being in the channel, and in all probability would have ſurpriſed him, had not the wind turned upon them. Another reaſon of the fleet's lying ſo long at Spithead, was, the Dutch ſquadron not coming ſo ſoon as was promiſed. Admiral Torrington was with the fleet at St. Helen's when he received advice from Weymouth, that the French were entered the channel, whereupon it was debated what was fitteſt to be done. The admiral as he could not be joined by the Plymouth ſquadron, thought he was not ſtrong enough, and adviſed going in till ſome ſhips, he

The French fleet enters the channel. Burnet. Burchet.

April 30. 1690.

1690. he expected from the east were come up. But positive orders being sent to him from the queen to fight, notwithstanding the enemy's superiority of above seventy sail to fifty, the two fleets came to an engagement near Beachy in Sussex.

The admiral is ordered to engage them.

On the 30th of June, the day after the battle of the Boyne, at eight in the morning the signal was made for battle; when the French bracing their head sails to the mast, lay by; and about an hour after the Dutch squadron, which led the van, began to engage part of the van of the enemy; half an hour after which our blue squadron encountered their rear; but the greatest part of the red, which were in the center, could not engage till near ten; and as they were then at a considerable distance from the enemy, so was there a great opening between them and the Dutch. It was observed, that as the English bore down on the French, they lashed away, though probably that might be only to close their line; and afterwards several of their ships towed round with their boats, until they were out of shot, so that it was hoped the advantage would have fallen on our side. But it was not long before it appeared, that the Dutch had suffered very much; and chiefly by their being, for want of a necessary precaution, weathered and surrounded by those French ships, which they left ahead of them, when they began to engage. No sooner did the admiral perceive their condition, than he sent them orders to come to an anchor; and with his own ship, and several others, driving between them and the enemy, anchored about five in the afternoon, at which time it was calm; but judging it not safe to renew the fight at so great a disadvantage, he weighed at nine at night, and retired eastward with the tide of flood. On the 1st of July in the afternoon he called a council of war, in which it was resolved to endeavour to preserve the fleet by retreating, and rather to destroy the disabled ships, if they should be pressed by the enemy, than hazard another engagement by protecting them.

An account of the engagement, Burnet.

The French very indiscretely pursued in a formal line of battle, whereas, had they left every ship at liberty to do her utmost, the English would undoubtedly have been more roughly treated, especially the ships, which were disabled in the fight. But each shifting for herself, as it is natural to do in such cases, and caution being had in anchoring most advantageously with regard to tides, which the French took little or no notice of, the English got ground considerably of them. However, they pursued as far as Rye-Bay; and one of the English ships called the Anne, of seventy guns,

was

was run aſhore near Winchelſea, having loſt all her maſts, where two French ſhips attempting to burn her, the captain ſaved them that labour by ſetting fire to her himſelf. The body of the French fleet ſtood in and out near Bourne and Peinſey in Suſſex, while about fourteen more lay at anchor, near the ſhore, ſome of which attempted to deſtroy a Dutch ſhip of ſixty-four guns, that lay dry at low water in Peinſey-Bay; but her commander ſo well defended her every high water, when they made their attacks, that they at laſt thought it convenient to deſiſt; ſo that this ſhip was got off, and ſafely carried to Holland. But it fared not ſo well with three others of that nation, which were aſhore on that coaſt; for their officers and men not being able to defend them, they ſet them on fire; ſo that with the three ſhips deſtroyed by the French in the action, the States-General loſt ſix of the line of battle. 1690.

On the 8th of July the French fleet ſtood towards their own coaſt, but were ſeen the 27th following near the Berry-Head, a little to the eaſtwards of Dartmouth, and then the wind taking them ſhort, they put into Torbay. There they lay not long, for they were diſcovered the 29th near Plymouth, at which place very good preparations were made by platforms and other works, to give them a warm reception. The 5th of Auguſt they appeared again near the Ram-head, in number between ſixty and ſeventy, when ſtanding weſtward, they were no more ſeen in the channel this year (s).

The

(s) This is Mr. Burchet's repreſentation of the affair, but other accounts ſpeak of it in a leſs favourable manner. Some original letters to Sir William Colt, then envoy extraordinary from king William at the court of Hanover; reflect on it as follows:

Lord Paget, envoy extraordinary to the emperor, from Vienna, Aug. 10. 1690. N. S.

"I hope the late good news "of the king's ſucceſs in Ire- "land has made amends for the "misfortune of our fleet. It is "hard at this diſtance to gueſs "where the fault lay; but if "we may believe the ſecretary "of State, my lord Torrington "muſt be very criminal, ſince "his printed letter to my lord "Durſley (which I ſuppoſe is "come to your hands,) has "publiſhed him as ſuch almoſt "all the world over."

From Mr. R. Moleſworth, envoy extraordinary to the king of Denmark, from Copenhagen, July 12, 1690. O. S.

"I am ſatisfied the Dutch "have been moſt ſoundly beat- "en, and the French have got- "ten an intire though bloody "victory

1690. The news of this advantage gained by the French at ſea had no ſooner reached London, but the fears of a deſcent created a general conſternation, which immediately ſpread itſelf through the whole kingdom. The queen was not ignorant

The French maſters at ſea.

" victory, let us put what diſ-
" guiſes on the matter we
" pleaſe."

From the ſame, July 22, 1690.

" My trouble at our unfortu-
" nate ſea-fight was ſo great,
" and my confuſion to that de-
" gree, that I had not the cou-
" rage either to go to court, or
" to ſet pen to paper. And I
" think, if the news of the
" king's conqueſt of Ireland had
" not raiſed my ſpirits, I ſhould
" have continued a drooping re-
" cluſe for many weeks. I hope
" the Engliſhmen in our coun-
" try will be touched with as
" much ſhame for their miſcar-
" riage, as thoſe here, who
" durſt not ſhow their faces; and
" then they will endeavour to
" repair this great loſs of ho-
" nour and reputation; which
" God grant may be ſoon. But
" this I can tell you, if ſome
" people's heads do not fly now,
" no foreign prince or ſtate will
" believe there is a king or
" queen in England, no more
" than our ſubjects do, as it
" ſeems."

From Sir Paul Rycaut, envoy extraordinary at Hamburgh, July 16, 1690.

" I cannot but condole with
" you the unfortunate ſucceſs of
" the late ſea-fight againſt the
" French, which turned not
" much to our damage, unleſs
" ſo far as concerns the honour
" of the nation, but greatly to
" the detriment and ruin of
" our allies, who were beaten
" to pieces, whilſt we ſtood
" ſpectators of their deſtruction.
" What loſs they ſuſtained you
" will beſt ſee in the letter,
" which admiral Evertſon writes
" to the ſtates, and what was the
" cauſe, that our fleet in gene-
" ral did not fight was (as this
" admiral writes) upon exami-
" nation by the earls Pembroke
" and Devonſhire, who were go-
" ing from ſhip to ſhip to make
" enquiry into this matter, to
" diſcover where the treachery
" lay; for nothing but that
" could keep our fleet from en-
" gaging; and where to charge
" that, a letter written from
" my lord Nottingham to my
" lord Durſley, tranſlated with
" the conſent of my lord Durſley
" into Dutch, and inſerted into
" the courant for the better qui-
" eting and ſatisfaction of the
" people, doth plainly declare,
" and on whom the treachery is
" to be charged. All I have to
" comfort myſelf and all others
" in this matter, is, that Mr.
" Warre writes me under the
" 4th inſtant, that we ſhould
" ſpeedily have a better fleet at
" ſea than before. And Dr. Ag-
" lionby writes me on the $\frac{2}{12}$ in-
" ſtant from the Hague, that by
" this letter to my lord Durſley,
" and the aſſurances, that Mr.
" Harboard was coming over
" from the queen to the ſtates,
" that the minds of the people
" were much ſettled; and that
" the government loſes no cou-
" rage, for that the ſtates of

Holland

norant of the danger, but did all that was poſſible to conceal her own apprehenſion, and to inſpire her ſubjects with reſolution. The lord mayor and aldermen, and lieutenancy of the city of London were not wanting in this critical juncture to expreſs their zeal and affection for the government. For attending her majeſty in council, they declared 1690. Addreſs from the city of London.

" Holland on the 19th inſtant, " and ſo did the ſtates general " on the 21ſt reſolve, that a " new ſquadron with all expe- " dition be put to ſea; until " which was done, all commerce " was to be ſuſpended. The " ſtates of Holland unanimouſ- " ly, and without ſo much as " conſulting their principals " came to this reſolution. God " grant that we may correſpond " in like manner with them in " England, God grant alſo that " there may be no treachery in " Ireland, from whence we ex- " pect to receive great and good " news by the next poſt."

From the ſame, July 19th, 1690.

" Now I am to congratulate " and rejoice with you for the " ſeaſonable victory obtained in " Ireland; which I hope will " ſet all things right; and when " our fleet is again repaired, " and recruited, and ſet out once " more to ſea, we ſhall then " aſſert again the ſovereignty " and dominions of the ſeas, " which might have been done " by the laſt battle, had not " treachery defeated us."

Biſhop Burnet's account is as follows.

—" On the day before the " battle of the Boyne, the two " fleets came to a great engage- " ment at ſea. The ſquadron " that lay at Plymouth, could " not come up to join the great " fleet, the wind being contra- " ry. So it was under debate, " what was fitteſt to be done. " The earl of Torrington " thought he was not ſtrong e- " nough, and adviſed his com- " ing in till ſome more ſhips, " that were fitting out, ſhould be " ready. Some began to call his " courage in queſtion, and im- " puted this to fear. They " thought this would too much " exalt our enemies, and diſcou- " rage our allies, if we left the " French to triumph at ſea, and " to be maſters of our coaſt and " trade; for our merchants " richeſt ſhips were coming " home; ſo that the leaving " them in ſuch a ſuperiority " would be both very unbecom- " ing and very miſchievous to " us. The queen ordered Ruſ- " ſel to adviſe both with the na- " vy-board, and with all that " underſtood ſea-affairs; and up- " on a view of the ſtrength of " both fleets, they were of o- " pinion, that though the French " were ſuperior in number, yet " our fleet was ſo equal in " ſtrength to them, that it was " reaſonable to ſend orders to " our admiral to venture on an " engagement. Yet the orders " were not ſo poſitive, but that " a great deal was left to a coun- " cil of war. The two fleets " engaged near Beachy in Suſ- " ſex. The Dutch led the van; " and to ſhew their courage, " they advanced too far out of " the line, and fought in the " beginning with ſome advan- " tage,

1609. declared the unanimous reſolution of the city to defend and preſerve their majeſties and their government with the hazard of their lives, and to the utmoſt of their power: repreſenting to the queen and council, that the ſeveral regiments of the malitia of the city conſiſting of about nine thouſand men,

" tage, the French plying before them. And our blue " ſquadron engaged bravely; " but the earl of Torrington kept " in his line and continued to " fight at a diſtance. The " French ſeeing the Dutch come " out ſo far before the line, fell " on them furiouſly both in front " and flank, which the earl of " Torrington neglected for ſome " time; and when he endeavoured to come a little nearer, " the calm was ſuch, that he " could not come up. The " Dutch ſuffered much, and " their whole fleet had periſhed, " if their admiral Calembourg " had not ordered them to drop " their anchors, while their ſails " were all up. This was not " obſerved by the French; ſo " they were carried by the tide, " while the others lay ſtill; and " thus in a few minutes the " Dutch were out of danger. " They loſt many men, and " ſunk ſome of their ſhips " which had ſuffered the moſt, " that they might not fall into " the enemies hands. It was " now neceſſary to order the " fleet to come in with all poſ- " ſible haſte. Both the Dutch and " the blue ſquadron complained " much of the earl of Torring- " ton; and it was a general o- " pinion, that if the whole fleet " had come up to a cloſe fight, " we muſt have beat the French; " and conſidering how far they " were from Breſt and that our " ſquadron at Plymouth lay be- " tween them and home, a vic- " tory might have had great con- " ſequences. Our fleet was now " in a bad condition, and broken " into factions; and if the " French had not loſt the night's " tide, but had followed us cloſe, " they might have deſtroyed " many of our ſhips. Both the " admirals were almoſt equally " blamed; ours for not fight- " ing, and the French for not " purſuing his victory."

Mr. Boyer tells us, that the Dutch having the van-guard, began the fight, as alſo did ſome of the Engliſh; but not being ſeconded by the reſt of the Engliſh fleet, which unexpectedly ſtood away, ſeveral of the Dutch ſhips were either burnt, ſunk, or diſabled. And the Engliſh fared but little better, for ſuch as engaged were very much battered. The fight continued from morning to evening, the Dutch maintaining their ſtations with ſo much reſolution and obſtinacy againſt the whole French fleet, which conſiſted of eighty-two men of war, that they had much ado to eſcape being all deſtroyed. In this unequal fight they loſt, among other officers, rear-admiral Jan Dick, rear-admiral Brackel, and captain Nordel; and the Engliſh captain Botam, captain Pomeroy, with two captains of the marine regiments.

A Dutch author of the hiſtory of king William aſſerts, that

the

men, were compleat in their numbers, well armed, and well appointed, and ready to be raiſed immediately, and to proceed in their majeſties ſervice. That the lieutenancy alſo had reſolved, that ſix regiments of auxiliaries ſhould be raiſed for the ſervice; and that the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council would, by the voluntary contribution of themſelves and other citizens, forthwith raiſe a large regiment of horſe, and one thouſand dragoons, and maintain them at their own charge in the ſervice for a month or longer, if there ſhould be occaſion. And they deſired her majeſty to nominate officers to command them. All which the queen moſt graciouſly accepted, and was pleaſed to thank them for their readineſs, loyalty, and zeal on this occaſion; and to the laſt part anſwered, that 'ſhe would conſider of it, and 1690.

in this action the French gained the victory, the Dutch the honour, and the Engliſh the ſhame; and adds, that the court martial was far from being unanimous in their opinions about the earl of Torrington, ſome thinking him guilty of treachery, and others of cowardice only; though they all at length agreed to acquit him; and that the king was extremely diſſatisfied with their ſentence, and for that reaſon diſcarded ſome of the numbers of that court from the ſervice, together with two and forty officers of the navy, who were ſuſpected to have been influenced by the earl.

But the French writers give a different account of this action. Monſieur Fourbin in his memoirs allows, the Engliſh and Dutch fleets to have been but eight and fifty ſhips of the line of battle; whereas the French had eighty; and obſerves that though the Engliſh did not ſeem to have had ſo great a ſhare in the action as the Dutch, it may be ſaid, that for above three hours, the two fleets ſhewed a great deal of valour, and performed exploits worthy to be recorded in hiſtory. Father Daniel affirms, that ſeventeen of the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, which were unmaſted, were run aſhore upon the coaſt and burnt; and adds, that, to leave no doubt of the greatneſs of the victory gained by the French, monſieur de Tourville, the admiral of the French fleet, returning to ſea ſent a detachment of ſhips and gallies, with about fifteen hundred men on board, under the command of the count d'Eſtrees, to make a deſcent upon England, and to burn twelve ſhips in Tinmouth Bay. "Theſe troops, continues he, being landed, forced an intrenchment defended by three pieces of cannon, plundered ſeveral houſes, and burnt the veſſels in the bay, four of which were men of war, and the reſt merchantmen richly laden. This done, the troops were reimbarked without the loſs of a man, and they carried off the three pieces of cannon with other booty." But theſe four men of war, and eight merchant-men richly laden, are ſaid by our writers to be only three ſmall veſſels.

1690. "appoint officers to command according to their desire." About the same time, to suppress the fears of a revolt in the west, an address was presented to the queen by Shadrach Vincent, esq; from above ten thousand tinners of Cornwall, giving all assurances of fidelity and obedience, "and faithfully "promising (notwithstanding the artifice and ill designs of "disaffected men to withdraw them from their loyalty) an "unalterable allegiance to their majesties, owning and ac-"knowledging their majesties alone to be their lawful and "rightful king and queen, and disclaiming all allegiance to "the late king James, or to the pretended prince of Wales "after him." Within a few days after, the deputy lieutenants and officers of the malitia for Middlesex and Westminster, made a solemn address and declaration, "That "they perceived there were many mischievous and dange-"rous practices, consultations, and contrivances of papists, "and many others disaffected to their majesties and their "government; and that it was most notorious, that the "French king, by confederacy with the late king and his "adherents, had made a bold invasion of their majesties "dominion of the narrow seas, designing to destroy their "royal fleet, and in consequence to bring the protestants of "this kingdom under his tyranny and cruel yoke of bond-"age. And therefore they hold themselves bound in duty "to declare upon this occasion their deep sense, hatred, and "abhorrence of the vile ingratitude of those papists, and "professed protestants, who notwithstanding their majesties "pardoning and protecting them, had by conspiracies with "the late king's adherents, or by their murmurings against "their majesties and the present government, or by the re-"fusal of the oaths of fidelity and obedience to their ma-"jesties, assisted or abetted the late king in his clams and "pretences of any right and title to the government of "these realms, &c."

From the tinners of Cornwall.

From Middlesex.

Under these encouragements the queen forgot nothing that the most active prudence could suggest, as fit to be done in such a juncture, without hurry or a too visible concern. She published a proclamation, requiring all seamen and mariners to render themselves to their majesties, with suitable rewards for coming in, and penalties for absenting. She gave out commissions to put the standing forces in a condition to oppose the enemy; and she ordered the malitia in the western parts to be in readiness of defending the coasts, and assisting the army. And to strike a terror into the conspiracies with France, she published a proclamation for apprehending

Measures taken by the queen.

July 5.

hending Edward Henry earl of Lichfield, Thomas earl of Aylesbury, William lord Montgomery, Roger earl of Castlemain, Richard viscount Preston, Henry lord Bellasis, Sir Edward Hales, Sir Robert Thorold, Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Theophilus Oglethorp, colonel Edward Sackvile, lieutenant colonel William Richardson; major Thomas Soaper, captain David Lloyd, William Penn, Edmund Elliot, Marmaduke Langdale, and Edward Rutter; being persons, who had conspired with divers other disaffected persons, to disturb and destroy the government, and for that purpose had abetted and adhered to their majesties enemies in the present invasion. 1690.

Nor was the queen's care of affairs confined within her own dominions; for while she put herself in a posture of defence at home, she dispatched Mr. Harbord to the states-general, to let them know how much her majesty was concerned at the misfortune, which had befallen their squadron in the late engagement, and at their not having been seconded as they ought to have been, which matter she had directed to be examined into, in order to recompense those, who had done their duty, and to punish such as should be found to have deserved it: that her majesty had given orders for refitting the Dutch ships, that were disabled, at her own charge; and commanded that all possible care should be taken of the sick and wounded seamen; and that rewards should be given to the widows of those, who were killed, behaving themselves bravely in the fight, to encourage others to do well for the future. Mr. Harbord likewise told the states, that the queen had ordered twelve great ships to be immediately fitted out; and hoped the states would also do their utmost to reinforce their fleet in the conjuncture. And, lastly, he acquainted them with the king's happy success in Ireland. The states received this message with great satisfaction, and unanimously resolved to fit out immediately thirteen capital ships and six frigates. Harbord sent to the states. Ibid.

During these transactions, the fleet was refitting with all possible diligence. The earl of Torrington was sent to the Tower; and three of the best sea-officers, Sir Richard Haddock, Henry Killigrew, and Sir John Ashby were appointed joint admirals to command the fleet. But it was a month before they could be ready. And in all that time the French were masters of the sea, and our coasts open to them. If they had followed the first consternation, and had fallen to the burning the sea-towns, they might have done much mischief, and put affairs in great disorder, for there were not The earl of Torrington sent to the Tower. Burnet.

1690. then in England above ſeven thouſand men. The militia was raiſed; and though the harveſt drew on, ſo that it was not convenient for people to be long abſent from their labour, yet the nation expreſſed more zeal and affection to the government than was expected; and the jacobites, all England over kept out of the way, for fear of being inſulted by the rabble. There were no great loſſes at ſea, for moſt of the merchant-men came ſafe to Plymouth. The French ſtood over for ſome time to their own coaſt; and there were many falſe alarms of their ſhipping troops in order to a deſcent. But the French had ſuffered ſo much in the Netherlands, in the battle of Fleurus, that they were forced, for all their victory, to lie upon the defenſive, and were not able to ſpare ſo many men as were neceſſary for an invaſion. It was thought ſtrange that the French ſhould hover ſo long and ſo quietly on the coaſt of England without making any farther attempts; but it appeared afterwards, that they were ſtill in expectation of the effects of the conſpiracy which was to have broke out the 18th of June. But the jacobites excuſed their failing in that, becauſe their leaders were generally ſeized, and they began to boaſt all over England, that it was viſible the French meant no harm to the nation, but only to bring back king James, ſince now, though the coaſts lay open to them, they did the country no hurt. This might have made ſome impreſſion, if the French had not effectually refuted it. For they made a deſcent on a poor village called Tinmouth, which happened to belong to a papiſt, and burnt it with a few fiſher boats, but the inhabitants got away, and as a body of militia was marching thither, the French made great haſte to their ſhips. The French publiſhed this in their Gazettes with much pomp, as if it had been a great trading-town, that had many ſhips, with ſome men of war in port. This both rendered them ridiculous, and ſerved to raiſe the hatred of the nation againſt them, for every town on the coaſt ſaw what they muſt expect if the French prevailed (t).

The

(t) About this time a remarkable pamphlet was publiſhed, under the title of "A modeſt inquiry into the cauſes of the preſent diſaſters in England, and who they are that brought the French fleet into the channel, deſcribed." The author charges the diſaffected clergy (whom he calls the Lambeth holy club), with being the principal managers of the jacobites plot for bringing the French into the channel. He alledges, "that the firſt ſtep the clergy made, was the writing againſt the taking

The earl of Torrington continued priſoner in the Tower till the next ſeſſion, when he was brought to his trial. Several perſons of quality, as the duke of Devonſhire and the earl of Pembroke had been ſent to Sheerneſs, to examine into the whole affair upon oath, in order to diſcover where the 1690. The earl of Torrington tried and acquitted.

" ing the new oaths to their ma-
" jeſties injoined them by act of
" parliament; and the buzzing
" into the ears of their votaries
" the unlawfulneſs of theſe oaths,
" and the continuing right of
" king James to the crown.
" That there being very few of
" the diſaffected clergy, that
" had the courage to lay down
" their places for the oaths, the
" next ſtep of the plot was to
" cheat the world and their own
" conſciences, with the ridicu-
" lous diſtinction of taking the
" oaths to a king de facto, and
" not de jure; which was as
" much as to ſay, that their ma-
" jeſties were not lawful and
" rightful king and queen of
" England, but de facto only,
" that is in Engliſh, downwright
" uſurpers. That this diſtinc-
" tion did not only give ſcope
" to take the oaths to their ma-
" jeſties, but alſo to pray for
" them by name in their pulpits;
" though ſome of more ſincerity
" than the reſt would not pray
" for them by name at all; and
" yet, to prevent any trouble
" from the law, they wiſely
" prayed in general terms for
" the king and queen which
" which might be taken either
" for king James and queen
" Mary, or king William and
" queen Mary; and others of a
" more nice ſtomach yet would
" not pray for the king and
" queen, but for the king and
" royal family. That the plot
" being lame, becauſe the ma-
" chines, that moved it were
" debared from the pulpit, it
" was found out, that the act
" of parliament injoining the
" oaths to their majeſties, ad-
" mitting of ſome favourable
" interpretation in law, upon
" the part of thoſe, that only
" preached, but had no cure of
" ſouls; thereupon Dr. S. one
" of the greateſt champions,
" mounted the chair firſt, with
" the loud acclamations of the
" party, and, as an introduc-
" tion to his ſermon, gave the
" auditors an account of the
" happy diſcovery he had made
" of ſo great a bleſſing, as his
" having liberty to preach to
" them, notwithſtanding the act
" of parliament about taking the
" oaths. That he was followed
" by a great many, both in Lon-
" don and in the country, who
" partly by ſtealth, and partly by
" the pious zeal of ſome of their
" own ſort of church-wardens,
" got up into the pulpit to trum-
" pet up the people to a diſſatis-
" faction with the government.
" That all theſe ſteps of the plot
" were backed with the hiſtory
" of paſſive obedience which was
" handed about in triumph a-
" mong the party. That in
" this pamphlet are muſtered a
" great many expreſſions of Eng-
" liſh divines both ancient and
" modern, although moſt of
" the citations be far wide of the
" queſtion, and refer only to
" obedience to magiſtracy in ge-
" neral, and the unlawfulneſs
" of

1690. the treachery lay. The earl was permitted to make a ſpeech in the houſe of commons in defence of himſelf, in which he inſiſted on theſe three things; that the preparations for the fleet were very late; that the fleet itſelf was much inferior to the French, and ill-manned; and that he laboured under

Burchet. Burnet MS letter by Warre.

" of private perſons riſing up " againſt the government upon " every frivolous pretence. That " the next engine of the plot " was the happy reſult of a kind " Oecumenic council of the " whole party: the liturgy of " the church of England muſt " be laid aſide, and a new one " muſt be calculated for the " meridian of king James's tot- " tering fortune. That in this " new liturgy they prayed thus; " reſtore us again the public " worſhip of thy name, the re- " verend adminiſtration of ſa- " craments; raiſe up the former " government both in church " and ſtate, that we may be no " longer without king, with- " out prieſt, and without God " in the world. That when " they came to pray for " king James, the jacobite club " had exhauſted their rhetoric " and zeal in the following " words; protect and defend " thy ſervant our ſovereign lord " the king; ſtrengthen his " hands, and the hands of " all that are put in authority " under him, with judgment " and juſtice, to cut off all ſuch " workers of iniquity, as turn " religion to rebellion, and faith " into faction; that they may " never prevail againſt us; or " triumph in the ruin of thy " church among us. To this " end, defend the king, bind " up his ſoul in the bundle of " life, and let no weapon form- " ed againſt him proſper. Be " unto him an helmet of ſalva- " tion, and a ſtrong tower of de- " fence againſt the face of his " enemies. Let his reign be " proſperous, and his days ma- " ny. Make him glad accord- " ing to the days, wherein thou " haſt made him ſuffer adverſi- " ty. Give him the necks of " his enemies, and alſo every " day more and more the hearts " of his ſubjects. As for thoſe " that are implacable, clothe them " with ſhame, but upon him- " ſelf and his poſterity (that is, " the prince of Wales) let the " crown flouriſh. That the ge- " neral council having compoſ- " ed this new liturgy, there " were above ten thouſand of " them printed and diſperſed " up and down among the par- " ty, which they uſed in their " cabals, laying aſide a great " part, and ſome times all the " old liturgy. That there were " many of the holy club de- " tached up and down to per- " ſuade monied people, who " wiſhed well to the cauſe, to " contribute for the ſubſiſtence " of king James's caſhiered of- " ficers. That king William " being reſolved to venture his " perſon once more for the ſafe- " ty of theſe kingdoms, his " journey to Ireland concluded " upon, and the moſt and bet- " ter diſciplined part of the ar- " my to attend his majeſty, it " was impoſſible to leave any " conſiderable force behind him " in his abſence; and that the " tranſpor-

der great want of intelligence. He excuſed his fighting, by alledging the orders, which he had received; and ſaid, that it was againſt his judgment, and the judgment of the council of war. He gave the houſe a draught of the line of battle, for explaining his arguments in juſtification of his conduct 1690.

" tranſportation of the queen " of Spain, and the convoy of " the Straits merchant-men un- " der admiral Killigrew, had " carried a conſiderable part of " our fleet to the Mediterranean; " and another part of it com- " manded by Sir Cloudeſley " Shovel, was to attend his ma- " jeſty and the army to Ireland; " ſo that the grand fleet was " not to have been ſo conſidera- " ble, as otherwiſe it would " have been. That all theſe " circumſtances raiſed the cou- " rage of the plotters, who " thought this the only time to " put their deſign in execution. " That in order to that, at one " of their general meetings in " London, where it was neceſ- " ſary that ſome of the clergy, " ſhould be preſent to bleſs ſo " ſo pious a work, it was con- " cluded to preſent a memorial " in the name of the loyal and " diſtreſſed ſubjects of England, " (for ſo they named themſelves) " to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, " humbly inviting him out of " his unparallelled goodneſs, " and for the affection he always " bore to oppreſt virtue, that he " would aſſiſt them in reſtoring " their lawful king, his antient " ally and confederate, to his " throne, and, in breaking the " yoke of uſurpation, under " which theſe three nations " were at this time ſo heavily " groaning. That there had " been two or three memorials " preſented to the French king " before this, beſides a conſtant " correſpondence betwixt the " French miniſter of ſtate, mon- " ſieur de Croiſſy and them. " And the clergy who were the " great contrivers and managers " of this, and who by their pro- " feſſion are, for the moſt part, " extraordinarily credulous of " any thing they incline to, did " really believe, that immediate- " ly upon the appearing of the " French fleet, and the burning " of ours, (which they thought " as ſure) there would certainly " be a general inſurrection " through a great many places " in the kingdom, in order to " join them at their landing, " and, to declare for king " James."

This pamphlet reflecting ſo highly on the nonjuring clergy, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of Norwich, Ely, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough, both in their own, and in the name of their abſent brother the biſhop of Glouceſter, publiſhed a paper, wherein they ſolemnly, and in the preſence of God, proteſted and declared, I. That theſe accuſations caſt " up- " on them were all of them ma- " licious calumnies and diaboli- " cal inventions. II. That they " knew not who was the author " of the new liturgy, nor had " any hand in it, neither did " they uſe it at any time. III. " That they never held any cor- " reſpondence, directly or indi- " rectly, with monſieur de Croiſſy

1690. conduct in the fight, and desired leave to deliver what he had to say in writing; which was granted. He reflected upon the counsellors, and in a manner named the earl of Nottingham as the person, who had suppressed some intelligence, or not sent it to him so timely as was necessary (u).

The

"or with any other minister "or agent of France; and if "any such memorial had been "presented to the French king, "they never knew any thing of "it; and that they did utterly "renounce both that and all o-"ther invitations suggested to "be made by them, in order to "any invasion of the kingdom "by the French. IV. That "they utterly denied and dis-"owned all plots charged upon "them, as contrived or carried "on in their meetings at Lam-"beth; the intent thereof be-"ing to advise how in their pre-"sent difficulties, they might "best keep their consciencies "void of offence towards God "and towards man. V. That "they were so far from be-"ing the authors and abettors "of England's miseries, that "they did, and should to their "dying hour, heartily and in-"cessantly pray for the peace, "prosperity, and glory of Eng-"land; and should always, by "God's grace, make it their "daily practice to study to be "quiet, to bear their cross pa-"tiently, and to seek the good "of their native country. They "concluded that as the lord "had taught them to return "good for evil, the unknown "author of the pamphlet hav-"ing endeavoured to raise in "the whole English nation such "a fury, as might end in de-"witting them, (a bloody word, "but too well understood) they "recommended him to the di-"vine mercy, humbly beseech-"ing God to forgive him. And as "they had not long since, either "actually or in full preparation "of mind, hazarded all they "had in the world, in oppos-"ing popery and arbitrary pow-"er in England; so they should, "by God's grace, with greater "zeal again, sacrifice all they "had, and their very lives too, "if God should be pleased to "call them thereto, to prevent "popery, and the arbitrary "power of France, from com-"ing upon them, and prevail-"ing over them, the persecuti-"on of their protestant bre-"thren there being fresh in their "memories." St. Tracts II. 95. Though the bishops thus strongly asserted their innocence and resolution of bearing their cross, patiently, yet before the year was at an end, a plot was discovered in which they were deeply engaged as will be seen presently.

(u) "But if, says Mr. Warre, "under-secretary to that earl, "he has no better arguments "for himself than this last, they "will not do much service; my "lord having not neglected one "moment to dispatch such "public business, as belonged "to him, since the time he "came into the office. And "of this I am confident; that "the greatest part of the mem-"bers of both houses are well

"satis-

The earl's affairs was long diſcuſſed in the houſe of lords. 1690.
The form of his commitment was judged to be illegal; and the martial law, to which, by inſtitute, all, who ſerved in the fleet were ſubject, being lodged in the lord high admiral, it was doubted, whether the admiralty being now in commiſſion, that power was lodged with the commiſſioners. The judges were of opinion, that it was; yet ſince the power of life and death was too ſacred a thing to paſs only by a conſtruction of law, it was thought the ſafeſt courſe to paſs an act, declaring, that the power of a lord high admiral did veſt in the commiſſioners. The ſecret enemies of the government, who intended to embroil matters, moved that the earl ſhould be impeached in parliament; proceedings in that way being always ſlow, and incidents being alſo apt to fall in, that might create diſputes between the two houſes, which ſometimes ended in a rupture. This the king was apprehenſive of, and though he was much inſenſed againſt the earl, and had reaſon to believe, that a council of war would treat him very favourably, yet he choſe rather to let it go ſo, than to diſorder his affairs. The commiſſioners of the admiralty named a court to try the earl, in which Sir Ralph Delaval preſided, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement. The earl is ſaid to be tried with ſo groſs a partiality, that it reflected much on the juſtice of the nation; ſo that if it had not been for the great intereſt, which the king had in the ſtates-general, it might have occaſioned a breach of the alliance between them and England. The earl eſcaped with his life and eſtate, but much loaded in his reputation, ſome charging him with want of courage, while others imputed his ill conduct to a haughty ſullenneſs of temper which made him, ſince orders were ſent him contrary to the advices he had given, to reſolve indeed to obey them, and fight, but in ſuch a manner, as ſhould caſt the blame on thoſe, who ſent him orders, and give them cauſe to repent it.

The king was greatly offended with his acquittal; whereof one mark immediately appeared in determining the earl's commiſſion; and it was expected, ſays Warre, "That his ma- MS. Warre
"jeſty would expreſs his reſentment againſt thoſe captains of December
"the council of war, who ſhewed their partiality by their 16.
"behaviour at his tryal." (w)

Nothing

"ſatisfied, that my lord has not "been at all remiſs in the diſ- "charge of his duty." MS. letter to Sir William Colt, envoy at Hanover, Nov. 14. 1690.

(w) Boyer ſays, that ſeveral French officers in 1697, who had been in the engagement, coming over into England after the peace, when they could not be

1690. Nothing put a greater check to the proceedings of the jacobites, than the news of the victory at the Boyne, which was obtained the day after the misfortune at ſea. There has been a notion ſpread among many people, that king William would not have hazarded a battle, but upon an expreſs received that morning of the defeat of the fleet which he kept ſecret till the action was over. But this is impoſſible to be reconciled to the circumſtances of the time and place. However this be, the news of the king's preſervation from the cannon-ball, and then of the victory gained the day after, was a great comfort under the agitations cauſed by the misfortunes at ſea. When the earl of Nottingham carried the news to the queen, and acquainted her in a few words that the king was well, and had gained an entire victory, and that the late king had eſcaped, he obſerved her looks, and found that the laſt article made her joy compleat, which ſeemed in ſome ſuſpence, till ſhe heard her father was ſafe. The queen and council, upon this ſent to the king, preſſing him to come over with all poſſible haſte, ſince, as England was of more importance, ſo the ſtate of affairs required his preſence here. But theſe letters were ſoon followed by others of a very different ſtrain, as will preſently appear.

Burnet.

be ſuſpected of any partial deſign, did loudly juſtify the earl's conduct, and ſaid, he deſerved rather to be recompenſed than cenſured, ſince he had preſerved the beſt part of the fleet from being totally deſtroyed. II. 193.

CHAP. IV.

Affairs of Ireland after the battle of the Boyne—A deſign to kill the king—Foreign affairs—Death of the duke of Lorrain—Parliament meets—Their proceedings—The king is going to Holland is in great danger—A great congreſs there—A plot diſcovered—Vacant ſees filled—Ireland entirely reduced—Affairs of Scotland—Campaigns abroad—Affairs of Italy—Of Hungary—The king returns and the parliament meets—Party againſt the government—Fuller's plot—Proceedings of the parliament—Seſſion concluded—Changes in Scotland—Diſgrace of the earl of Marlborough—The king goes to Holland—Plot to reſtore king James—French fleet defeated at the Hague—King James's letter to the king of France upon it.

1690.

UPON the defeat of the Iriſh at the Boyne, the king having reſted his forces, ſent, the next day after the battle, monſieur la Mellioniere, brigadier-general, with five battalions of foot, and four ſquadrons of horſe, to inveſt Droghe-da, where was a great magazine of ſtores. The governor at firſt ſeemed reſolute to defend the place, and received monſieur la Mellioniere's ſummons with great contempt; but the king ſending him word, "that if he was forced to "bring his cannon before the place, he muſt expect no "quarter;" the governor conſidering, that king James's army being defeated, he could expect no relief, accepted of the conditions offered him, and marched out with the garriſon, which conſiſted of three regiments and ſome odd companies, having their baggage only, but leaving all their arms and ſtores behind them.

The affairs of Ireland after the battle of the Boyne. Boyer. Ken. Drogheda taken.

On the third of July the duke of Ormond and monſieur Auverquerque here and elſewhere, were detached with nine troops of horſe to ſecure the quiet of Dublin. The next day the king, with the whole army marched the ſame way, and on the 5th encamped at Finglas, within two miles of that city, where he was informed, that king James was embarked at Waterford with the duke of Berwick, Mr. Fitz-James, the lord Powis, Tyrconnel, and the French brigadier, the marquis de Lery; that ſome French ſhips being arrived at Kingſale, many, who had fled from the battle were gone thither to embark for France: that the greateſt body of the Iriſh were marched towards Athlone: that within ſix and twenty miles of Dublin there was not an enemy in arms;

and

1690. and that there could not be any where above five thousand together, whereof the French might be supposed to make three thousand five hundred: that three hundred of the Swiss or Germans had deserted the enemy: that the town of Wexford had declared for his majesty; and that Sligo was abandoned by the Irish.

The king enters Dublin. Ibid. July 6. On Sunday July 6th king William rode in a triumphant manner into Dublin, and went directly to St Patrick's church, the cathedral of that metropolis, attended by the bishops of Meath and Limerick; and after the public services were solemnly performed, Dr. King, afterwards archbishop of Dublin, preached a sermon upon the power and wisdom of the providence of God in protecting his people, and defeating their enemies. The mayor and aldermen waited on his majesty, and the people endeavoured by all demonstrations of joy to express their just sense of their great and happy deliverance. In the afternoon the king returned to the camp, where the next day he published his royal declaration, "promising both his pardon and protection to all the people of "the kingdom of Ireland, who either remained at home, or "having fled from their dwellings, should by the first day "of August next repair to their usual places of abode, surrendering up what arms they had to such justices of the "peace, as his majesty should appoint. But as for the desperate leaders of the present rebellion, who had violated "those laws, by which the kingdom of Ireland is united and "inseparably annexed to the imperial crown of England, "who had called in the French, who had authorized all violences and depredations against the protestants, and who "rejected the gracious pardon, which his majesty offered "them in his proclamation of the 22d of February 1688-9, "as his majesty was now in condition to make them sensible of their errors, so he was resolved to leave them to the "event of war, unless by great and manifest demonstrations he should be convinced they deserved his mercy which "he should never refuse to those, who were truly penitent."

His royal declaration of protection to the Irish.

A design to assassinate the king. Burnet. The king as he had received the news of the battle of Flerus, the day after the victory at the Boyne; so on the day he entered Dublin, he had the news of the misfortune at sea to temper the joy his own successes might give him. He had taken all the earl of Tyrconnel's papers in the camp, and found all king James's papers left behind him at Dublin. By these he understood the design, which the French had of burning his transport-fleet; and among the earl of Tyrconnel's papers there was one letter written to queen Mary at

St

St. Germains, the night before the battle, but not ſent. In this letter the earl declared, that he looked on all as loſt; and ended it thus, 'I have now no hope in any thing but in 'Jones's buſineſs.' The marquiſs of Carmarthen, ſome weeks before the king went to Ireland, had received an advertiſement, that one Jones, an Iriſhman, who had ſerved ſo long in France and Holland, that he ſpoke both languages well, was to be ſent over to murder the king. And Sir Robert Southwell, who was ſecretary of ſtate for Ireland, found among lord Tyrconnel's letters to queen Mary, two remarkable ones; in the former of which he writes, that Jones was come; that his propoſition was more probable, and more likely to ſucceed, than any yet made; but that his demands were high, 'if any thing can be high for ſuch 'a ſervice.' In the latter he writes, that Jones had been with the king who did not like the thing at firſt; but he added 'We have now ſo ſatisfied him both in con-'ſcience and honour, that every thing is done that Jones 'requires.' Deagle the attorney-general of Ireland, had furniſhed this Jones with money and a poignard of a particular compoſition; and they ſought long for a bible bound without a common-prayer, which he was to carry in his pocket, that ſo he might paſs, if ſeized on, for a diſſenter. Some perſons of great quality waited on him to the boat, that was to carry him over. He was for ſome time delayed in Dublin, and king William had paſſed over to Ireland, before he could reach him; but he was never heard of more, ſo that it is probable, that he went away with his money. A paper was drawn up of all this matter, and deſigned to be publiſhed; but, upon ſecond thoughts, the king and queen had that tenderneſs for king James, that they ſtopped the publiſhing to the world ſo ſhameful a practice. 1689.

On the 9th of July the king decamped from Finglas, and divided his army in two bodies; with the greater of which he marched to Crumlin three miles on the ſouth of Dublin; and the other conſiſting of four regiments of horſe, two of dragoons, and ten of foot, was ſent towards Athlone under the command of lieutenant general Douglas. The next day the king iſſued out a proclamation, to eaſe his ſubjects of "the great oppreſſions and abuſes committed by his ene-"mies in his kingdom of Ierland, by coining and making "current braſs money of copper or mixed metal, and raiſ-"ing the value of it to an extravagant price, and to reduce "the value of the ſaid copper money to the value or ſtand-

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1690. ard of the like copper money formerly current in Ireland." The king having left brigadier Trelawney to command at Dublin with five regiments of foot and one of horſe, advanced as far as Inchiquin, twenty two miles beyond Dublin, in his way to Kilkenny.

Athlone holds out againſt Douglaſs.

Douglaſs, with his detachment, having reached Athlone on the 17th of July, ſent a drummer to ſummon it. But colonel Grace the governor, a reſolute man fired a piſtol at the meſſenger, ſaying, that ſuch were the terms he was for. Upon this anſwer, Douglaſs reſolved to attack the place, though, it being ſtrong by ſituation, and defended by a caſtle, his force was not anſwerable to his undertaking. However he immediately planted two field pieces to prejudice the enemy's guns, and ordered faſcines to be made in order to fill up the ditch. Having finiſhed a battery of ſix guns the beſiegers made a breach in the caſtle, but it being both too ſmall and too high for an aſſault, it was prudently laid aſide. Notwithſtanding this the firing continued very briſk on both ſides; but the beſiegers having loſt Mr. Nelſon their beſt gunner, and the cavalry ſuffering very much for want of forage; and at the ſame time it being reported, that Sarsfield was advancing with fifteen thouſand men to relieve the place, Douglaſs held a council of war, wherein it was thought fit to raiſe the ſiege, which he accordingly did on the 25th, having loſt near four hundred men before the town, the greateſt part of whom died of ſickneſs.

The king in the mean time moving weſtward reached Kill-Kullen bridge on the 11th of July; and that morning paſſing by the Neſs, and ſeeing a ſoldier robbing a poor woman, he was ſo enraged at it, that he firſt gave the fellow ſeveral blows with his cane, and then commanded, that both he, and ſome others guilty of the like crimes, ſhould be hanged. Some people reflected on this action of the king, as mean in a ſovereign at any time to lay hands upon his ſubject, and cruel to inflict a capital puniſhment on one, whom he had already corrected for his fault. But this ſeverity ſtruck the ſoldiers with ſuch a terror, that the country was freed from all violence during the whole march to Commalin, Caſtle-Durmont, and ſo beyond Carlow; from whence the king detached the duke of Ormond with a party of horſe to take poſſeſſion of Kilkenny, and ſo to ſecure the proteſtants and other inhabitants of the adjacent countries from being plundered by the enemy, who by this time began to look behind, and committed great depredations. From Carlow the army marched on to Kells, thence to Lough-land-bridge, and ſo to Bennet-bridge; and on

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the 19th of July his majeſty was ſplendidly entertained at dinner by the duke of Ormond at his caſtle of Kilkenny, which had the good fortune to be preſerved by count Lauzun with all the goods and furniture, and a cellar well ſtored. On the 21ſt the army encamped at Carrick, from whence major general Kirk, with his own regiment, and colonel Brewer's, as alſo a party of horſe, was ſent towards Waterford. Kirk being arrived before the place, diſpatched a trumpet to ſummon the town, which at firſt refuſed to ſurrender, there being two regiments then in garriſon. However their anſwer was ſo civil, that their inclinations were eaſily underſtood; for ſoon after they ſent out to know what terms they might have, which were the ſame with Drogheda. But not liking theſe, they propoſed ſome of their own, which were rejected, and the heavy cannon drawn down that way, and ſome more forces ordered to march. The Iriſh being informed of theſe preparations, thought it adviſeable not to put themſelves to extremities, and thereupon agreed to march out with arms and baggage on the 25th, and ſo were conducted to Mallow. The fort Duncannon, a place of ſtrength, which commands the river of Waterford, was alſo ſurrendered to the king upon the ſame articles with Waterford; which laſt place was viewed by the king the day it was given up. Here he took care, that no perſons ſhould be moleſted: and among the reſt the lord Dover was admitted to a more particular protection as having formerly applied himſelf when the king was at Hilſborough, by Kirk's means, to deſire a paſs for himſelf and his family into Flanders. The lord George Howard likewiſe embraced the king's mercy. 1690.

On the 27th of July the king left the camp at Carrick, and went to Dublin, intending, as he was adviſed, to go over to England, but he found letters there of another ſtrain. Things were in ſo good a poſture and ſo quiet in England, that they were no more in any apprehenſion of a deſcent, ſo the king went to Chapel-Izard, and ſpent there ſome time to hear divers complaints, and redreſs ſeveral grievances. Here he likewiſe ordered a weekly faſt, and publiſhed on the 1ſt of Auguſt a ſecond declaration, to confirm the former, in favour of all poor labourers, common ſoldiers, country farmers, ploughmen, &c. and declaring withal, "that if thoſe "of ſuperior rank and quality, and alſo ſuch as had borne "office under his majeſty's enemies, whether military or "civil, ſhould by the 25th day of that month of Auguſt ſur- "render themſelves to his obedience, and ſhould be content, "during the rebellion of that kingdom, to betake themſelves "to

The king leaves the camp to go to England.

He publiſhes a ſecond pardon.

1690. "to ſuch town or city as ſhould be aſſigned them, they "ſhould be ſecure of their lives, and have the liberty of ſuch "town or city; and, if they were deſtitute and in want, "ſhould alſo have a ſubſiſtence allowed them, according to "their reſpective qualities. As to ſtrangers of what nation "ſoever, who had taken ſervice in that kingdom againſt him, "he did further declare, that if they ſhould forſake the e-"my, and come into his quarters within the time aforeſaid, "they ſhould not only receive his protection, whilſt they "were in the kingdom, but forthwith have paſſports given "them to go directly home into their reſpective countries. "But if theſe manifeſtations of his grace and favour ſhould "not be valued as they deſerved; or if any ſhould perſiſt in "that barbarous and unchriſtian way of burning and deſola-"tion, which in ſome places had of late been practiſed, he "ſhould hold himſelf diſcharged of thoſe conſequences and "calamities, which muſt inevitably follow, ſince thoſe who "were obſtinate againſt his mercy, became the authors of "their own confuſion." It was hoped, that the fulneſs of the pardon of the commons in this and the former declaration might have ſeparated them from the gentry; and that by this means the latter would be ſo forſaken, that they would accept of ſuch terms as ſhould be offered them. The king had intended to have made the pardon more comprehenſive, hoping by that to bring the war ſoon to an end. But the Engliſh in Ireland oppoſed this, thinking that the preſent oportunity was not to be loſt of breaking the great Iriſh families, upon whom the inferior ſort would always depend. In compliance with them the indemnity now offered was ſo limited, that it had no effect; for the prieſts, who governed the Iriſh with a very blind and abſolute authority, prevailed with them to try their fortunes ſtill; and the news of the victory, which the French had gained at ſea, was ſo magnified among them, that they made the people believe that the French would make ſuch a deſcent upon England, as muſt oblige the king to abandon Ireland.

Remarks on the pardon Burnet.

The ſiege of Limeric. About this time the king having a farther account from England that the deſigns of the male-contents were diſcovered and prevented, the loſs at ſea repaired, and that the French had only burnt one ſmall village in the weſt of England, and ſo gone off again; he returned to the army, which on the 4th of Auguſt he found encamped at Golden-Bridge, and by the 7th reached Carrickelliſh, a place within five miles from Limerick, where he was joined by Douglaſs. The next day the earl of Portland and brigadier Stuart were

detached

detached toward Limerick with nine hundered horſe, and twelve hundred foot, who advanced within cannon-ſhot of the town with little oppoſition from the enemy; and in the evening the king himſelf, accompanied by prince George, monſieur Overkirk, lieutenant-general Ginckle, and ſeveral other great officers, went to view the poſture of the enemy and the avenues to the town. On the 9th the whole army decamped at five in the morning, and made their approaches in good order, two hundred horſe and dragoons, with a thouſand choſen foot, leading the van. The country being full of hedges and ditches, the pioneers were immediately employed to cut down the one firſt, and fill up the other; which being done the army advanced, and drove the enemy before them till they came to a narrow paſs between two bogs, within half a mile of the town, which was not above a hundred and fifty yards, and this likewiſe full of hedges and other incumbrances. In this paſs were lanes leading to the town, in the middlemoſt of which, being the broadeſt, ſtood the Iriſh horſe, and to the right and left of it the hedges were lined with muſketeers. The detached party of Engliſh foot was upon the advance towards the centre; the horſe a little to the right of them, the Danes to the left, and the blue Dutch, with ſeveral Engliſh regiments, upon the right. Whilſt theſe things were going on thus, the king ordered two field-pieces towards the left, where they could bear upon the enemy's horſe, and fired from thence with ſo good ſucceſs, that the enemy ſoon quitted that poſt. At the ſame time colonel Earle led on his foot, who marched with ſo much bravery, though the enemy made a great fire through the hedge, that they forced them to retire, and continued their hedge-fight for two hours; driving the Iriſh under the very walls of the town, poſſeſſing themſelves of two advantageous poſts; called Cromwell's fort, and the old chappel, and being hardly ſtopped there by the orders, which his majeſty ſent them. The Iriſh upon this plied the Engliſh forces with their great guns, that killed ſome few men as they marched in, which the whole army did by five in the afternoon, and moſt of them incamped within cannon-ſhot. The Danes according to their poſt, encamped to the left, where they found an old fort built by their anceſtors, of which they were not a little proud, and from whence they fired three or four field-pieces upon the Iriſh, who lay intrenched between them and the town. Orders were alſo given forthwith to plant four field-pieces on Cromwell's fort to play upon the town from the out-works. 1690.

1690. The army being poſted, Auguſt the 9th, the king ſent a trumpeter with a ſummons to the town. A great many of the garriſon were for capitulating; but monſieur Boiſſeleau the governor, the duke of Berwick, and colonel Sarsfield, oppoſed it with much vehemence, ſaying, there were great diviſions, and even an actual inſurrection in England; that the Dauphin was landed there with a great army; and that the prince of Orange would quickly be obliged to withdraw his forces thither. Upon this Boiſſeleau ſent the trumpeter back with a letter directed to Sir Robert Southwell, ſecretary of ſtate, (to avoid the rudeneſs of addreſſing himſelf directly to the king without giving him the title of majeſty) importing, "That he was ſurpriſed at the ſummons; and, "that he thought the beſt way to gain the prince of Orange's "good opinion, was by a vigorous defence of the town, "which his majeſty intruſted him withal." About eight in the evening the king went to his camp, a little mile from the town, having been on horſeback from five in the morning, giving the neceſſary orders, and expoſing himſelf amidſt the greateſt dangers, which the prince of Denmark ſhared all along with him. The cannon played from both ſides, and ſeveral of the enemy's ſhot fell near the king's tent, or flew over it. The ſame evening a party of dragoons was ſent to the ford at Annaghbeg, about two miles above the town, where ſix of the enemy's regiments of foot, three of horſe, and two of dragoons, were poſted on the other ſide of the river with a breaſt-work to cover them, who all fired upon the Engliſh, but neither killed nor wounded one of them. The advantage, which the enemy had, was ſuch, that the Engliſh expected to have met with great difficulties in paſſing the river, which is very rapid, and the bottom ſtony; but in the night the Iriſh abandoned their ſtation; ſo that Ginckle, who was commanded with a detachment to force his way over it, performed it the next morning, with about five thouſand horſe and foot, without any oppoſition.

Aug. 10. Two or three hours after the king himſelf went over the Shannon, and poſted there three regiments of foot, with ſome pieces of cannon. Neither were the beſieged idle; for all this while they were raiſing forts between the aſſailants and the Iriſh town; one to the ſouth gate, and the other towards the eaſt, which proved very ſerviceable to them, though not ſo great a diſadvantage to the Engliſh, as the ſurpriſing of their train of artillery, which was coming up to join the army.

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Some deſerters, and amongſt them a gunner, who got into Limerick, having given the enemy an account where the king's tent ſtood, and of thoſe guns and other things, that were upon the road from Kilkenny, under a ſmall guard, they played very briſkly towards the king's tent, which he was at laſt prevailed with to remove. Nor was this all, for on the 11th one Manus O Brian, a country gentleman came to the camp, and gave notice, that Sarsfield, with a body of five or ſix hundred horſe and dragoons had paſſed the Shannon in the night, nine miles above Limerick, and deſigned ſomething extraordinary. Though ſeveral concurring circumſtances, and Sarsfield's activity and reſolution, which fitted him for ſuch an enterprize, rendered this gentleman's relation at leaſt probable, yet little heed was given to it at firſt; and a great officer, inſtead of inquiring more particular into the matter, interrogated O Brian concerning a prey of cattle in the neighbourhood; of which the gentleman could not forbear complaining afterwards, ſaying, he was ſorry to ſee general officers mind cattle more than the king's honour. However, after he had met with ſome acquaintance, he was brought to the king, who, to prevent the worſt, gave order, that Sir John Lanier, with five hundred horſe, ſhould march to meet the train. But wherever the fault lay, it was one or two in the morning before the party ſet out, and even then they advanced very ſlowly, till after they ſaw a great light in the air, and heard a ſtrange rumbling noiſe, which ſome juſtly conjectured to be the train blown up. For the artillery having the day before marched beyond Cullen to the little old ruinous caſtle of Ballenedy, not ſeven miles from the camp, Sarsfield lurked all that day in the mountains; and having notice where and how the men, who attended it, lay, he took with him guides, that brought him to the very ſpot, where he fell in among them, before they were aware, and killed ſeveral of them, with many of the waggoners, and ſome country people, who were carrying proviſions to the camp. The noiſe of the ſlaughter having awaked the officer, who commanded in chief, he ordered his men to get to their horſes, that were a grazing, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. But moſt of thoſe, who endeavoured to fetch them, were cut to pieces, and the reſt obliged to ſhift for themſelves, ſo that there were in all about ſixty men killed. The convoy being thus totally routed, the Iriſh gathered the carriages and waggons, with the bread and ammunition, and as many of the guns, as the ſhortneſs of the time would permit them, into

1690.

1690. one heap, and having filled the guns with powder, and placed their mouths into the ground, that they might thereby certainly ſplit, they, at their going off, ſet fire to the heap, which was blown up into the air, with a moſt aſtoniſhing noiſe. The Iriſh got ſome booty on this occaſion, but took no priſoners; only a lieutenant of colonel Earle's being ſick in a houſe in the neighbourhood, was ſeized and brought to Sarsfield, who uſed him with civility, and told him, "If he had not ſucceeded in that enterprize, he would "have gone for France." The party of horſe that was ſent from the camp, came up in ſight of the enemy's rear, after the buſineſs was over; but wheeling to the left to intercept them in their retreat over the Shannon, the Iriſh paſſed another way and got ſafe into Limerick.

The unwelcome news of this adventure occaſioned great murmerings in the camp, and ſome warm words paſſed between duke Schomberg, ſon to the late duke, and the earl of Portland, as if the latter, and count Solmes, had neglected to ſend in time a detachment of ſufficient ſtrength to ſecure the train. Others ſaid, that the king was altogether unconcerned at this accident, as having no real deſign to make an end of the Iriſh war, but only to keep the enemy cantoned towards Limerick, and preſerve the conqueſt he made this ſummer (u). But theſe were ill-grounded conjectures; and the ſiege was purſued. The trenches were opened on the 17th of Auguſt, and ſome great guns being arrived from Waterford, a battery was raiſed below the fort to the right of the trenches, which diſmounted ſome of the enemies cannon. The ſame day the prince of Wirtembergh, with the major generals Kirk and Tetteau, and brigadier Bellaſis, with ſeven battalions, entered the trenches, advanced near three hundred paces, and made themſelves maſters of the redoubts. On the 18th, the trenches were relieved by lieutenant-general Douglas, the lord Sidney, and count Naſſau, and brigadier Stuart, who approached towards another ſtrong redoubt of the enemy. Nor was the king leſs in danger than the reſt; for in the thickeſt of the enemy's fire he rid to Cromwell's fort, and as his horſe was juſt

(u) Lanier whom the king had ſent to ſecure the convoy, might have overtaken Sarsfield; but the general obſervation made of him (and of moſt of the officers who had ſerved king James, and were now on the king's ſide) was, that they had a greater mind to make themſelves rich, by the continuance of the war of Ireland, than their maſter great and ſafe by the ſpeedy concluſion of it. Burnet, II. 58.

entering

entering the gap, he was ſtaid by a gentleman, who came to ſpeak to him, when, in the ſame moment there came a cannon-ball, that ſtruck in the very place, and covered the king with duſt. He took little notice of it, but alighting, came and laid himſelf down on the fort. On the 19th the trenches were relieved by the prince of Wirtembergh, who advanced farther towards the ſaid redoubt, which the king ordered to be attacked the 20th. Douglaſs, Sidney, Naſſau and Stuart, being then again on the guard, and the ſignal given about two in the afternoon, the Engliſh to the number of one hundred and fifty, beſides officers, and ſeveral reſolute French volunteers, attacked the fort with undaunted bravery, and after an obſtinate fight drove out the enemy, killing forty of them. About half an hour after the Iriſh made a great ſally with near two thouſand horſe and foot, but were vigorouſly repulſed. The 21ſt, the trenches were carried on and finiſhed, ſo as to hinder any more ſallies. The next day the beſiegers batter'd the enemy's high towers, from whence they fired into the trenches, and quite levelled them; and in the night threw ſeveral bombs and carcaſſes into the town, as they did the day following red-hot bullets, which ſet ſeveral houſes and a magazine of hay on fire. All the batteries being finiſhed and thirty pieces of cannon mounted on them, the trenches by the 25th were advanced within thirty paces of the ditch; a breach was made in the wall near St. John's gate, and part of the paliſadoes on the counterſcarp beaten down. On the 26th the engineers having aſſured the king, that there was a ſufficient breach, and there being an impoſſibility to make it wider for want of bullets, he reſolved, to take the town by mines; and in order to that, commanded the covered way or counterſcarp (which here was almoſt the ſame with the ditch,) and two towers that were on each ſide the breach, and contiguous to the wall, to be attacked the next day, and that the men ſhould go no further, but lodge themſelves there. Accordingly Douglaſs detached monſieur de la Barthe, a brave experienced French lieutenant colonel, with nine companies of grenadiers, ſtrengthened by a hundred French officers and volunteers, to begin the attack; which was performed with ſuch bravery and ſucceſs, that the enemy were ſoon diſlodged from the covered way and the two forts. The aſſailants purſuing their good fortune, entered the breach with the runaways; and de la Barthe, with ſome bold adventurers, and above half the earl of Drogheda's grenadiers, were actually on the rampart, and others, ſtill more eager than the reſt, went

1690.

1690. went into the very place. This action had been decisive, if the engineers had made a lodgment in time, or if the counts Solmes and Nassau would have suffered the detachment, that was to second the grenadiers, to go further than the counterscarp; for the Irish were all running from the walls quite over the bridge into the English town; but seeing that few of the English had entered the town; they rallied again, faced the assailants, and plyed them so warmly, that several of them were killed, and many mortally wounded. Elated with this success, the Irish ventured upon the breach again, and the resoluteness of their women was so great, that they incessantly pelted the English with stones, broken bottles, and all such other instruments of destruction, as came near to their hands. The men, on their part, could not for mere shame be less valorous; so that after three hours unequal fighting, the English were forced to retire to their trenches. But this was not all; for during the heat of the action a Brandenburgh regiment being with great bravery got upon the enemy's black battery, the powder happened to take fire, which blew up a great many of them. Besides, though colonel Cuts, who was commanded by the prince of Wirtembergh to march towards the Spur at the South gate, beat in the Irish, who appeared on that side, yet he lost several of his men, and was himself wounded; for he boldly advancing within half musket shot of the gate, all the men lay exposed to the enemy's shot, who lay secure within the Spur and the walls. The French protestants, the Dutch, and the Danes behaved themselves very gallantly in their respective posts; and the whole action, which lasted from three till seven, was very brisk every where, and cost the besiegers six hundred men killed upon the spot, and as many mortally wounded.

The siege is raised. Aug. 30. This disappointment, and the approaching ill weather, occasioned the raising of the siege of Limerick (w); for on the 30th of August the heavy baggage and cannon were sent away

(w) Mr. R. Warre, under secretary to the earl of Nottingham, in a letter from Whitehall, Septemb. 9, 1690, to Sir William Dutton Colt, envoy extraordinary at the court of Hanover, gives the following account of the raising of the siege of Limerick. "Nothing induced the king to quit the "siege but the season of the "year, and the nature of the "country, which in those parts "is so much subject to be overflowed, that the soldiers could "no longer remain in the "trenches in wet weather; and "no art or industry could remedy this mischief. The deserters do agree, that if the "weather

away, and the next day the army decamped and marched towards Clonmel. The king, after he had conſtituted the lord Sidney and Thomas Goningſby, lords juſtice of Ireland, and intruſted count Solmes with the command of the army, who ſoon after reſigned it to lieutenant general Ginckle, he embarked at Duncannon fort with prince George of Denmark, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, on the 5th of September, and arrived ſafe next day in king's road near Briſtol, and on the 9th at Windſor, where he was received by the queen with that joy, which none but his own could equal. 1690.

Beſides Limerick, there were ſtill other towns in the poſſeſſion of the Iriſh; and their army was yet very numerous, which gave king James's friends ſome hopes of the reſtoration of that kingdom to his obedience. But they were not a little ſurpriſed to hear, that the Engliſh fleet was arrived before The earl of Marlborough's expedition to Cork. Story, Boyer.

" weather would have permitted the king to remain there a few days longer, the neceſſities and deſpair of the people in the town would have forced the officers to ſurrender, if they had not been diſpoſed to it of themſelves. The enemy had ſo little ſhare in obliging the king to retire, that he did not meet with the leaſt diſturbance from them in decamping or in his march. The proteſtants thereabouts are by this means left to the mercy of the Iriſh, but moſt of them withdraw to places within the army's protection. ——— Though this diſappointment is the more unhappy for coming at the end of the campaign, yet the progreſs the king has made towards reducing that kingdom, is ſo conſiderable, as would have been eſteemed at firſt ſufficient for one year, and enough to render it a glorious campaign." And in another letter dated October 21, the ſame gentleman writes thus: "I have endeavoured to inform myſelf of the number of perſons loſt before Limerick, but cannot give you a diſtinct nor juſt account. I ſpoke with a gentleman who was at the ſiege, all the time, and had the beſt opportunity of being informed herein. He tells me, the greateſt loſs to our men was, in gaining the redoubt, and aſſaulting the counterſcarp; the reſt happening in the trenches, where about ten men a day might be killed. He computes the whole at a thouſand or twelve hundred at the moſt. He obſerved a thing not unworthy your notice, that where a colonel or captain was deficient in his full number of men, if he was ordered on ſervice, he would deliver in his loſs, as if his regiment or company had been compleat; which made ſome judge our loſs greater than it was; but at that rate it was not much greater than what I tell you." MS. p. 396.

Cork

1690. Cork harbour the 21ſt of September, with ſome forces under the command of the earl of Marlborough. When the Engliſh fleet was refitted, and the French retired to Brest, the earl of Marlborough had propoſed, during the ſiege of Limerick, that five thouſand men who had lain idle all the ſummer in England, ſhould be ſent into Ireland, and with the aſſiſtance of ſuch men as the king ſhould order to join them, they ſhould try to take Cork and Kingſale. The king approved of this, and ordered the earl to come over with them, and left orders for about five thouſand more under the command of the duke of Wirtembergh, and major-general Scravenmore to join him. Accordingly the earl immediately acquainted them with his arrival. The next day in entering the harbour, he was oppoſed by the enemy, who had a battery of eight guns there; but he having ſent three armed boats aſhore, they by their quick firing obliged the Iriſh to quit their guns. On the 23d, the greateſt part of the land-forces were ſent up the paſſage, headed by the duke of Grafton, ſix miles from Cork, and being come by the 24th within a mile of thet own, they began to mount their cannon, having near ſix hundred ſeamen, gunners, and carpenters, who did them conſiderable ſervice. There being a report, that the duke of Berwick deſigned to raiſe the ſiege, Scravenmore ſent a meſſenger to haſten the duke of Wirtembergh's march; and on the 25th ordered a party of horſe to go and cover the duke's foot. The ſame afternoon Tetteau, with a party of one thouſand men, having drawn ſome cannon to the Fair-Hill, reſolved to attack one or both of the new forts and new Shannon caſtle; but the Iriſh no ſooner obſerved his men poſted in order to that deſign, but they ſet fire to the ſuburbs between him and them, and quitting both the forts and caſtles, retired in haſte into the town. Upon this the Engliſh poſſeſſed themſelves of Shannon caſtle, and planted there ſome guns. Scravenmore came about that time with twelve hundred horſe and dragoons, and took up his quarters at Kill-Abbey. On the 26th the duke of Wirtembergh with his Danes, and brigadier la Mellioniere with ſome French and Dutch foot, arrived and encamped before the town. Wirtembergh and Marlborough being both lieutenant-generals, there happened a warm diſpute betwixt them about the chief command; Wirtembergh bluntly claiming it, becauſe he was a prince; and Marlborough with more temper, alledging, that the general command properly belonging to himſelf, both as the elder officer, and becauſe he led the troops of his own nation; whereas the duke of

Wirtembergh

Wirtembergh was only at the head of auxiliaries. But la Meloniere interposing, the earl was contented to share the command with the duke, lest his insisting on his full right should retard the king's service. Accordingly the earl commanded the first day, and gave the word, Wirtembergh; and the duke commanded the next, and gave the word, Marlborough. 1690.

This difference being adjusted, and the enemy on the 27th having abandoned their works at the Cat-Fort, without a blow struck, the English forces took possession of it; and having raised a battery there, they threw their bombs into the city, and played their guns upon the fort, from the Fryars garden, and from another battery above the fort near the abbey. Besides, being masters of a church, Scravenmore ordered a party of men into it, who from thence galled the Irish within the fort. All which, together with another battery set up by Red-Abbey, soon made a breach in the city wall, and brought the besieged to demand a parley. Hostages were thereupon exchanged, and a truce granted till next morning; when the besieged not accepting the terms offered, the besiegers began to play very furiously with their cannon. A considerable breach being made, the Danes from the north, and four regiments of English from the south, under brigadier Churchill, passed the river up to their armpits into the East-Marsh, in order to storm the town. The grenadiers under the lord Colchester led the van, and marched forward with incredible bravery, though all the while exposed to the enemy's fire, being encouraged by the duke of Grafton, and some other resolute volunteers; but in the approach the duke of Grafton received a wound in the shoulder, of which he soon after died (x). The van immediately posted themselves under the bank of the marsh, which was, as it were, a counterscarp to the city wall; and at the same time the Salamander and another vessel came up with the tide, and lay at the end of the marsh, directly before the city wall, played their cannon at the breach, and threw their bombs likewise into the city. All things being now ready, on the 28th of September, for a general assault, the besieged thought fit to prevent it by beating a second parley; and at last the earl of Tyrone and colonel Ricaut, being

(x) The duke of Grafton was the more lamented, as being, of all king Charles's children, the person of whom there was the greatest hope. He was brave, and probably would have become a great man at sea. Burnet, II. 69.

sent

1690. ſent from colonel M' Ellicut, who commanded in the place, agreed to the earl of Marlborough's conditions; which were, "That the garriſon, conſiſting of four thouſand men, ſhould "be all priſoners of war, both officers and ſoldiers. That "no prejudice ſhould be done to them, or to the inhabi-"tants: That the general would uſe his endeavours to ob-"tain his majeſty's clemency towards them. That all the "arms, as well of the garriſon as inhabitants, ſhould be "ſecured: That all the proteſtant priſoners ſhould be ſet at "liberty: That the old fort ſhould be delivered up within "an hour, and the two gates of the city the next morning: "And that an exact account ſhould be given of the war-"like ammunitions and proviſions in the magazines." The priſoners of note taken at Cork were the earls of Clancarty and Tyrone, the governor of the place, colonel Ricaut, and ſeveral other officers.

Kingſale beſieged. Ibid.

Animated with this ſucceſs, the ſame day the earl entered Cork, he ſent a detachment of horſe and dragoons, under the command of brigadier Villiers, to ſummon the town and forts of Kingſale. Upon his approach the Iriſh were ready to ſet the town on fire; but being prevented by the ſudden arrival of the Engliſh, they retreated in haſte to the old and new forts. The earl of Marlborough ſet out from Cork on the 1ſt of October, arrived at Five-mile Bridge the ſame day, and the next day before Kingſale; and having formed his camp in the evening gave directions to make his approaches towards the new forts, while Tetteau was ordered to attack the old. The next morning early, Tetteau having paſſed the river in boats made a feint of ſtorming the fort in the weakeſt place, where moſt of the beſieged were ready to receive him; but in the mean while another detachment made a bold aſſault upon another place, where the enemy leaſt ſuſpected them, and by that means were ſoon maſters of a baſtion. At the ſame time ſeveral barrels of powder happening to take fire, whereby near forty of the Iriſh were blown up, the reſt retired into an old caſtle in the midſt of the fort, and immediately ſubmitted to be priſoners of war, having loſt about two hundred men out of four hundred and fifty. The buſineſs being over, the earl of Marlborough ſent to ſummon the new fort, which was much more conſiderable than the other; but Sir Edward Scot, the governor, reſolutely anſwered, "that it would be time "enough to capitulate a month hence." Upon this the Engliſh on the 5th of October opened their trenches, and on the 9th had advanced them to the counteſcarp: but the

ill

ill weather hindered the coming up of the cannon till the 11th, when part of it arrived. The 12th in the morning ſix pieces were mounted at the Danes attack, and two mortars at the Engliſh, which fired all that day. The 13th two twenty-four pounders were placed on the ſame battery; and the next day the reſt of the cannon arrived, three of which were mounted on the Engliſh battery. And the Danes, commanded by Wirtembergh, having made a conſiderable breach, the night following, to diſturb the enemy, they made a falſe attack. The 15th the cannon continued to play all the morning; and all things were preparing for a ſtorm, when the enemy beat a parley. Hoſtages being exchanged, the articles were agreed on and ſigned about midnight, by which the middle baſtion was to be delivered up the next morning, and the garriſon, conſiſting of about one thouſand one hundred men, was to march the next day after, with arms and baggage, and be conducted to Limerick. The loſs of the Engliſh before this place was little leſs than three hundred men killed or wounded; which yet was of no moment, conſidering the great advantage they gained by ſubduing this ſea-port town, and that of Cork; for by this means a ſtop was put to all ſupplies from France, at leaſt on this ſide of Ireland; and the Iriſh were almoſt confined to the province of Ulſter, where they had great difficulty to ſubſiſt. The earl of Marlborough having performed this glorious expedition in thirty ſeven days, embarked again for England, and arrived at Kenſington the 28th of October, where he was received with great civility by their majeſties; and the king was heard to ſay, 'that he 'knew no man ſo fit for a general, who had ſeen ſo few 'campaigns.' Aboard the ſhips which came back with the earl of Marlborough, were brought priſoners, the earls of Clancarty and Tyrone, the lord Carne, colonel M'Ellicut, and other officers of note. 1690. And taken.

During theſe proceedings, count Lauzun with the French troops, lay about Galway, without attempting any thing. He ſent over to the court of France an account of the deſperate ſtate of their affairs, and deſired that ſhips might be ſent for the tranſporting of their forces. This was done, yet the ſhips came not till the ſiege of Limerick was raiſed; and probably, if the court of France had known how much the ſtate of affairs was altered by that event, they would have ſent contrary orders. But Lauzun was weary of the ſervice, and was glad to get out of it; and therefore ſailed away without ſtaying for new orders, leaving the general command The French leave Ireland. Burnet. Boyer.

of

1690. of the Iriſh forces to the duke of Berwick, which was afterwards given to monſieur St. Ruth. By this conduct count Lauzun loſt the little reputation, which he was beginning to recover at the court of France. Tyrconnel went over with him, and gave full aſſurances, that though the Iriſh were like to ſuffer great hardſhips the next winter, yet they would continue firm, if they were ſtill ſupported by France. And as it had appeared on many occaſions, that the French and Iriſh ſoldiers did not agree well together, he propoſed, that no more ſoldiers, together with arms, ammunition, and clothes, might be ſent over to them. In the mean while the Iriſh formed themſelves into many bodies, which by the new name were called rapparees; who knowing all the ways, and the bogs, and other places of retreat in Ireland, and being favoured by the Iriſh, that had ſubmitted to the king, robbed and burnt houſes in many places of the country; while the king's army ſtudied their own eaſe in their quarters, more than the protection of the inhabitants. And many of them were ſuſpected of robbing in their turn, though the rapparees bore the blame of all. However, between them the inhabitants were dreadfully harraſſed, and their ſtock of cattle and corn was almoſt quite deſtroyed in many places.

The rapparees.

Foreign affairs. The duke of Savoy accedes to the grand alliance. Octob. 20.

Thus ended the campaign in Ireland. With reſpect to foreign affairs; the grand alliance, to which the king had acceded, was alſo ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the duke of Savoy (y). He had, ſince the kindling of the war, profeſſed a neutrality, with which the French appeared the leaſt ſatisfied, though they ſeemed to have moſt reaſon to be ſo. For

(y) The author of the French continuation of monſieur Rapin's hiſtory ſays, that king William had for a long time courted that duke, who being weary of the long ſlavery, under which he had been retained by France, heard with pleaſure every thing that tended to reſcue him from that yoke. The houſe of Auſtria had no leſs intereſt to gain him; and it is ſaid, that this houſe ever ſince the firſt infractions of the treaty of Nimeguen, in order to revenge itſelf, formed a project, of which the two principal articles were the raiſing of king William to the throne of Great-Britain, and the making a league with Victor Amadeus II, duke of Savoy. This latter article was negotiated, as it was ſaid, in 1685, a little after the truce for twenty years; and there was a perſon, who having learned this at Rome from the mouth of Chriſtina of Sweden, then upon ill terms with Lewis XIV, came to Turin to diſcover that ſecret to the Abbe d'Eſtrades, the French miniſter at that court. But the latter having refuſed the private audience, which the other deſired of him, this important diſcovery was buried in ſilence.

Two

For though the duke had been ſo complaiſant to the king of France, as to impriſon, baniſh, and at laſt deſtroy by the ſword 1690.

Two years afterwards, in 1687, it was found by means of two hundred thouſand livres given to a miniſter, who was a private agent of the duke, that under pretence of diverting himſelf at the carnival of Venice, he had concluded there an alliance with the emperor and ſeveral of the German princes, upon the plan of the famous league of Augſburgh; and a copy of this treaty was likewiſe procured. This ſtep ought to have given ſome uneaſineſs to the court of Verſailles. But, whether proſperity had accuſtomed that court to deſpiſe its enemies, or whether it imagined that the duke would deceive his new allies, the French miniſters intereſted themſelves ſo much the leſs in that affair, as they flattered themſelves at all adventures with the notion of being able to take their revenge whenever they ſhould think proper.

The duke taking advantage of this ſecurity of theirs, concluded his treaty with the emperor and his allies. By the firſt article, the duke obliged himſelf not to enter into any treaty of alliance, peace, or truce with France, without the conſent of the emperor, to whom he promiſed a faithful and inviolable attachment. He engaged by the ſecond and third articles to act in concert with the emperor, Spain, and their allies, and to employ his forces in conjunction with theirs againſt France. The abbé Vincent Grimani on the other hand promiſed in the name of the emperor and empire, not to enter into any treaty of peace truce with France without including the duke in it. 2. To take ſuch order, that the governor of Milan ſhall employ all the forces of that ſtate for the preſervation of the duke's territories; and that the Spaniſh fleet ſhould take care to ſecure the city and country of Nice. 3. That his imperial majeſty ſhould immediately ſend ſix thouſand of his choiceſt men to join the duke's forces, which his imperial majeſty engaged to pay without their pretending to any winter quarters in Piedmont. 4. That his imperial majeſty ſhall endeavour to the utmoſt of his power, that the Vaudois, the French refugees, and the eight thouſand men, which the marquis of Borgomainero, embaſſador of Spain, had promiſed ſhould be ſent into Piedmont, ſhould join the troops of the duke; the emperor leaving to him the care of employing all thoſe forces jointly with the governor of Milan, as they ſhould find moſt convenient. 5. That the emperor and the confederates ſhould endeavour the reſtoration of Pignerol into the hands of the duke, either by force of arms, or by a treaty, without laying any claim to Montſerrat, which his imperial majeſty ſhould renounce, notwithſtanding the antient treaties. 6. That his imperial majeſty ſhould lay no claim to any thing that may happen to be won from France on that ſide, but would leave the duke and the governor of Milan to agree that point together.

The time was now paſſed, when

1690. ſword his own proteſtant ſubjects, the miſerable Vaudois; yet nothing was able to continue him in that king's favour, but his receiving a French garriſon into the citadels of Turin and Verceil, for the ſecuring of his pretended neutrality.

when the French inſulted their enemies with a haughty and contemptuous indifference. They had then an extreme attention to every thing, that was doing. They had diſcovered, that the duke of Savoy, had practiſed upon the Vaudois, and maintained a private correſpondence with England and Holland; that theſe three powers were projecting a diverſion into Breſſe and Dauphine, and deſigned to employ in that attempt the troops of the Milaneſe, thoſe of Savoy, the Vaudois who had retired into Wirtemberg, the French refugees, and the new converts, whom they would try to engage in an inſurrection. Lewis XIV, who was now in the train of diſcoveries, was informed ſoon after of the engagements, which the duke was enterred into and therefore ſent twelve thouſand men into Piedmont under the conduct of the brave and able monſieur Catinat, afterwards marſhal of France, with orders, to demand of the duke as a pledge of his fidelity, that he would deliver up to France his troops, together with Verrue and the citadel of Turin. The duke, confounded with this unforeſeen ſtroke, endeavoured to amuſe his enemy by ſubmiſſions and offers, till he could procure aſſiſtance from the emperor and Spain. But Lewis XIV was not to be deceived, and therefore reinforced his army in Piedmont, and declared to the duke, that he expected of him the delivery of Verrue and the citadel of Turin, or, inſtead of the latter Carmagnola, Suza, and Montmelian, to be reſtored to the duke after the peace, under the guaranty of the pope and the Venetians. He added in a kind of maneſeſto, "that "if the duke choſe rather to truſt "in the hands of the republic "of Venice, during the courſe "of the war, the citadal of Turin and Verrue, and to receive "a Venetian garriſon, he would "withdraw his troops upon theſe "two conditions: firſt, that if "this prince, contrary to the promiſes which he ſhould be obliged to give, ſhould join his "troops to thoſe of the allies, "or give them a paſſage into "his territories, the Venetians "ſhould in that caſe be obliged "to put into the hands of France "the two places intruſted to "them. Secondly, that the "emperor and Spain ſhould oblige themſelves not to attempt any thing in Italy againſt the princes, who were "neutral or allies of France, and "that the pope, Venice, and "the grand duke ſhould be guaranties of that convention."

The duke was then too much engaged on both ſides to be able to give a faithful promiſe. But at laſt he declared himſelf on the 2d of June; his treaty with the king of Spain was ſigned the next day, and that with the emperor the day following; and hoſtilities were begun at the ſame time by the French in Piedmont and Savoy.

Theſe

These propoſals could not but appear harſh to a court, which was never uſed rather to gain than loſe by the diviſion of her neighbours. However the duke, who, even at four and twenty years of age, challenged a place amongſt the ableſt politicians, prudently amuſed the king of France with civil meſſages, and at the ſame time endeavoured to make the emperor buy his alliance with the acknowledgment of his claim to the kingdom of Cyprus, and the giving him the title of royal highneſs, which at laſt the emperor conſented to. This conceſſion being made public, the French began to ſuſpect the conſiderations, upon which his imperial majeſty had made it, and expoſtulated the matter with the duke; who thereupon declared to the king of France by his miniſter, that he had no deſign to abandon his friendſhip, or to do any thing derogatory to the treaties, that were between that crown and himſelf. But this general anſwer not ſatisfying the French, monſieur Catinat, who was to command the French troops on that ſide, paſſed the mountains, and arrived at Turin in the ſpring, leaving his army of about eighteen thouſand men in Dauphiné, with orders to follow him by eaſy journies into the duke's territories. The preſence of this military envoy ſomewhat diſcompoſed the duke of Savoy, who, to rid himſelf of a troubleſome gueſt, before the arrival of his more troubleſome retinue, offered to furniſh the king of France with two thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe. The pope's nuncio at Turin endeavoured likewiſe to ſend away Catinat in good humour; but that general not ſatisfied with any offers that were made him, poſitively demanded Verceil for a place of arms, proteſting, that he would not hearken to any accommodation but upon theſe terms. Though the duke had by this time made choice of his ſide, yet it had been great imprudence in him to declare his intentions, ſince the French were ready to attack him, and the Spaniards from the Milaneſe not in a condition to aſſiſt him. He therefore made uſe of all imaginable addreſs to protract the affair, which produced theſe new propoſals from France, "That the king was willing to refer his concerns "to the pope and the republic of Venice, upon condition, "that the duke would conſign Verceil, Carmagnola, and "Suza into the pope's hands, until the end of the war." The duke being preſſed ſo far, and conſidering, that it was to no purpoſe to conceal a thing, which was already but too much ſuſpected, and muſt neceſſarily be known, boldly declared, "That he was engaged with the emperor, and "could not go from his word. However, in regard the "alliance 1690.

1690. "alliance he had made with his imperial majeſty, tended no "farther than to oppoſe the unjuſt deſigns of France, if his "moſt chriſtian majeſty would put Caſal and Pignerol into "the hands of the republic of Venice till the end of the "war, he would lay down his arms, and for the ſame put "into the pope's hands one of his own towns as a pledge "for the obſervation of a neutrality." It will be eaſily imagined how France reliſhed this anſwer, which at beſt, was but a civil declaration of war; the conſequence of which was, the immediate liberty and recalling of the Vaudois, and the encouragement given them to arm themſelves againſt France; and the public avowing of the duke's treaties, firſt with the emperor, and then with the king of Spain, whereby they reſpectively engaged themſelves to join their forces againſt France, and never to make a ſeparate treaty with that crown, without their joint conſent. Beſides, by the firſt article of the treaty with Spain, made on the 3d of June, his catholic majeſty promiſed to cauſe the duke of Savoy to be comprehended in the alliance with the emperor, king William, the ſtates general, and all his other allies.

Catinat being by this time at the head of his army in the duke's territories, the duke gathered what force he could to drive him out; and joining himſelf with the troops of the Milaneſe, earneſtly ſought an opportunity of ſignalizing his courage. But the count de Lovigniez, who commanded the Spaniſh troops, continually repreſented to him, that Catinat could not receive ſupplies but with great difficulty, and that his army waſted every day by deſertion or diſeaſes; whereas the duke's forces had plenty of every thing, and increaſed daily with new reinforcements; and therefore he ought to expect victory rather from time than the ſucceſs of a battle, which he could not try without diſadvantage, the French being not only ſuperior in number, but alſo better diſciplined. Theſe reaſons prevailed for ſome time with the duke of Savoy, to content himſelf with obſerving the enemy; but being elated with the ſucceſs of ſome of his troops, which had repulſed the French from before Carignan, and drove them out of the vallies and town of Lucerne, he advanced towards Catinat, who made a ſhew of attacking Saluzzo, and offered him battle. The French general gladly accepted the challenge; and having obſerved, that the enemy's left wing was covered by a moraſs, he cauſed the ſame to be ſounded, and finding it had a firm bottom, ordered his men to begin the attack that way. The duke's left wing was ſo ſurprized at this unexpected charge, that they made no long reſiſtance; but

The battle of Saluzzo. Aug. 8.

but the right wing ſtood firm for above three hours, till being overpowered they betook themſelves to flight. The duke himſelf retired with his broken remains to Carignan, and Catinat purſuing his victory, the very next day made himſelf maſter of Saluzzo, and not long after of Savillana, Villa Franca, and ſeveral other places, and then marched his army towards Carignan. The duke not finding himſelf in a condition to wait his coming, left a ſtrong garriſon both in that place and in Carmagnola, and retreated to Moncalier to recruit his army, and to ſtay for the Germans, that were coming to his aſſiſtance. With this reinforcement, beſides ſome Milaneſe troops, being near twenty thouſand ſtrong, he decamped from Moncalier, and marched towards Catinat; who having likewiſe been ſtrengthened with ſome regiments from France, had formed a deſign upon Suza, a town conſiderable for its ſituation, as being the key of Dauphiné into Piedmont. To ſecure this place the duke ſent the count de Lovigniez with ſix battalions of foot and ſome horſe; of which Catinat having received information, left the common road, and marched his men with great expedition for ſix days together over the mountains. Upon this motion of Catinat, the duke imagined, that the ſiege of Suza was only a feint, and that the true deſign of the French was to give him battle; and therefore ſent orders to Lovigniez to leave Suza, and forthwith to join him with all his forces. This was no ſooner done, but the French immediately inveſted the town, where there was only ſix or ſeven hundred men in garriſon, who not thinking themſelves able to defend ſuch a weak poſt againſt a numerous army, ſurrendered upon honourable terms. With this action the campaign ended in Piedmont, for Catinat divided his army, ſending part of it into Provence, and the other into Savoy; which dukedom (the town of Montmelian excepted) monſieur St. Ruth had not long before reduced to his maſter's obedience. The duke of Savoy finding how little he ought to depend either upon the emperor or the king of Spain, who had made him great promiſes of aſſiſtance, in which they were never wanting, when their affairs required it, though they totally failed in the performance, he wiſely bethought himſelf of making application to the ſtates general, and eſpecially to king William, the head and ſupport of the grand alliance; by the count de la Tour, preſident of his finances, one of his privy council, and a man of great parts. That envoy extraordinary having diſpatched his buſineſs at the Hague, came immedi-

1690. Sept. 10.

1690. ately over into England, and at his firſt public audience livered himſelf to the king in the following terms:

SIR,

"HIS royal highneſs, my maſter, does by me congratulate your ſacred majeſty's glorious acceſſion to the "crown. It was due to your birth, and deſerved by your "virtue, and is maintained by your valour. Providence had "deſigned it for your ſacred head, for the accompliſhment "of his eternal decrees, which, after a long patience, do "always tend to raiſe up choſen ſouls to repreſs violence, "and protect juſtice. The wonderful beginnings of your "reign are moſt certain preſages of the bleſſings, which "heaven prepares for the uprightneſs of your intentions; "which have no other ſcope than to reſtore this flouriſhing "kingdom to its firſt greatneſs, and break the chains which "Europe groans under.

"This magnanimous deſign, worthy of the heroe of our "age, filled his royal highneſs with inexpreſſible joy; but "he was conſtrained to conceal it in the ſecret of his heart; "and if at laſt he has been free to own it, he is obliged to "the very name of your majeſty for it, ſince that alone has "made him conceive ſome hopes of liberty, after ſo many "years of ſervitude.

"My words, and the treaty, which I have ſigned at the "Hague, with your majeſty's miniſters, do but faintly ex-"preſs the paſſion, which my maſter has to unite himſelf by "the moſt inviolable ties to your ſervice. The honour, ſir, "which he has to be related to you, has tied the firſt knots "of this union. The infinite reſpect, which he has for "your ſacred perſon, has, as it were, knit them faſter; and "the generous protection, which you are pleaſed to grant "him, will, without doubt, make them indiſſoluble. Theſe "are the ſincere ſentiments of his royal highneſs; to which "I dare not add any thing of mine; for how ardent ſoever "my zeal may be, and how profound the veneration, which "I bear to your glorious atchievements, I think I cannot "better expreſs either, than by a ſilence full of admira-"tion."

The king was not diſpleaſed with ſo agreeable a compliment, and at the ſame time readily embraced this opportunity to engage the duke of Savoy in the intereſts of the confederates, by promiſing him ſpeedy aſſiſtance; in which he fulfilled his engagements.

As

As the enemies of France increaſed, ſo ſhe ſeemed proportionably to increaſe in power, being very formidable this year, not only by ſea, of which the confederate fleet felt the effects, but alſo by land. The allies being ſenſible of this, it was agreed that the army of the ſtates under prince Waldeck ſhould oppoſe in Flanders that of France, commanded by the duke of Luxemburg; while the elector of Brandenburg ſhould, upon the Moſelle, obſerve the marquis de Boufflers. But the French, according to their uſual forwardneſs, having taken the field early, the Dutch were conſtrained to draw out their garriſons to attend the enemy, before thoſe of Brandenburg were come to the poſts aſſigned them; which gave Boufflers an opportunity to encamp between the Sambre and the Meuſe, from whence he maintained a free communication between his army and that of Luxemburg. 1690. Campaign in Flanders.

The Dutch, under theſe circumſtances, encamped near the river Pieton, in one of the moſt advantageous poſts in all Flanders, waiting till the Brandenburgers took the field, and thereby cauſed the enemy to divide their forces; but in the mean time the duke of Luxemburg drew near the Sambre with a deſign to croſs that river between Namur and Charleroy, and then to waſte the Spaniſh countries or put them under contribution. Prince Waldeck knowing of what importance it was to keep the French beyond the Sambre, and being likewiſe ſollicited by the Spaniards to oppoſe the deſigns of the enemy, decamped from the Pieton, and the next day detatched the count of Berlo with fifteen hundred horſe, to obſerve whether the French endeavoured to paſs the Sambre or not. This detachment was, in caſe of neceſſity, to be ſupported by four or five regiments of cavalry, commanded by the count de Flodrop; and the count of Webbenum, with another party of horſe was poſted on this ſide a narrow lane, which was to be paſſed through before they could come to the enemy. June 10.

Berlo being advanced as far as the village of Flerus, found, that a good part of the French army had already paſſed the Sambre, and poſted themſelves againſt the village, which they kept to their backs, of all which he inſtantly informed prince Waldeck, who was poſted between Meilin and Fleurs. On the other hand, the enemy having notice of Berlo's approach, marched directly towards him. And at the ſame time the duke of Luxemburg diſpatched away ſeveral troops privately thorough by-ways to fall upon him in the rear. Upon this Berlo ſent for a reinforcement, eſpecially of foot; but inſtead The battle of Flerus.

1793. instead of ſending him more force, they gave him orders to retreat. Yet he not receiving thoſe orders till he was almoſt ſurrounded on every ſide, was obliged to put himſelf in a condition to defend a narrow lane, which he had before poſſeſſed by his dragoons. The enemy charged him very vigorouſly, and there he loſt his life, as did alſo major Caſtleman and ſome other officers. The count de Flodrop was likewiſe advanced too far to retire without fighting; and indeed his party ſtood their ground very ſtoutly for a while, but being oppreſſed by numbers, they were forced to retreat to count Webbenum, who commanded the third detachment, and was poſted on the other ſide the hedge. Some ſquadrons of the French boldly purſued Flodrop through the hedge, but were ſo vigorouſly repulſed, that they were conſtrained to retreat. When this was over Flodrop and Webbenum joined their main army, which was drawn up in order of battle, and continued in that poſture all night. The next morning the Dutch underſtood by a deſerter, that Luxemburg was reſolved to fight; but two ſpies, who made it their buſineſs to betray both armies, reported preſently after,
June 12. that he was repaſſing the Sambre. Prince Waldeck continued in his uncertainty till eight in the morning, when he ſaw the French draw up in battle-array, and that there was a neceſſity of engaging. The Dutch army conſiſted only of about five and twenty thouſand men; the Spaniards and Brandenburgers, who ſhould have reinforced them, not being yet come up; ſo that the prince could not make above two lines, which extended from Fleurus to St. Arnand. The French army was above forty thouſand ſtrong, Luxemburg having almoſt drained the French frontier-towns, and having been reinforced three days before by eighteen battalions of foot, forty five ſquadrons of horſe from Boufflers's army, and the flying camp of the count de Gournay. The fight being reſolved upon, prince Waldeck gave the command of his right wing to the prince of Naſſau, general of the horſe, accompanied by lieutenant general d'Huby, a Spaniard, and the prince of Barkenfield with his brigadiers; and aſſigned the charge of the left wing, and the main battle, to the prince of Naſſau, governor of Friedland, and Mareſchal de Camp, and the lieutenant generals d'Alva and Webbenum. He likewiſe, before the fight began, ſent ſome horſe to line the right wing of the army, which was advantageouſly poſted. But whether none were ſent to line the left, or that thoſe, who were commanded thither did not perform their duty, the enemy, without being perceived, ſlipped ſeveral troops

troops behind a rising ground and a small wood near the Sambre, who posted themselves behind the second line of the left wing. This constrained that line to face about, and turn their backs to the first; whereby being very much weakened, some battalions of the right wing were sent to secure their flank, and assist them to maintain their ground. Luxemburg no sooner observed that motion, but he told the duke de Maine, who was then near him, 'see what the enemy 'are doing; I foretell they will be beaten.' Which being said, he ordered the left wing to be attacked at the same time in the front, rear, and flank. The first line being already weakened to reinforce the second, was soon compelled to give way; upon which the enemy marched on to the second, to fall upon their rear. By this time that line was advanced to make head against the cavalry, which they had before them, and which they had driven back in disorder upon the French infantry; but the enemy having three lines, no sooner was one overthrown, but fresh battalions renewed the fight, by which means they at last repulsed the Dutch, quite tired with the onsets they had already sustained. Prince Waldeck observing the left wing in a staggering condition, and that the horse had for the most part, given ground, sent to their relief the horse of the second line of the right wing, from whence the foot had already been drawn for the same purpose. While this was doing on that side, the first line of the right wing was also engaged with the enemy, and had bravely repulsed and routed them several times, being suppored by the Spanish horse, who had made themselves masters of ten pieces of the enemy's cannon, and kept them a considerable time. But the French having three lines on that side also, and being continually supplied with fresh men, the Dutch cavalry was dispersed and broke to that degree, that the whole body could never be rallied again. Count Flodrop indeed with great difficulty assembled about twelve hundred horse after an hour's riding from the field of battle, and brought them on again; but then it was too late, for the infantry was retreated. 1690.

From this time, during the whole course of the war, the Dutch horse had the misfortune to be accounted the worst amongst the confederates; and indeed, had they behaved themselves as well as the infantry on this occasion, the victory would certainly have been on their side, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers. As for the foot, never did any troops perform greater wonders; for after they were abandoned by the horse, they alone sustained the charge of

1690. the French cavalry and infantry, and being attacked in front, flank, and rear, all at once, yet remained firm, unbroken, and impenetrable. They let the enemy's horſe approach within piſtol-ſhot of them, and made their diſcharge with ſuch an unconcerned and ſteady aim, that the whole ſquadron together ſeemed to ſink under the ground, ſcarce thirty of the whole number eſcaping; and this courſe they ſo accuſtomed themſelves to obſerve, that at length they laughed at their enemies, and challenged them to advance. The French, on the other ſide, were ſo confounded with the execution done upon them, that they fled as ſoon as the Dutch began to preſent their muſkets; nor durſt they any more come near them, but ſuffered them to retreat in good order without offering to purſue them. This unparallelled firmneſs and bravery made the duke of Luxemburgh ſay in their commendation, "That they had ſurpaſſed the Spaniſh infantry at the battle of Rocroy," where the Spaniards had ſignalized themſelves; adding withal, "That prince Waldeck ought ever to remember the French horſe, and himſelf never to forget the Dutch infantry." (z)

This

(z) The marquis de Feuquieres tells us, that the duke of Luxemburg, by the ſuperiority of his genius over the prince of Waldeck, completed the deciſion of this great battle of Fleurus, the ſucceſs of which was owing to the ſeaſonable time, in which the duke ordered the left wing of his horſe to form a motion, of which the enemy could have no knowledge, becauſe it was intirely effected out of their view, though it happened to be made very near them. This was ſuch a maſterly expedient, as could only be conceived by a truly great man, whoſe admirable penetration could ſingle out the critical moment for directing ſuch a motion, and concealing it from the enemy's obſervation; ſince it would have been too hazardous to have attempted it, had the enemy diſcovered his proceeding. The prince of Waldeck had drawn up his troops on a tract of land, which roſe a little to his right, and formed a ſlope on the other ſide, which was unobſerved by the extremity of the right wing, and continued in an eaſy declivity to the level, on which the duke of Luxemburg was marching to his enemy. When the front of the French army arrived at the place, where this elevation was high enough to conceal the left wing of their horſe from the prince of Waldeck in the continuation of their march, the duke improved the important moment with a ſurpriſing capacity, and ordered monſieur de Gournai, a very expert officer of the horſe, to take the advantage of the oppoſite ſide, which prevented the enemy from diſcovering the motion he was to purſue, and to

pour

This action was very bloody on both ſides, the Dutch themſelves owning the loſs of four thouſand ſix hundred men killed 1690.

pour all the left of his horſe upon the enemy's right flank, with a particular caution to order his march ſo, that the right of his left might rejoin the left of the foot, at the inſtant they were preparing to charge the front of the enemy's foot. This motion, which would have proved ſo hazardous, had the enemy diſcovered it, but which decided the battle in favour of the French, was executed with a capacity equal to the judgment that formed it. All the left wing of the French horſe was diſpoſed into a kind of rectangular form on the flank of the enemy's right wing, though they extended to the French line of foot. And thus the Dutch ſaw themſelves aſſaulted in flank by a front equal to that, which they poſſeſſed: when they therefore found their right charged in flank, at the ſame time, their centre and left were attacked by the centre and right of the French army, it was impoſſible for the prince of Waldeck to remedy the diſorder on his right; which was ſoon communicated to the centre and left, and ended in their precipitate retreat from the field of battle with the loſs of all their artillery, and the greateſt part of their foot; becauſe the prince had poſted too large a body of infantry in the village of Ligni, and could not draw them out, after they were abandoned by the horſe. "The "relation of theſe particulars, "adds monſieur de Feuquieres, "makes it evident, that a field "of battle, choſen with great "attention by a general, who "determines to await his enemy "there, can never be ſo level, "ſo open, or ſo equal in all the "advantages of ſituation, as to "prevent a more expert general "from improving ſome little "conveniences in the diſpoſition "of the ground, that frequently "afford him an opportunity of "bringing the battle to a glori-"ous deciſion. This action may "be juſtly ranked among the no-"bleſt atchievements of the duke "of Luxemburg, when we con-"ſider the admirable capacity "and profound judgment he "diſcovered in the art of war, "as well as the peculiar viva-"city, with which he accom-"pliſhed his deſigns. This great "commander formed in one "moment the plan of his march "againſt the enemy, and com-"pletely executed his whole "ſcheme with ſo much vigour, "as made it impoſſible for the "enemy to avoid the fatal blow "he was preparing to give "them"

Another French writer, the marquis de la Farre, gives the following account of that battle. He obſerves, that monſieur de Louvois, who was an enemy to the duke of Luxemburg, not being able to hinder that duke from commanding the principal army in Flanders, found means however to procure a detachment of a great part of it to compoſe another for marſhal d'Humieres towards the ſea-coaſts, and at the ſame time ſent poſitive orders to the duke, who was between the Sambre and the Maeſe, to paſs the former of thoſe rivers; which expoſed

1690. killed upon the place, and a great many wounded; above four thouſand priſoners, and the greateſt part of their artillery taken. The moſt remarkable perſons among the ſlain were the prince of Saxe-Merſburg, the count of Stirum, one of the young counts of Naſſau, the baron de Hyde, and ſeveral colonels, captains, and inferior officers. As for the French, excepting the priſoners and the field of battle, they had no reaſon to boaſt of any advantage, the number of ſlain being at leaſt equal with that of the Dutch. And though

expoſed that general to a blow almoſt inevitable, if the prince of Waldeck had been as vigilant a commander as he. But though the prince was an experienced general, he was not very enterpriſing; and ſtopping too long at Flerus, which is not above two or three leagues from the Sambre, the greateſt part of the French army was actually paſſed that river, before he ſtirred to oppoſe their paſſage. The firſt body of horſe, which he detached for that purpoſe, was engaged by the Gens d'Armes, and, after a vigorous fight, was perſued till they came in ſight of their own camp. The prince of Waldeck had a great army poſted to conſiderable advantage. But the duke of Luxemburg, who could not avoid repaſſing the Sambre before the enemy, without engaging them, ſpent all the night in preparing to attack them the next day. The front of their main body was covered with a brook, ſo that there was no poſſibility of attacking them except on their left. In this ſituation, the grand prior, who was near the duke of Luxemburg, made all his right paſs over, one after another, and fell upon the flank of the left, while we charged their right; which determined the conflict, and routed their cavalry: yet their infantry rallied again, and made a great fire. The duke of Maine had an horſe there killed under him; and near him monſieur Suſſal, (who was his governor, as he had been alſo to the duke of Vendoſôme) was ſlain. Some afterwards blamed the duke of Luxemburg for having ſeparated his army in ſight of the enemy, who might have taken advantage of it; but the ground being ſuch, that they could not perceive the ſeparation.

"I am, ſays monſieur de la "Farre, of opinion, that this "general thereby merited great "praiſe. This battle happily won was the ſourſe of "all the other good ſucceſs, "which France had during this "war." The duke of Luxemburg was for marching forward, and making the advantage of this victory; but the orders of the court, or to ſay better, thoſe of monſieur de Louvois, ſuſpended that action; and he was put upon beſieging Charleroy, which made ſo brave and long a defence, that the taking of it at laſt was the only fruit of this battle, which might have had more advantageous conſequences." Memoir. du Regne de Louis XIV. cap. X.

prince

prince Waldeck might have committed an error in not avoiding a battle, after the informations which were given him concerning the conjunction of the French forces; yet it is certain, he did all that could be expected from an experienced general. 1690.

The French were not able to draw any advantage from this ſucceſs; for the Dutch repaired their loſſes with admirable diligence, ſo that prince Waldeck being reinforced by the five Engliſh regiments, which were not in the action, eight or nine thouſand men from Hanover, and ten thouſand more of the biſhopric of Liege, Brandenburgers and Hollanders, under count de Tilly, he joined the elector of Brandenburg with all his forces. By this conjunction the confederate army being reckoned fifty-five thouſand ſtrong, bent their march to Genap, and ſo to Bois-Seigneur-Iſaac. And though Luxemburg had been likewiſe conſiderably reinforced, yet he ſat contented with the glory of having gained a ſignal victory this ſummer, and fortified his camp ſo, as not to be obliged to fight without conſiderable advantage. On the other hand, the ſtates-general ſent poſitive orders to prince Waldeck not to hazard another engagement till the fleet ſhould be again at ſea; and this reſtrained the elector of Brandenburg, who, in conjunction with the Dutch, was ſuperior in numbers to Luxemburg. And afterwards, when the ſtates ſuperſeded thoſe orders, he did not think fit to hazard his army. Such is the fate of confederate armies, when under a different direction, that when the one is willing, or at leaſt ſeems to be ſo, the other ſtands off. So there was no further action in Flanders this campaign.

Though the emperor, towards the latter end of the preceding year, was very preſſing with the proteſtant electors to meet at Augſburgh, yet neither letters or meſſages were able to prevail with them. However, the electoral college being met, together with envoys of ſuch as were abſent, the emperor made a ſpeech to them upon the occaſion, for which they were aſſembled, conſiſting of three principal heads: the firſt was the ſecurity of the empire againſt the deſigns of France: the next, the neceſſity of chuſing a king of the Romans: and, laſtly, he earneſtly recommended to them to caſt their eyes upon his ſon Joſeph, archduke of Auſtria, and king of Hungary, to advance him to that dignity. Whatever the electoral college reſolved in relation to France, they proved unanimous in the choice of his ſon, juſtly ſuppoſing, that there could be no better method for obviating the deſigns of France upon Germany, than to continue the imperial

Affairs of Germany. Life of Leopold, p. 213.

1690. Jan. 4. rial dignity in the Auſtrian family. Thus archduke Joſeph was choſen and crowned king of the Romans, to the great ſatisfaction of the emperor, and moſt of the empire, and the no leſs diſappointment of the king of France, whoſe enemies ſtill increaſed in this very conjuncture. For the memorial, which the duke of Lorrain preſented to the diet at Ratiſbon towards the cloſe of the laſt year, about his being reſtored to his Duchy, was now ſucceeded by a manifeſto from the ſame prince, in which he declared war againſt France, alledging how unjuſt it was in Lewis XIV, to detain his territories from him under frivolous pretences; promiſing to himſelf to enter into Lorrain the approaching ſummer, at the head of forty thouſand men, and exhorting all his ſubjects to ſhake off the yoke of France, and all the nobility and gentry to aſſiſt him to regain his antient patrimony, under the pain of being degraded and deprived of all their privileges. But this brave prince, who in all probability might have given a very conſiderable ſhock to the power of France, being upon the road to Vienna, at a ſmall village called Wells near Lintz, was ſeized with a quinzy, which ſoon deprived him of the uſe of his ſpeech, ſo that he was obliged to write down part of his confeſſion; and, perceiving himſelf near his end, he wrote the following letter to the emperor:

Death of the duke of Lorrain.

"I departed from Inſpruck, in order to come and receive "your orders; our God calls me hence, and I am going to "render him an account of a life, which I had devoted to "you. I humbly beſeech your majeſty to remember my wife, "who is nearly related to you, my children, whom I leave "without any fortune, and my ſubjects, who are op-"preſſed."

April 8. He expired ſoon after, aged forty-ſeven years. It was reported that his death was occaſioned by poiſon, and imputed to the court of France. To ſupport this opinion, it was urged, that his death had been mentioned in the papers printed in France, fifteen days before it happened, and that many of the circumſtances, which accompanied it, were likewiſe foretold. And it was affirmed, that one of the firſt miniſters of that kingdom laid a wager, that the duke would never command the imperial army again. Beſides, it was ſaid, that the jeſuits of Straſburg having drawn up publicly in their ſchool an horoſcope, which threatened him with death in the ſpace of three weeks, he died fifteen days after; and that the phyſicians, who opened him by order of the emperor,

'peror, found his body corrupted in such a manner, as could only be the effect of a violent poison. To which were added the duke's own suspicions, who was reported to have written to the emperor in these terms, 'I am dying. I 'know not, whether I am paying by my death the ordinary 'debt of nature, or whether I am sacrificed to the unjust and 'ambitious designs of a crown, which has declared itself an 'implacable enemy of my family.' 1690.

The duke was one of those indolent genius's, who never exert themselves but from mere necessity. The melancholy situation, in which he saw himself, when he began to reflect, and the disgraces, which his delicacy in point of honour drew upon him in France, Poland, Rome, and Austria, were but too capable of depressing and extinguishing the courage of a young prince, who had nothing before him but the most gloomy prospect. For even at Vienna, where his services and alliance with the emperor ought to have put him in a situation of displaying his abilities, the jealousy of the ministers obliged him to contract himself, and by a politic indolence conceal his talents and inclinations for war and government. This struck Europe with amazement, upon seeing him in his first campaigns distinguish himself by actions worthy an old experienced general. But every one recovered from this surprise, when they saw him maintain and even surpass these first attempts by new victories. Nor was his valour only admired, but the depth and solidity of his judgment, and the extent and justness of his views were likewise acknowledged; and nothing contributed more to persuade people, that France had recourse to poison, to remove so formidable an enemy. His character. Fr. Cont.

His sudden death, as it damped the rejoicings of the court of Vienna upon the marriage of the princess Dorothea Sophia of Neuberg with the prince of Parma; so it allayed the sorrow at Versailles upon the death of the Dauphiness, which happened two days after the duke of Lorrain's, though it did not retard the journey of the Dauphin to Strasburg, from whence he put himself at the head of the French army, that lay near Landau.

The command of the imperial army was given to the elector of Bavaria, with whom, at length, joined a body of Saxons headed by the elector himself with his two sons. These four held a conference at Eppinghen, together with the field-marshals Caprara and Sereni; after which there were great expectations, that the principal part of the army would have fallen upon Hunninghen; but there was nothing Life of Leopold, p. 214.

put

1690. put in execution on that ſide, nor indeed any where elſe worth relating. For the imperialiſts having for ſome time encamped in the marquiſate of Baden Durlach, it was thought very ſurprizing, that inſtead of marching on towards the upper Rhine, they fell down on a ſudden towards Mentz; the elector of Saxony at the ſame time being poſted near Philipſburg, general Dunewaldt commanding a flying camp towards fort Louis, and general Souches keeping his former poſt on Hunninghen ſide. The dauphin was no ſooner informed of theſe motions; but he paſſed the Rhine at fort Louis to maintain his army in the enemy's country, and that in order of battle, as expecting ſome oppoſition in his march. On the 16th of Auguſt he encamped in the plain of Stolhoffen, having the mountains on one ſide, the Rhine on the other, and a large moraſs before him, being about forty thouſand ſtrong, and in expectation of being conſiderably reinforced. His deſign was to have taken ſome forts, that opened him a paſſage into Wirtemberg, a province yet untouched by either army, and which conſequently would have afforded plentiful ſubſiſtence for his men. The duke of Bavaria prevented the accompliſhment of his project; for returning back with long marches, and joining the Saxons, the two electors marched directly towards the dauphin, who by hard and cautious marches avoided an engagement; and the rather, becauſe the imperialiſts were ſuperior to him in force, upon his detaching twelve thouſand of his men towards the Moſelle, to obviate the deſigns of the Lunenburghers and Heſſians, who were got near Coblentz, on purpoſe to paſs the Rhine, and fall on the archbiſhopric of Triers, and ſo drive the French out of their country. And thus ended the campaign on the German ſide without any remarkable action.

Inſurrection in Catalonia. Boyer.

An inſurrection happened in Catalonia towards the beginning of this year, which created no ſmall trouble to the viceroy and court of Spain. The pretence was, that the Spaniards kept too great a number of troops in that province, and overcharged it with taxes contrary to it's antient priviledges, of which the Catalans were always extremely jealous. The revolt begun in this manner; two wealthy countrymen had intereſt enough to draw together about a thouſand more; and with that body they ſtopt up all the avenues to Barcelona, where the duke de Villa Hermoſa the viceroy reſided; ſeized upon two troops of horſe, that lay in the neighbouring villages, and committed ſome ſpoil. But upon the viceroy's ſending a party of the garriſon of Barcelona

againſt

againſt them, they immediately fled to the mountains, and from thence in a ſhort time after ſent to beg pardon, which was granted them. This ſedition, which ſeemed intirely extinguiſhed, was only ſuppreſſed for a time to break out in a greater flame; for the rebels upon the firſt ſally had ſhewn themſelves too ſoon, by reaſon the French, who were to have ſupported them, were not within reach to do it; ſo that the Catalans kept fair for a time, 'till they had aſſurance of protection from France, when they threw off their maſks more daringly than before, and increaſed in numbers every day; ſo that the court of Spain was obliged, beſides the forces, that were already in that province, to ſend for more out of Navarre to ſuppreſs them. By this means the rebels were reduced to ſo great neceſſity, that though the duke de Noailles haſtened with all expedition to Perpignan, and uſed all the induſtry imaginable to draw his army together to countenance them, yet they had before in a manner dwindled into nothing. However he reaped this advantage from their revolt, that he anticipated the Spaniards in the field as he did the year before, when he took Campredon from them, which ſpent them this whole campaign in retaking it, though they could not prevent the demoliſhing of it. Thus the duke de Noailles had the opportunity of taking San Juan de Abadeſſas, a ſmall fort two leagues beyond Campredon, and ſix from Gironne, which encouraged him to proceed: and ſo poſſeſſing himſelf of divers caſtles, that embarraſſed his progreſs, he advanced as far as Foulen, about four ſmall leagues from Gironne, upon which laſt town he ſeemed to bend his thoughts; but finding himſelf not ſtrong enough for ſuch an enterpriſe, and yet being deſirous to take the advantage of the ſlowneſs of the Spaniards, he left Gironne upon the left hand, and advanced near the city of Vich, maintaining his army at the expence of the Catalans, and deſtroying all he could not make uſe of. As for the Spaniards, Auguſt was come before they had between ten or twelve thouſand men together, with which the duke of Villa Hermoſa marched towards the enemy. But the French army being now weakened by a detachment ſent into Dauphiné, Noailles prudently declined fighting, and retired by the way of Rouſillon, and ſo ended the campaign on that ſide. 1690.

After this view of the foreign tranſactions which have any relation to king William, as head of the confederacy againſt France; it is time to return to England. The king at his coming from Ireland was ſo little wearied with that campaign,

1690. paign, that he intended to have gone over to his army into Flanders. But it was too late, for they were going into winter quarters. Wherefore, he reſolved to hold the ſeſſion of parliament early, that ſo the funds being ſettled for the next year, he might have an interview with the German princes, who intended to meet at the Hague, and concert meaſures for the enſuing campaign.

The parliament meets. Accordingly on the 2d of October the parliament met at Weſtminſter, and the king made the following ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

The king's ſpeech. Pr. H. C. II. 384. "SINCE I laſt met you, I have uſed my beſt endeavours to reduce Ireland into ſuch a condition this year, as that it might be no longer a charge to England. And it has pleaſed God to bleſs my endeavours with ſucceſs, that I doubt not but I ſhould have been fully poſſeſſed of that kingdom by this time, had I been enabled to have gone into the field as ſoon as I ſhould have done, and as it is more eſpecially neceſſary in Ireland, where the rains are ſo great, and begin ſo early.

"I think myſelf obliged to take notice, how well the army there have behaved themſelves on all occaſions, and borne great hardſhips with little pay, and with ſo much patience and willingneſs, as could not but proceed from an affectionate duty to my ſervice, and a zeal for the proteſtant religion.

"I have already made it evident, how much I have preferred the ſatisfaction of my ſubjects before the moſt ſolid advantages of the crown, by parting with ſo conſiderable a branch of it's inheritance. And it is no leſs apparent, that I have aſked no revenue for myſelf but what I have readily ſubjected to be charged to the uſes of the war.

"I did at my departure give order for all the public accounts to be made ready for me againſt my return; and I have commanded them to be laid before the houſe of of commons, by which they will ſee, that the real want of what was neceſſary beyond the funds given, and the not getting in due time that for which funds were aſſigned, have been the principal cauſes, why the army is ſo much in arrear of their pay, and the ſtores both for the navy and the ordnance not ſupplied as they ought to be.

"Now as I have neither ſpared my perſon nor my pains to do you all the good I could; ſo I doubt not, but if

"you

" you will as chearfully do your parts, it is in your power 1690.
" to make both me and yourſelves happy, and the nation
" great. And, on the other hand, it is too plain, by what
" the French have let you ſee ſo lately, that if the preſent
" war be not proſecuted with vigour, no nation in the world
" is expoſed to greater danger.

" I hope therefore, there will need no more upon that
" ſubject, than to lay before you, gentlemen of the houſe
" of commons, the ſtate of what will be neceſſary for the ſup-
" port of the fleet and armies, which cannot poſſibly admit
" of being leſſened in the year enſuing; and to recommend
" to your care the clearing of my revenue, ſo as to enable
" me to ſubſiſt, and to maintain the charge of the civil liſt;
" the revenue being ſo engaged, that it muſt be wholly ap-
" plied, after the firſt of November next, to pay off the
" debts already charged upon it. And therefore a preſent
" conſideration muſt be had of the arrears of the army, which
" ſhall likewiſe be laid before you, and for all which I muſt
" deſire a ſufficient and timely ſupply.

" It is farther neceſſary to inform you, that the whole
" ſupport of the confederacy abroad will abſolutely depend
" upon the ſpeed and vigour of your proceedings in this ſeſ-
" ſion. And here I muſt take notice, with great ſatisfac-
" tion of the readineſs, which my ſubjects of all degrees
" have ſhewn both in this city, and in their ſeveral coun-
" ties, by giving their aſſiſtance ſo chearfully as they did
" in my abſence, while the French fleet was upon our
" coaſts. And beſides this ſo convincing mark of the good
" inclinations of my people, I have found through all the
" counties, where I paſſed, both at my going into Ireland,
" and in my return from thence, ſuch demonſtration of their
" affection, that I have not the leaſt doubt, but I ſhall find
" the ſame from their repreſentatives in parliament.

" I cannot conclude without taking notice alſo, how
" much the honour of the nation has been expoſed by the
" ill conduct of my fleet in the laſt ſummer's engagement
" againſt the French. And I think myſelf ſo much con-
" cerned to ſee it vindicated, that I cannot reſt ſatisfied till
" an example has been made of ſuch as ſhall be found faulty
" upon their examination and trial, which was not practi-
" cable, while the whole fleet was abroad, but is now put
" into the proper way of being done as ſoon as may be.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I look upon the future well-being of this kingdom to
" depend upon the reſult of your councils and determina-

1690. "tions at this time; and the benefit will be double by the "speed of your resolutions, insomuch that I hope you will "agree with me in this conclusion, that whoever goes about "to obstruct or divert your applications to these matters, "preferably to all others, can neither be my friends, nor the "kingdom's."

Addres of both Houses Ibid.

Both houses began with addresses of thanks and congratulation to the king and queen, in which they set forth the sense they had of their great care of their people; of their courage and good government, in the highest expressions that could be conceived, with promises of standing by them, and assisting them with every thing that should be found necessary for the public service (a).

The

(a) As these addresses seem not only to express the sense of both houses, but of the whole nation (except the disaffected) at that time, the substance of them is here inserted. The lords began with their address to the king, wherein they expressed, "How extremely sensible "they were of the great benefit "and advantage his late expe-"dition into Ireland had pro-"cured to all his subjects in ge-"neral, and also the success of "his arms in that kingdom; "which was, under God, ow-"ing to his majesty's personal "valour and conduct. Where-"fore they thought it their duty "to return him their humble "and hearty thanks for all those "signal evidences he had given "of his extraordinary affection "for his people, which had "carried him, on so many oc-"casions, to venture a life, that "was so dear to them, and to "despise all hazards to procure "the settlement of his king-"doms, the peace and quiet of "his subjects, and the establish-"ment of their religion. And "as it was not possible but so "much bravery of mind, such "an undaunted courage, and "an heart so exhalted above "any apprehensions in the midst "of all dangers, must gain his "majesty the admiration and "reverence of all the world, "and even of his enemies them-"selves, who had felt the ef-"fects of so great virtues; so "they did not doubt, but that "such extraordinary qualities "must unite the hearts of all "his people in such a tender-"ness, as well as duty, for his "royal person, as was necessary "for the finishing what his "majesty had so gloriously be-"gun."

The next day their lordships also acknowledged, "the great "advantage, which the nation "had received by the eminent "resolution, as well as prudence, "which her majesty had shewn "in the absence of the king, "and in such circumstances of "difficulty, as would have dis-"composed a mind, that had "not been raised above them, "as her majesty had approved "her's to be, by this undenia-"ble evidence. And they de-"clared,

The ſame day theſe addreſſes were preſented, the commons, to make good their aſſurances of affection to the government, 1690. A ſupply of four millions voted.

"clared, that her majeſty having preſerved the quiet and "peace of the kingdom, by her "prudent adminiſtration, againſt "the dangers threatened by a "powerful enemy, the remembrance of ſuch extraordinary virtue muſt ever dwell "in their minds, and engage them in juſtice, upon all "occaſions, to expreſs their "gratitude, as became her majeſty's moſt dutiful ſubjects."

The commons likewiſe on the 9th of October repreſented to the king "their grateful ſenſe "of that unparallelled goodneſs "and tender affection to his "people, which for the reſcuing his kingdom of Ireland from a tyrannous and "foreign yoke, and eaſing his "ſubjects of this kingdom of "the exceſſive charge of a lingering war, had induced his "majeſty to undertake an hazardous voyage, ond too freely "to expoſe to all the dangers of "war that invaluable life, upon "which the whole proteſtant "intereſt, and the common liberty of Europe did ſo much "depend. That it was, next "under God, to his conduct and example, that they "muſt aſcribe the ſucceſs of the "expedition, and to which they "muſt owe their hopes of the "ſpeedy and entire reduction "of that kingdom, and of ſeeing themſelves in a condition "to make his enemies ſenſible "of the ſtrength and power of "England under a king, who "knew and perſued its intereſt. "They moſt heartily congratulated his majeſty's ſucceſs, "and ſafe return to his people, "who were unanimouſly perſuaded, that their peace, ſecurity and happineſs were bound "up in his ſafety. And they "did in the name of all the "commons in England aſſure "him, that they would be ever "ready to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power; and, as "the beſt and trueſt way of expreſſing their gratitude, would "endeavour effectually to ſupport his government againſt "all his enemies."

In their addreſs to the queen, on the ſame day, they expreſſed the "deep ſenſe they had of "that goodneſs, wiſdom, and "courage, which her majeſty "had manifeſted in the greateſt "difficulties and preſſing dangers, during the king's abſence, at a time when a potent enemy was upon the "coaſt, when the nation was "weakened in that part, which "was it's proper ſtrength, and "deprived of the ſecurity of his "majeſty's preſence. They declared, that the reſolution, "which her majeſty ſhewed in "the adminiſtration, gave life "to her ſubjects, and made them "exert a ſtrength and force unknown to the former reigns: "That her zeal for the public "encouraged them to ſhew ſuch "chearfulneſs in their duty, as "diſappointed the hopes and "deſigns of all the open and "ſecret enemies of the government; and that the grateful

1690. vernment, and their promiſes of aſſiſtance (b), voted, purſuant to an eſtimate laid before them of the next year's charges,

" remembrance of this, which " renewed the memory of the " moſt happy times, would for " ever remain in the hearts of " her people, and could never " fail to be expreſſed in all in- " ſtances of loyalty and obedi- " ence from themſelves and all " the commons of England."

(b) This favourable diſpoſition of the commons and the poſture of affairs at that time, will appear from the following original letter of biſhop Burnet to his couſin Mr. Johnſton, envoy extraordinary at the court of Berlin, dated from London, October 14, 1690.

" I have been now a week in " town, and have had leiſure " and opportunities to inform " myſelf of our affairs, and of " the temper of people's minds " among us; and I muſt freely " own to you, that I was never " more ſurpriſed in my whole " life than I am, to ſee the houſe " of commons in ſuch a temper. " All that I know, ſay plainly, " they dare not go back into " their country, if they do not " give money liberally. So they " have already voted above four " millions for the fleet, the land- " army, and the ordnance; and " they ſeem to be in a diſpoſi- " tion to give what is neceſſary " for clearing the revenue of " anticipations. The article of " the fleet met with no oppoſi- " tion; and there were only " two no's to that of the land- " army, which were Seymour " and Clarges. There will pro- " bably be a land-tax of eigh- " teen months in the old way of " aſſeſſment, but double at one " hundred and forty thouſand " pounds a month, and a poll- " bill; but how the reſt will be " raiſed, is not yet ſo viſible; " for they ſeem ſtill extreme " averſe to any thing, that looks " like an exciſe. In a word, " the French fleet, by lying ſo " long on our coaſt, as it then " did us no harm, ſo now pro- " duces ſuch effects, as if we " had brought them thither; " ſince it has both united and a- " nimated the nation to a degree " beyond any thing, that the moſt " ſanguine could ever have pro- " miſed themſelves. And the " king's behaviour in Ireland, " as well as king James's mean- " neſs, has made ſo wonderful " a change in all men's minds " with relation to them both, " that we ſeem now not to be " the ſame people, that we were " a year ago, and the nation " ſeems reſolved to ſupport the " king in the war, to the utmoſt, " to which it can poſſibly ſtretch " itſelf. I pray God give us " ſuch ſucceſs next year againſt " France, as we have had this " year in Ireland; and then we " may hope quickly to ſee happy " days.

" The buſineſs of the earl of " Torrington will now be, as I " believe, ſpeedily diſpatched; " for our houſe has already vo- " ted that a peer has no privi- " lege to exempt him from be- " ing tried by a court-martial. " But there is ſome difficulty in " this, whether the commiſſi- " oners

charges, a ſupply of four millions, (the largeſt ſum that ever had been aſked by a king of England) for the maintenance 1690.

" oners of the admiralty have " the power of a lord admiral; " ſince the act for a court martial " ſpeaks only of a lord admiral. " and it is probable the matter " cannot be legally ſettled with- " out naming a lord admiral pro " tempore.

" I no not ſee any other " thing, that is like to give the " houſe any great diſturbance " this ſeſſion; ſo by all appear- " ance, it will be a calm and by " conſequence a ſhort one.

" Dr. Sherlock's taking the " oaths has very much diſturbed " the jacobite-party, for they " had ſet him up in their " thoughts as the chief writer " of their party. The biſhops, " who have hitherto ſtood out, " ſeem ſtill more poſitive than " ever; and I make no doubt " but that matter will be ſettled " as ſoon as the ſeſſion of parli- " ament is at an end. All the " accounts we have from Ire- " land ſeem to aſſure us, that " the rebels will be forced to " ſubmit long before the winter " is done, or periſh for want of " all things. There begins to " be already both a face of trade " and juſtice there, and that " Ireland, by the total depreſſi- " on of the Iriſh, will be within " four or five years in a better " condition than ever.

" The feebleneſs of the moti- " ons of the confederates all " this year has much exalted " France, but I hope we ſhall " ſee another ſcene next year. " The king intends to go over " to Holland as ſoon as his af- " fairs here will admit of it.

" I have now told you every " thing relating to our affairs, " that occurs to me, and have " not writ to you as to a mini- " ſter, that muſt lie for his " country, but with the plain " ſimplicity of truth. I am " with all poſſible affection and " eſteem, &c.

" The conſpiracy in Scotland " has been a baſe and foul one; " and I doubt very many have " been concerned in it. Every " thing is confeſſed and known, " though I do not yet hear, that " there are legal proofs and " diſcoveries, that will be wit- " neſſes. But that matter will " be laid open as ſoon as the " money bills are in good for- " wardneſs. There is alſo ano- " ther diſcovery will be made, " of which I know no particu- " lar; but I am fully aſſured " from good hands, that it will " give a full ſatisfaction concern- " ing the impoſture of the pre- " tended prince of Wales.

" The preſbytery of Scotland " proceeds with ſo blind a fury, " that as they are turning out " all the epiſcopal clergy, ſo " they will raiſe a flame here, " which may obſtruct the king's " buſineſs in England, and may " very much increaſe the ani- " moſities, that are amongſt us.

" Every body is moſt migh- " tily pleaſed with my lord Sid- " ney in Ireland.

" I have now brought Mr. " Allix to Saliſbury, who is " hard at work upon an editi- " on of the councils, in four vo- " lumes."

1690. of the navy and army (c). The funds propoſed for raiſing this ſum were agreed to and ſettled (d), but proving deficient, it was reſolved, 'That the ſum of one million be raiſed, upon the credit, or by the ſale of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, and that an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to command the commiſſioners in Ireland, to make a return of the names of the perſons in rebellion in that kingdom, and of their eſtates

Another bill concerning the forfeitures in Ireland. Oct. 17. Pr. II. C. II. 386.

(c) For the navy and building of new ſhips was granted the ſum of 1,791,695 l. and for the maintenance of an army of 69,638 men, the ſum of 2,294,560 l.

(d) The money bills were,

1. An act for doubling the duty of exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors, during the ſpace of one year, ending Nov. 17, 1691.

2. An act for certain impoſitions upon all Eaſt India goods and manufactures, and upon all wrought ſilks, and ſeveral other gooſts to be imported after the 25th of December 1690, to November 10, 1695.

3. An act for granting an aid of 1,651,702 l. 18 s.

4. An act for the continuance of ſeveral former acts therein mentioned, for the laying ſeveral duties upon wines, vinegar, and tobacco. The acts continued here, are that of the duties upon wines and vinegar, and that of tobacco and ſugar, both 1 James II. namely,

	l.	s.	d.
For every tun of French wine and vinegar imported	8	0	0
For every tun of Spaniſh wines imported —— — —	12	0	0
For every pound of tobacco from our plantations — —	0	0	3
—— of Spaniſh or foreign tobacco	0	0	6

Theſe duties were granted to king James, from June 24, 1685, to June 24, 1693, and now continued from that time to the 20th of June 1696.

5. An act for encouraging the diſtilling of brandy and ſpirits from corn, and for laying ſeveral duties on low wines or ſpirits of the firſt extraction, viz.

	l.	s.	d.
Every gallon of low wines of the firſt extraction drawn from foreign materials — — —	0	0	8
From brewers waſh or tilt — — —	0	1	0
From drink made of malted corn —	0	0	1
From cyder or perry -	0	0	3

This act begins December 24, 1690, and was to end December 25, 1695.

6. An act for ſeveral additional duties of exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for four years, to begin when the act for doubling the exciſe ends.

A ſupply of 570,000 l. was voted to be raiſed on theſe additional duties, for building ſeventeen third rate ſhips of ſixty guns each, beſides the ſhips already provided to be built. Pr. H. C. II. 387.

'and value thereof; and that the ſame might be tranſmitted 1690.
'to the houſe of commons.' This addreſs was drawn up
and reported to the houſe by Sir Thomas Clarges, but upon Octob. 22.
the queſtion it was rejected. However, it was reſolved, that a bill be brought in for attainting the perſons, that had been in rebellion in England or Ireland, and for confiſcating their eſtates, and applying the ſame to bear the charge of the war. Near ſix weeks paſſed before any progreſs was made in this bill; but it being at laſt preſented to the houſe, a Dec. 2.
clauſe was brought in to empower the king to grant away a third part of thoſe confiſcated eſtates, to ſuch as had ſerved in the war; and to give ſuch articles and capitulations, to thoſe who were in arms, as he ſhould think fit. But this clauſe was rejected, and upon the bill many petitions were offered, by the creditors of ſome, and the heirs of others, who had continued faithful to the government, and deſired proviſo's for their ſecurity. But the houſe ſeeing, that there was no end of petitions for ſuch proviſo's, rejected them all, imitating in this too much the parliament, which king James held at Dublin, in which about three thouſand perſons had been attainted without proof or proceſs, only becauſe ſome of them were gone over to England, and others were abſconded or informed againſt in Ireland. At length the bill, Dec. 23.
with ſeveral amendments, being paſſed, was ſent up to the lords, who thought themſelves bound in juſtice to hear all Burnet.
petitions; upon which the bill was like to be clogged with many proviſo's; and the matter muſt have held long. But to ſtop this, the king ſent a meſſage to the commons, and ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe afterwards from the throne to both houſes. He promiſed that he would give no grants of any confiſcated eſtates, but would keep that matter entire, for the conſideration of another ſeſſion of parliament. By this declaration the king intended only to aſſure them, that he would give none of thoſe eſtates to his courtiers or officers; but he thought he was ſtill at liberty to paſs ſuch acts of grace, or grant ſuch articles to the Iriſh, as the ſtate of his affairs ſhould require.

About this time captain James Campbell, a Scots gentleman, brother to the earl of Argyle, aſſiſted by Archibald Montgomery and Sir John Johnſton, forcibly ſeized on Mrs. Mary Wharton, a rich heireſs of about thirteen years of age, and carried her away from her parents in Great Queen-ſtreet, and married her againſt her will. Upon this a proclamation was iſſued for apprehending captain Campbell and his abettors. Not long before there had been a bill brought

An heireſs carried away by captain Campbell, Nov. 19. Oct. 26.

1690. into the houſe of commons, to prevent clandeſtine marriages; and it was imagined, that the paſſing of it would have been forwarded by the violence committed by Campbell. But upon conſideration, that this bill was attended with many inconveniencies, and might hinder younger brothers from Dec. 5. making their fortunes, it was dropped in ſilence. However, another bill was brought in, for making void the marriage between Mrs Wharton and Mr. Campbell; which, notwithſtanding the earl of Argyle's petition in his brother's behalf, paſſed through both houſes (e).

As there were no grievances to inflame the houſe, (by which in former reigns the moſt promiſing beginnings of ſome ſeſſions had often miſcarried) great diſpatch had been uſed in granting the ſupplies, for which the king gave them thanks, aſſuring them that he would take care to ſee the money diligently and ſtrictly applied to the uſes for which it was given; and deſiring them at the ſame time, to finiſh with the utmoſt expedition what buſineſs remained to be done, becauſe the poſture of affairs abroad required his preſence at the Hague.

Commiſſioners of the public accounts. Pr. H. C. II. 338. Burnet. Boyer.

However, ſome began to complain of a miſmanagement of the public money; but the miniſtry put a ſtop to that, by moving for a bill for appointing and enabling commiſſioners for examining into the public accounts, giving them authority to bring all perſons, whom they ſhould have occaſion for, before them, and to tender them an oath to diſcover their knowledge of ſuch things, as they ſhould aſk of them. This was like the power of a court of inquiſition; but how unuſual ſoever ſuch a commiſſion was, it ſeemed neceſſary to grant it for the ſilencing all ſcandalous reports. In the houſe of commons the method of appointing theſe commiſſioners was, that the ſeveral members put into glaſſes at Dec. 26. the table the ſeveral liſts of nine perſons names; and the choice fell upon Sir Peter Rich, Sir Thomas Clarges, Mr. Paul Foley, colonel Robert Auſten, Sir Matthew Andrews, Sir Benjamin Newland, Sir Samuel Barnadiſton, Sir Peter Colleton, and Mr. Robert Harley. When the bill was carried up to the houſe of lords, it was moved, that ſince the commons had named none but members of their own houſe, the

(e) She afterwards married colonel Bierly, who had a regiment of horſe in king William's ſervice. The aſſiſting his friend coſt Sir John Johnſton his life, for he was hanged for it, notwithſtanding the great application that was made to the king, and to the relations of Mrs. Wharton to prevent his execution. Oldmixon, p. 54.

lords

lords ſhould add ſome of their number. This was done by ballot; and the earl of Rocheſter having made the motion, the greateſt number of ballots were for him. But he refuſed to ſubmit to this with ſo much firmneſs, that the other lords, who were named with him, ſeemed to think they were in honour bound to do the ſame; and therefore as no peer would ſuffer himſelf to be named, the bill paſſed as it was ſent up. 1690.

Many complaints were made of the illegal commitments of perſons ſuſpected of high-treaſon, though there was nothing ſworn againſt them. But the danger was ſo apparent, that the houſe of commons made a precedent for ſecuring a miniſtry, that ſhould do the like upon the like neceſſity, and yet maintained the habeas corpus act, for they indemnified the miniſtry for all that had been done contrary to that act.

Great complaints were brought over from Ireland, where the king's army was almoſt as heavy on the country, as the rapparees. There was a great arrear due to them; for which reaſon, when the king ſettled a government in Ireland of three lords juſtices, he did not put the army under their civil authority, but kept them in a military ſubjection to their officers; for he ſaid, that ſince the army was not regularly paid, it would be impoſſible to keep them from mutiny, if they were put under ſtrict diſcipline, and puniſhed accordingly. The under officers, finding that they were only anſwerable to their ſuperior officers, took great liberties in their quarters, and inſtead of protecting the country, oppreſſed it. The king had brought over an army of ſeven thouſand Danes, under the command of a very gallant prince, one of the duke's of Wirtemberg; but they were cruel friends, and thought they were maſters. Nor were the Engliſh troops much better. The Dutch were the leaſt complained of. Ginckle, who had the chief command, looked ſtrictly to them; but he did not think it convenient to put thoſe of other nations under the ſame ſevere meaſures. But the pay due for ſome months, being now ſent over, the orders were changed; and the army was made ſubject to the civil government. Yet it was underſtood, that inſtructions were ſent to the lords juſtices, to be cautious in the exerciſe of their authority over them; ſo that the country ſtill ſuffered much by theſe forces. Ireland waſted by the rapparees and army. Burnet.

There was an important debate moved in the houſe of lords, by thoſe, who intended to revive the old impeachment againſt the marquis of Carmarthen, namely, 'Whether impeachments continued from parliament to parliament; or Ibid. Deſigns againſt the marquis of Carmarthen.

1690-1. ‘ or whether they were not extinguiſhed by an act of grace.’ Some antient precedents were brought to favour this by thoſe, who intended to keep them up; but in all thoſe precedents there had been an order of one parliament to continue them on to the next. For this reaſon they did not come up to the preſent caſe; and how doubtful ſoever it was, whether the king's pardon could be pleaded in bar to an impeachment, yet ſince the king had ſent an act of grace, which had paſſed in the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, it ſeemed very unreaſonable to offer an impeachment againſt an act of parliament. All this diſcovered a deſign againſt the marquis, who was believed to have the greateſt credit both with the king and queen, and was again falling under an univerſal hatred. In a houſe of commons every motion againſt a miniſter is apt to be well entertained: ſome envy him; others are angry with him; many hope to ſhare in the ſpoils of him; and a love of change, a wantonneſs of mind, make the attacking a miniſter a diverſion to the reſt. The ſcheme was well formed, and fourteen leading men had undertaken to manage the matter againſt the marquis; in which the earl of Shrewſbury had the chief hand, who had a very bad opinion of the marquis, and thought his advices would, in concluſion, ruin the king and his affairs. But a diſcovery being at this time made of lord Preſton's plot, and managed chiefly by the marquis's means, it put an end to the deſigns againſt him for the preſent.

The king being impatient to be at the congreſs in Holland, came January 5, to the houſe of lords, and having paſſed all the bills that were ready, made this ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The king's ſpeech. Pr. H. C. II. 338.

“ HAving only told you, that it would be neceſſary for
“ me to go into Holland much about this time, I am
“ very glad to find that the ſucceſs of your endeavours to
“ bring this ſeſſion to a happy concluſion has been ſuch, that
“ I am now at liberty to do it. And I return you my hearty
“ thanks for the great diſpatch you have made in finiſhing
“ the ſupplies you have deſigned for carrying on the war,
“ which it ſhall be my care to ſee duly and punctually ap-
“ plied to that ſervice, for which you have given them.
“ And I do likewiſe think it proper to aſſure you, that I
“ ſhall not make any grant of the forfeited lands in England
“ and Ireland, 'till there be another opportunity of ſettling

“ that

" that matter in parliament in ſuch manner, as ſhall be 1690-1.
" thought moſt expedient.

My lords and gentlemen,

" As I have reaſon to be very well ſatisfied with the proofs " you have given me of your good affections in this ſeſſion " of parliament, ſo I promiſe myſelf the continuance of the " ſame at your return into your ſeveral countries. And as " every day produces ſtill freſh inſtances of the reſtleſſneſs of " our enemies, both at home and abroad, in deſigning a- " gainſt the proſperity of this nation, and the government " eſtabliſhed; ſo I cannot doubt, but that the union and " good correſpondence between me and my parliament, and " my earneſt and conſtant endeavours on the one hand, " joined with the continuance of your zeal and affection to " ſupport me on the other, will, by the bleſſing of " God, be at all times too ſtrong for the utmoſt malice and " contrivance of our common enemies."

And then the lord chief baron Atkyns, ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, declared to both houſes, " that it was his ma- " jeſty's pleaſure, that they ſhould adjourn themſelves until " the 31ſt of March next; and that if his majeſty ſhould " think fit, that the parliament ſhould then ſit, he would " give them timely notice thereof by proclamation (f)."

On

(f) Beſides the acts mentioned, others paſſed this ſeſſion were:

1. An act for reviving a former act for regulating the meaſures and prices of coals for ſeven years, from December 1, 1690. Sea coals by this act are to be ſold by the chaldron of thirty-ſix buſhels. Other ſorts of coals by the hundred weight averdupois. The lord-mayor of London and the court of aldermen, and the juſtices of peace of the ſeveral counties, or any three of them, are impowered to ſet the prices of coals as ſhall be ſold by retail, as they ſhall judge reaſonable.

2. An act for paving and cleanſing the ſtreets in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and other places within the weekly bills of mortality, and for regulating the markets therein.

3. An act for raiſing the militia for the year 1691.

4. An act for preventing vexatious ſuits againſt ſuch as acted for their majeſty's ſervice in the cauſe of the kingdom. This act was paſſed, becauſe the privy council, and other lords and gentlemen being magiſtrates and officers, had, whilſt the French were upon the coaſt, apprehended ſeveral ſuſpected perſons, and raiſed the militia, otherwiſe

1690-1. On the 15th of November the king ordered a new commiſſion to paſs the great ſeal, conſtituting the lord Godolphin, Sir John Lowther, Mr. Richard Hampden, Sir Stephen Fox, Mr. Thomas Pelham, commiſſioners of their majeſties treaſury. About a month after, his majeſty diſpoſed of the vacant biſhoprics of Ireland, and appointed Sir Charles Porter to be lord chancellor of that kingdom, and one of the lords juſtices, in the room of the lord viſcount Sidney, who was recalled to be made one of the ſecretaries of ſtate on the 26th of December; in the beginning of which month colonel John Cuts was made baron Cuts of Gowran, in the kingdom of Ireland. On the 30th of the ſame month George William, duke of Zell, eldeſt prince of the houſe of Brunſwic and Lunenburg, was made a knight of the garter; an honour which juſt a year before had been conferred upon the elector of Brandenburg, afterwards king of Pruſſia. And on the 1ſt day of January 1690-1, Sir John Trevor, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and firſt commiſſioner of the great ſeal was admitted into the privy council.

Honours and promotions.

The king goes to Holland. Ken. Burnet.

The king having ſettled affairs at home, began his voyage for Holland on the 6th of January, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, and lay that night at Sittingborne; intending to embark the next evening at Margate, but finding, upon his arrival at Canterbury, that the wind was ſet in eaſterly with a hard froſt, he returned to Kenſington on the 9th, and ſeven days after he ſet out again from Whitehall.

wiſe than was authoriſed by the laws.

By a private act the proprietors of the water-works in York-buildings were incorporated.

Beſides the acts that were paſſed, there were ſeveral bills, as well as that for the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, which were left unfiniſhed, particularly 'a bill 'to regulate trials in caſes of treaſon' which was much talked of in the houſe of commons, and yet was deferred from time to time: another 'to oblige the 'lords commiſſioners of the treaſury to take the like oaths as 'the lord treaſurer:' another 'relating to the African trade:' another 'againſt robbers on the 'highway:' another 'for the 'ſpeedier determining elections 'of members of parliament:' another 'to charge the eſtate of the 'late lord Jeffreys in Leiceſterſhire with the ſum of 1476l. 'and intereſt, to Edmund Prideaux:' another 'for regulating and licenſing hackney 'coaches:' and another 'for the 'enabling chirurgeons to adminiſter inward medicines in caſes 'of chirurgery;' which was petitioned againſt by the phyſicians and apothecaries. A bill was alſo brought in 'for reducing 'intereſt money from ſix to four 'per cent.' which after a ſecond reading was rejected.

hall, and embarked at Graveſend, with a numerous retinue under a convoy of twelve men of war commanded by rear-admiral Rooke, on the 18th in the morning, the veſſels that attended his majeſty, being come up with the Goree, he was informed by a fiſherman, that they were within a league and a half of the ſhore, whereupon being weary of the ſea, he left his yacht, attended by the duke of Ormond, the earl of Devonſhire lord ſteward, the earl of Dorſet lord chamberlain, the earl of Portland, the earl of Monmouth, monſieur Overkirk, and monſieur Zuleſtein, and went into a ſhallop. 1690-1. Is in great danger.

The ſeamen themſelves were afraid, as the froſt had been very ſevere, and the ice near the ſhore was ſo great, as made it dangerous to attempt landing; and all the perſons of quality about his majeſty would have diſſuaded him from that attempt. But nothing being able to move him from his reſolution, they put away from the fleet, and quickly loſt ſight of it. Night came on, and the king remained for eighteen hours expoſed to the injuries of the air and cold, to the mercy of the ſea, and the chance of privateers, having nothing but his cloak to cover him; and the ſea ran ſo high, that he and all his company were waſhed with the waves; though neither he nor any of them were the worſe for all this cold and wet weather; and when the ſeamen ſeemed apprehenſive of their danger, he ſaid in a very intrepid manner, 'What are you afraid to die in my company?' at laſt the ſhallop, by break of day came near the iſle of Goree, where the king went aſhore, and got a little refreſhment in a fiſherman's cottage. Then he went into the boat again, and about two in the afternoon landed at Oranien-Haak not far from Maeſlanſluys. At Houndſlardyke he was received by Van Opdam, Belard, Witzen, and Uryberg, appointed by the ſtates for that purpoſe; and about ſix in the evening he arrived at the Hague. The ſtates general, the ſtates of Holland, the council of ſtate, the other colleges, the congreſs of foreign miniſters, and all the perſons of diſtinction at the Hague, made their compliments to him upon his ſafe arrival; and becauſe he was come ſo ſuddenly, as to prevent the ſolemn reception, that was intended by the magiſtrates of that place, he was prevailed upon to make his public entry on the 26th, which was performed with great ſolemnity, ſeveral triumphal arches having been erected to repreſent his atchievements, and all the burghers appearing in arms with unuſual magnificence. In the evening the fire-works were played and the cannon diſcharged on the Viverberg oppoſite

1690-1. ſite to his palace, and bonfires lighted through the whole town. Two days after the king went to the aſſembly of the ſtates-general, then to the ſtates of Holland, and laſtly to the council of ſtate: he made a ſpeech to each of thoſe aſſemblies. He told the ſtates-general that the laſt time he was with them, he had declared his intention of going over to England, to deliver that kingdom from the evils with which it was threatened. That God had ſo bleſſed his juſt intentions, that he had met with ſucceſs even beyond his hopes. That the Engliſh having offered him the crown, he had accepted it, as God was his witneſs; not out of ambition, but ſolely to preſerve the religion and laws of the three kingdoms, and to be able to aſſiſt his allies, and eſpecially the united provinces againſt the power of France. That he could have wiſhed to have aided them ſooner, but was prevented by the affairs of Ireland, which being now in a better condition, he was come to concert meaſures with the allies, and to exerciſe the functions of ſtadtholder. The reſt of his ſpeech conſiſted of expreſſions of his zeal and affection for the republic. He was anſwered with the reſpect and acknowledgment due to a prince, who was looked upon as the father of his country, the deliverer of Europe, the preſerver of the proteſtant religion, and the ſoul of the grand-alliance.

Congreſs at the Hague.

After this was opened the moſt glorious congreſs, that ever yet appeared of chriſtian princes and miniſters, who were aſſembled at the Hague, to concert meaſures with king William, for the defence of the liberties of Europe, againſt the encroachments of France (g). King William in a very pathetical ſpeech repreſented to them, 'that the imminent 'dangers, wherein they found themſelves, ſufficiently diſ-'covered the errors, that had been committed; ſo that he 'needed

The king's ſpeech at the congreſs. Kennet. Boyer.

(g) Theſe all aſſiſted at the congreſs, the electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria, the dukes of Lunenburg, of Zell, and of Wolfenbuttle; the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel; prince Chriſtian Louis of Brandenburg, prince Waldeck; the prince of Naſſau ſtadtholder of Frieſland, the prince of Naſſau-Saarburg, governor of Bois-le-duc, the prince of Naſſau Dilleſhburg, the prince of Naſſau Idſtein, the duke adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg; the two princes of Anſpach, the landgrave of Heſſe-D'Armſtadt, the prince his brother; the duke of Saxe-Eyſenach, prince Philip Palatine, the duke of Zulſback, the prince of Wirtemberg Neuſtadt, the prince of Wirtemberg; and the prince his brother; the duke of Courland, and prince Ferdinand his brother, the prince of

'needed not uſe many arguments to ſhew them the neceſ- 1690-1.
'ſity of taking juſter and better meaſures. That in the
'circumſtances they were in, it was not a time to delibe-
'rate, but act. That the enemy was maſter of all the
'chief fortreſſes, that were the barrier of the common li-
'berty; and that he would quickly poſſeſs himſelf of all the
'reſt, if a ſpirit of diviſion, ſlowneſs, and particular intereſt,
'continued among them: that every one ought to remain
'perſuaded, that their reſpective particular intereſts were
'compriſed in the general one. That the enemy's forces
'were very ſtrong, and that they would carry all things,

of Anhalt Zeerboſt, the landgrave of Homburg, three princes of Holſtein-Beck, the duke of Holſtein, prince of Commerci, the prince palatine of Birkenfelt, to which we may add the princeſs of Naſſau Friſeland, the princeſs Radzeville, the counteſs of Soiſſons, the princeſs of Saxe Eyſenace, and other illuſtrious perſons. The moſt remarkable of the counts, were the counts of Horn, Erbauh, Tirimont, de Broca, de Gryal, d'Arco, de Rivera, de Sanfray, de Lippe, d'Eſpenſe, de Fugger, de Denhof, de Carelſon: with the Barons of Pallant, and Spaein, the Rhinegrave and his brother; the marquiſſes of Caſhlemonlayo, and Caſtanaga, governor of the Spaniſh netherlands; and the generals Chauvert, d'Elwicht, Barfus, d'Autel, Palfi, &c. The embaſſadors and foreign miniſters preſent, were thoſe from the emperor the count de Windtſgratz, and Berka, with the chevalier de Campecht; from the king of Spain, don Emanuel de Colona from the king of Denmark, the count of Rebenklam and M. Centhe; from the king of Sweden, the count of Oxenſtern; from the king of Poland, M. Moreau; from the Elector of Bavaria, the baron of Boomgarden and M. Prielmeyere; from the elector of Brandenburg, M. Van Dieſt and Smettau, from the elector of Saxony, M. Haxhauſen; from the elector of Treves, the baron de Leyon, and M. Champagne; from the elector of Mentz, M. Talberg and Meyers; from the elector of Cologne, the general and baron Beruſaw and M. Soelmaker; from the elector palatine, M. Heitermans; from the duke of Savoy, the count de Pielat and the preſident de la Tour; from the duke of Zell, M. Zieger; from the biſhop of Munſter, M. de Nort; from the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, the baron Gorts, and M. Reppelaar from the duke of Wolfembuttle, the baron Croſek; from the duke of Hanover, M. Klekk; from the duke of Holſtein Gottorp, M. Tourken; and from the prince of Liege, counſellor Mean. Of king William's own ſubjects, who attended him to this ſolemnity, were the dukes of Norfolk and Ormond, with the earls of Devonſhire, Dorſet, Eſſex, Nottingham, Scarborough, and Selkirk, the biſhop of London, the lord Dramlendrits, the lord Durſley, the earls of Portland and Monmouth, the duke of Schomberg, and his brother count Meinhard, &c.

'like

1690-1. ‘like a torrent, before them. That it was in vain to oppose complaints, and fruitless clamours, or unprofitable protestations against injustice.

‘That it was neither the resolution of a barren diet, nor ‘the hopes of some men of fortune, arising from frivolous ‘foundations, but soldiers, strong armies, and a prompt and ‘sincere union between all the forces of the allies, that must ‘do the work; and that these too must be brought to oppose the enemy without any delay, if they would put a ‘stop to his conquests, and snatch out of his hands the liberty of Europe, which he held already under an heavy ‘yoke. And that as for himself, he would not spare his ‘credit, forces, or person, to concur with them in so just ‘and necessary a design; and would come in the spring at ‘the head of the troops faithfully to make good his royal ‘word, which he had so solemnly engaged to them.’

This speech from a prince, in whom they all confided, had so good effect, that they came to a resolution of employing two hundred twenty two thousand men against France; of which the king of England was to furnish twenty thousand, and the rest of the princes and states in proportion (h).

But notwithstandig the large quota's promised by divers princes and states of Germany, England and Holland were forced to pay them, and to bear the burthen of the war. The congress determined likewise the operations of the next campaign; and though the duke of Savoy was then reduced very low, king William took such care of him, and both furnished, as well as procured him such supplies, that his affairs had quicly a more promising aspect. Things were concerted among the princes themselves, and were kept so secret, as they did not trust them to their ministers; at least, the king did not communicate them to the earl of Nottingham, as he protested solemnly to bishop Burnet, when he returned to England. The princes shewed the king all the respects that any of their rank ever paid to a crowned head;

(h) The emperor was to furnish twenty thousand, the king of Spain in Flanders twenty thousand; the states general thirty five thousand; the duke of Savoy and the troops of Milan twenty thousand; the elector of Bavaria eighteen thousand; the elector of Saxony twelve thousand; the landgrave of Hesse eight thousand; the circles of Swabia and Franconia ten thousand; the duke of Wirtemberg six thousand; the elector of Brandenburg twenty thousand; the prince of Leige six thousand; the bishop of Munster seven thousand; the elector palatine four thousand; and the prince of Lunenburg sixteen thousand.

and

and they lived together in such an easy freedom, that points of ceremony occasioned no disputes among them, though those are often, upon less solemn interviews, the subjects of much quarrelling, and interrupt more important debates (i). 1690-1.

The

(i) The following declaration was generally said to have been agreed upon at the congress, though some of the articles seem doubtful: 'Since we look upon 'the union, that is between us, 'as the work of God alone, it 'is but reasonable that we should 'make a solemn protestation to 'him, to deliberate nothing in 'this assembly, but what may 'be very just and equitable. We 'solemnly protest before God, 'that our intentions are, that 'we will never break off this u-'nion, nor make any peace with 'Lewis XIV, 'till the following 'articles be executed, to the 'execution of which we oblige 'ourselves for ever.

'I. 'Till he has made reparation to the holy See for whatsoever he has acted against it; 'and 'till he has annulled and 'made void all those infamous 'proceedings against the holy 'father Innocent XI.

'II. 'Till he has restored to 'each party concerned what he 'has taken since the peace of 'Munster; and 'till he has demolished Brisac, and delivered 'up the country of Ceay to the 'canton of Bern.

'III. 'Till he has restored to 'the protestants all their posses-'sions and goods; and 'till there 'be an entire liberty of conscience throughout the whole extent of the French dominions.

'IV. 'Till the estates of the kingdom be re-established in 'their antient liberties, so that 'the clergy, the nobility, and 'the third estate, may enjoy 'their antient and lawful privileges; and 'till the kings, for 'the future, shall be obliged to 'call together the said estates, 'when they desire any supply, 'without the consent of whom 'they shall not raise any money, 'after any manner, or for any 'pretence whatsoever.

'V. 'Till the tax upon salt, 'that upon the third estate, and 'an infinite number of other unreasonable taxes and impositions, be abolished for ever.

'VI. 'Till he has restored to 'the parliaments their antient and 'rightful authority; that so they 'might be enabled to distribute 'to every one justice freely, and 'without constraint, according 'to their consciences.

'VII. 'Till all the towns of the 'kingdom be re-established in 'their ancient privileges, and till 'their revenues be restored, which 'had been taken from them with 'such violence and injustice.

'God, who knows the intention of our hearts, knows, 'that we bear no hatred against the French nation; and 'that we do not aspire to have 'the lawful dominions of the 'kingdom of France. And 'if all those, who are inhabitants, would join with us, we 'should soon dispatch this affair.

1690-1. The congreſs broke up about the beginning of March; but the early and unexpected motions of the French, not only put a ſudden ſtop to king William's journey for England, but likewiſe convinced the confederates of the truth of what he had ſaid to them in his ſpeech, 'that it was not a 'time to deliberate, but to act;' a maxim which the king of France knew beſt how to practiſe. For on the 5th of March a detachment of French cavalry inveſted the ſtrong city of Mons, before which place his moſt chriſtian majeſty arrived himſelf ſix days after, accompanied by the dauphin, the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Chartres. The next day the trenches were opened; and the beſiegers raiſed large batteries, and with threeſcore pieces of cannon, and five and twenty mortars, made prodigious havock in the town. The garriſon within conſiſted of about ſix thouſand horſe and foot, commanded by the prince de Bergue, who was not wanting in his duty; but notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the beſieged, the French were advanced ſo far by the 22d of March, that having filled up the ditch of an imperfect horn-work on the ſouth ſide of the town towards the gate of Baſlemont, they boldly aſſaulted that out-work, and after the loſs of a great number of men, began to make a lodgement upon it. Upon this the beſieged, headed by ſome of their braveſt officers, attempted to beat them off, and in effect obliged the workmen, and the grenadiers, that ſupported them, to give way; but at laſt the aſſailants regained their poſt, drove the enemy into the town, and puſhed on the

Mons beſieged by the French. Boyer.

'without effuſion of blood, and 'without deſolation of the kingdoms. And we promiſe all 'thoſe, that ſhall do it, that we 'will treat them as our particular friends, and preſerve their 'towns and poſſeſſions, as if they 'were our own. And as for 'thoſe, that ſhall not do it, we 'ſhall look upon them as perſons, that have approved and 'abetted all theſe perſecutions, 'burnings, and other devaſtations, that have been made, 'and we will make them feel, 'without mercy, thoſe pains 'and torments, which they have 'been the occaſion of, that ſo 'many poor people have ſuffered.

'We were willing, that the 'whole world ſhould have a perfect knowledge of our reſolutions, particularly the French 'gentlemen and perſons of honour, who are oppreſſed with 'the heavy load of the government, and can no longer endure the ſlavery, which they 'lie under; to the end they may 'be able to take ſuch meaſures, 'as may be aſſiſting to us in recovering for them their ancient 'liberty, which has been ſo cruelly and ſo unjuſtly taken from 'them.'

ſiege

siege with so much the more vigour, as they were informed, 1690-1.
that the king of England was advancing to raise it.

The king, upon the news of the siege, returned from March 11.
Loo to the Hague, from whence he dispatched prince Waldeck to Hall near Brussels, where the forces, that were drawing together for the relief of Mons, had their general rendezvous. From thence the king went to Breda, having before his departure named the general officers, who were to command in the army; and on the 27th of March arrived at Hall, where though he had an army of near fifty thousand men, yet he found that, through the neglect of the Spaniards, there was nothing provided for his expedition, not so much as even the necessary carriages.

In the mean time the siege of Mons was carried on but Mons surwith indifferent success; for the French had only gained an renders.
horn-work, and there still remained two half-moons for them to take before they could come to the counterscarp of the place; and in the attack, which they made upon one of these half-moons, they were repulsed with considerable loss. March 27.
But the burgers being terrified by the enemy's bombs, which 1691.
had burnt part of the town, and their fears being improved by the influence of their priests, the principal of them with two abbots went to the governor, and pressed him to capitulate. The governor, who was confident, that he might hold out eight or ten days longer, having had but three or four hundred men killed during the siege, and wanting neither ammunition nor provisions, refused to comply with their demands. Upon this they sent a drum of their own to beat a parley, and threatened to open the gates, and deliver both him and the garrison into the besiegers hands. Things be- April 1.
ing brought to this extremity, the governor consented at last to capitulate, and surrendered the town on very honourable conditions. Whereupon king William immediately left the army, returned to the Hague, embarked for England, and arrived safely at Whitehall on the 13th of April.

The chief transaction during the king's absence, was the A plot dis-
discovery of a plot. Towards the latter end of the year covered
1689, king James and his popish counsellors in Ireland laid during the
the foundation of the Lancashire plot, having sent over com- king's ab-
missioners into that and other northern countries to raise an sence.
army, which that king engaged himself to head in person in St. Trials,
August 1690. But the plot being discovered by some of the p. 241.
confederates, and soon after effectually suppressed by his defeat at the Boyne; another project was set on foot by the jacobites in England, who thought the opportunity of the

1691. king's going to the congreſs at the Hague was not to be loſt. They fancied it would be eaſy, in his abſence, to bring about the reſtoration of king James, now that there was ſo ſmall a force left in the kingdom, and the nation ſo incenſed at a burthen of four millions in taxes. The men that laid this deſign were the earl of Clarendon, the biſhop of Ely, the lord Preſton, and his brother Mr. Graham, and Pen the famous quaker. It was reſolved among them, that to prevent delays, ſome perſons of quality and known abilities ſhould go over to France, to tranſact the affair for the whole party. The lord Preſton, Mr. Aſhton, a ſervant of king James's queen, and Mr. Elliot, were pitched upon for that purpoſe, and to carry letters, from thoſe who had joined in the deſign, to king James and his queen. The biſhop of Ely's letters were writ in a very particular ſtile. He undertook both for his elder brother and the reſt of the family, which was plainly meant of Sancroft and the other deprived Burnet. biſhops. In his letter to the queen he aſſured her of his and all their zeal for the prince of Wales, and that they would no more part with that than with their hopes of heaven.

The gentlemen thus appointed by the party having hired a veſſel of Mrs. Jane Prat, of Barking in Eſſex, went on board near Battle-bridge on the 30th of December 1690; but Nicholas Prat, huſband of the woman and owner of the veſſel, being a man zealous for the government, had diſcovered all that he knew, which was only, that he was to carry ſome perſons over to France. The notice of this was brought to the marquis of Carmarthen, and the matter ſo ordered, that lord Preſton, Aſhton, and Elliot, were falling down the river as far as Graveſend, when captain Billop, who had been ordered to attend their motion, came on board on pretence of ſearching for, and preſſing ſeamen, and drew the three paſſengers out of the hold, in which they were hid. Lord Preſton left his letters behind him in the hold, together with king James's ſignet; and Aſhton took them up with a deſign to have thrown them into the ſea, but they were taken from him, and both they and their papers were brought to Whitehall. Lord Preſton's mind ſunk ſo viſibly, that it was concluded he would not die, if confeſſing all he knew would ſave him. Aſhton was more firm and ſullen; and Elliot knew nothing. There was among their papers one, that contained 'the heads of a declaration, to 'be prepared, in order to be publiſhed when the French 'have had ſucceſs at ſea, with aſſurances of pardon, and 'promiſes to preſerve the proteſtant religion and the laws

'laws (k).' The most important of all was 'the result of 1691.
'a conference between some lords and gentlemen, both to-
'ries and whigs, in which it was undertaken to prove the
'possibility and method of restoring king James by a French
'power, without endangering the protestant religion and
'civil administration, according to the laws of this king-
'dom (l).' Besides these there were some other papers and
'letters

(k) The heads of the declaration were as follow:

"That the king will return "with a design of making an "entire conquest of his people, "is so ridiculous as well as diffi- "cult, that it needs not be spo- "ken to.

"That the king's declaration "be worded in general terms, "that he will govern by the laws, "that they shall be the rule of "his actions; that he will en- "deavour to settle liberty of "conscience by law, that what- "soever things were formerly "done by him, which occasion- "ed jealousies in the minds of "his people, shall be left to the "determination of a parliament "to be formally and regularly "called as soon as is possible.

"That he has given sufficient "evidence of his unwillingness "to bring an army of strangers "into his kingdom, by refusing "the succours the king of France "offered him, and which were "even ready to be embarked "upon the first notice of the "prince of Orange's intended "invasion.

"That he brings with him "such an army only, as is ne- "cessary for his own defence, "and for the security of his loy- "al subjects, who shall resort to "him: that he will dismiss "them as soon as he shall have "rid the nation of those foreign- "ers, who have invaded it, and "trampled upon the laws and li- "berties of his people.

"The king's large exercising "his dispensing power gave the "great alarm to his people, and "contributed most of all to- "ward a general defection. Yet "when that power came to be "debated in the last convention, "there appeared so many diffi- "culties in the limiting of it, "every body, even the present "judges, believing it necessary, "that a dispensing power should "be in the king, that it was let "fall, and that point remains "as it was. And without men- "tioning that or any other par- "ticular, the king can be in no "danger by leaving all things, "which have been the occasions "of jealousies, to the determi- "nation of a parliament, where "besides the king's professed "friends and servants, there will "not want others, who will be "glad of opportunity to ingrati- "ate themselves."

(l) The result of the confe- rence was as follows:

"I. K. must either oblige or "conquer us: if the last he will "find few helps here, but a "bloodier resistance than ever "the Romans, Saxons, or Nor- "mans found, it being incredible, "how unanimous and obstinate "that very thought renders the "people, so that it may make "us

* France.

1691. letters (m); and particularly a paper, containing ſhort memorials in lord Preſton's own hand, in which many of the nobility

" us a heap of ruins, but no nation that can ever help or import any thing to F.

" II. If K. L.* deſires to oblige us, and make the work eaſy, that he may be at leiſure to ply the empire or Italy, or to have an advantageous peace, he muſt take off the frightful character we have of him, and ſhew us he has no ſuch deſign, as returning our offended K. a conqueror upon us, but that he can and will be our friend and mediator; upon which terms he will find, that many lords and gentlemen will ſpeedily ſhew themſelves to his ſatisfaction, eſpecially if he makes haſte, and loſes no approaching opportunity.

" III. If he incline to this ſort of ſenſe, he muſt overrule the brigotry of St. G.* and diſpoſe their minds to think of thoſe methods, that are more likely to gain the nation; for there is one ſilly thing or other daily done there, that comes to our notice here, which prolongs what they ſo paſſionately deſire.

" The methods thought upon are theſe:

" Firſt, to prevent dangerous and fooliſh intelligence, by forbidding in all that court to write any news hither, and that king James only have his correſpondence, by whom to hear from, and ſpeak to people here; ſince letters ſo often miſcarry, and are filled with nothing but what we ſhould not hear, and what we have, are arguments for the moſt part againſt the king's reſtoration.

" Secondly, ſince there is a great body of proteſtants, that never defected, and that many thouſands are returning, and that they are the natural weight and power of theſe kingdoms, by having the heads, hands, and wealth on their ſide, to the odds and advantage of at leaſt two hundred proteſtants to one catholic; the K. may think of nothing ſhort of a proteſtant adminiſtration, nor of nothing more for the catholics, than a legal liberty of conſcience; for much e mutt* is againſt all other notions, to which all private paſſions and artificial frames in government muſt yield or break. He may reign a catholic in devotion, but he muſt reign a proteſtant in government. Cromwell could not, yet on a broader bottom, with a victorious army, ſubſiſt or keep what he had got.

" Thirdly, he muſt give us a model of this at St. G. by preferring the proteſtants, that are with him, above the catholics; one being loyal upon leſs ties of intereſt, and to tell the nation here what they are to hope for when he comes.

" Fourthly, he muſt give encouragement to lords and gentlemen here to come to him, at leaſt ſeven or nine for a ſtanding council, which will make us here think he is in ſome degree ours again, and that we have a relation to him, and ſome intereſt and ſhare in him,

* King Lewis.

* Mathematics.

* St. Germains.

nobility were named (n). On the 16th, 17th, and 19th of January, the lord Preſton, and Mr. Aſhton, were brought to their trials at the Old Bailey. Their deſign of going to France, and the treaſonable papers found upon them, were fully proved. Some of them were written in the lord Preſton's, and ſome in Mr. Aſhton's hand. They alledged in their defence, that ſimilitude of hands was not thought a good proof in colonel Algernon Sidney's caſe. But this was now only a circumſtance: in what hand ſoever the papers were writ, the crime was always the ſame, ſince they were open, not ſealed; and conſequently they knew the contents of them, and thus were carrying on a negotiation of high-treaſon with the king's enemies. They were therefore found guilty and condemned. 1691.

Mr.

" him, by the men of quality " of our own religion, that are " with him. This will incom- " parably facilitate the matter " here; nor will they, when " they come, come empty, and " in their own names, which is " ſtill better, and will be more " ſatisfactory there.

" Fifthly; to induce this, En- " gliſh proteſtants ſhould be en- " couraged by an edict of li- " berty from the k. of F. to " have chapels at their own coſt, " in which to worſhip God after " their reſpective ways, by which " that king will make us reflect " upon his conduct towards his " huguenots, rather to flow from " the hazard he thought himſelf " in by their anti-monarchinal " and reſiſting principles, than " a deſire of perſecution.

" Laſtly, all other requiſite " meaſures depending upon the " acceptance this finds, an an- " ſwer hereunto is impatiently " deſired by thoſe, that have diſ- " courſed the K's. buſineſs to " this maturity. So ended with " an unanimous conſent both to- " ries and whigs upon this occa- " ſion, that are in a way of clo- " ſing in his intereſt."

(n) Namely, A liſt of the Engliſh fleet which the lord Preſton and Mr. Aſhton were carrying into France.

	Rates	Ships	In repair	not	Building
	1	8	5	3	
	2	12	11	1	
	3	35	34	1	
	4	38	34	4	4
	5	14	14		1
	6	9	9		
Fireſhips		25	25		8
Bomb veſſels		1	1		
Ketches		1	1		8
		143	134	9	21

" Brought in by admiral Ruſſel " to the houſe of commons, De- " cember 24th, ninety, the fleet " whereof ſixty Dutch.

" Memorandam, the new ſhips " building are expected will be " ready to be launched by the end " of March."

1691. Mr. Ashton would enter into no treaty with the court, but prepared himself to die, and was accordingly executed at Tyburn.

Ashton executed.

An alphabet of names for carrying on the correspondence.

'For Mrs. Anne Russel, to be 'left with Mrs. Richeson, at the 'Blue Boar, in Ryder-street, 'near St. James's.

'A —— the king.
'B —— the queen.
'C —— the prince of Wales.
'D —— the prince of Orange.
'E —— canon and the Scots 'officers.
'F —— the duke of Berwick.
'G —— duke Tyrconnel.
'H —— major general Sars-'field.
'I —— lieutenant-general 'Sheldon.
'L —— king of France.
'M —— marshal Luxem-'bourg.
'N —— marshal Belfond.
'O —— duke Powis.
'P —— duchess Powis.

'Amsterdam —— Brest.
'Rotterdam —— Dieppe.
'Hague —— Havre de 'Grace.
'Brill —— Dunkirk.
'Harlem —— Calais.
'Italy —— England.
'Germany —— Scotland.
'Spain —— Ireland.

* This passage is supposed to mean archbishop Sancroft and the rest of the deprived bishops.

The following letters were directed in false names, and are most of them written under divers cants, as under the colour of trade, law-suits, mortgages, &c. yet evidently relate to king James's restoration. The two first were supposed to be written by Dr. Turner, bishop of Ely.

To Mr. Redding.

SIR,

'Though the bearer of this 'will do us the justice to assure 'you we are as full of duty, as 'unfeinedly and unconcernedly 'yours, as yourself could wish; 'yet this gentleman has undertaken. —— You will forgive the 'presumption, if I do myself 'the honour to give you this 'fresh assurance in a few words, 'which I hope we do by our accounts. I shall omit no occasions, not neglecting the least, 'and making zealous wishes for 'the greatest, to shew ourselves 'such as we ought to be. Sir, I 'speak in the plural, because I 'write my elder brother's sentiments as well as my own, and 'the rest of the family *, though 'lessened in number, yet if we 'are not mightily out in our accounts, we are growing in our 'interest, that is, in yours. He 'that delivers this, will, I hope, 'intirely to your satisfaction, represent us, and me in particular, as with all the devotion imaginable and unchangeable 'affection, yours. God grant 'the happiest new year.'

To Mrs. Redding.

'As 'tis impossible for me to 'express the extraordinary great 'satisfaction it gave me this time 'twelve months when I had the 'honour to receive that mark of 'your favour and goodness under your own hand; so I have 'lived in some pain for an opportunity to write you my humblest acknowledgements and

'most

Tyburn on the 28th of January, the queen having remitted that part of his ſentence which related to his drawing and quartering. 1691.

'truest duty, from which, by the 'grace of God, I am no more 'capable of ſwerving, than of 'renouncing my hopes of hea-'ven. I ſay this in behalf of 'my elder brother and the reſt 'of my neareſt relations, as well 'as for myſelf. You may in-'tirely depend upon us, not on-'ly for a conſtant adherence to 'ſo well choſen a principle, but 'for our utmoſt activity to pro-'mote your intereſts, which are 'inſeparable from our own. I 'need come to no particulars by 'this bearer, who can and will 'tell you our whole hearts; and 'I wiſh you could ſee them, how 'ſincerely they are devoted to 'your ſervice. God grant you 'a moſt happy new year, and 'many, very many and very hap-'py. Our young maſter hath 'all our beſt wiſhes: he daily 'gains more friends, and we get 'ground of his adverſaries,

'New year's Eve.'

A letter directed for Mrs. Charlton, Decem. 31, 1690.

'I muſt not let this bearer de-'part, madam, without aſſuring 'you of my beſt reſpects. I 'have written by him to a friend 'of yours, but depend upon you 'to give my note credit.

''Though my creditors were 'no friends to the match, which 'has been ſo long in treaty, for 'your relations have been very 'hard upon me this laſt ſummer, 'yet as ſoon as I could go ſafely 'abroad, I purſued the buſineſs, 'and do beg you to believe, that 'no endeavours of mine ſhall be 'wanting to perfect the ſettle-'ment. You once put me in 'hopes of ſeeing you before this 'Chriſtmas. Your friends are ſor-'ry for the diſappointment, pray 'look to more time than is of ab-'ſolute neceſſity. The bearer will 'tell you all things may now be 'eaſily ſettled, if the right way 'be taken. I long to hear how 'your young daughter does: ſhe 'will find many friends, and I 'hope her portion will be well 'ſecured. God ſend you a hap-'py new year, and that I may 'be merry with you before it be 'far ſpent: and I beſeech you, 'keep me in the good opinion 'of your friend. I will always 'make good what I promiſed to 'you.'

A letter directed to Mr. Jackſon, Decem. 31, 1690.

''The bearer can give you ſo 'full an account of all things re-'lating to your eſtate here, that 'I need not have troubled you 'at this time, but that I am de-'ſirous to lay hold of an oppor-'tunity I think ſafe, to aſſure 'you of my ſervice; and that I 'will never quit your intereſt 'whatever the reſt of the free-'holders do. Your adverſary 'has been ſo hard to his neigh-'bours, that he has extreemly 'diſobliged all the old tenants; 'and a little matter would re-'deem the whole eſtate, if you 'would appear in Weſtminſter 'Hall yourſelf: the beſt coun-'cil have a good opinion of your 'title, and will zealouſly purſue 'your inſtructions. I only beg 'you would haſten them to us, 'and that you will appear your-

'ſelf

1691. quartering. He ſuffered with great decency and ſeriouſneſs. He left a paper behind him, in which he owned his dependance

'ſelf as ſoon as is poſſible. No time ſhould be loſt and the cauſe may be brought to a final hearing before the end of Eaſter term, if it be well ſolicited. I heartily wiſh you a happy new year, and I beg you to tell Mr. Charlton, that I long to know wherein I may ſerve him, and that I will follow his directions to the utmoſt, while I live, God keep you and yours.'

A letter without direction.

Decemb. 31.

'The interruption of the former correſpondency had a very ill effect many ways, but for that reaſon no opportunity ought now to be loſt, and I hope this will prove a happy one.

'In trade, as well as in government, ſchemes muſt be laid; for there is no living from hand to mouth any more in commerce than in politics. Lay therefore your deſigns probably, and purſue them diligently, and with vigour; though it be a hazardous time, yet by venturing boldly where venturing is adviſeable, it often returns great profit.

'There is nothing more to be ſaid but to give the bearer fit and full ſeaſons to tell what he knows, both as to the goods fit for our market, and when and where to be ſent. The ſea will quickly grow ſo troubleſome, that unleſs you diſpatch what you intend for us, you will loſe a great opportunity of advantage. I hope the account he has to give of our negotiation here with the merchants, that deal with us, eſpecially thoſe, that have lately brought us their cuſtom, will both encourage a larger trade, and excite the utmoſt diligence. I will ſay nothing of myſelf: it ſhall be enough, that I can live in the good opinion of one I bear ſo great a reverence and affection for. But for this honeſt factor, I muſt own I can hardly ſay enough. Truth and boldneſs are excellent qualities in a ſervant, and he has ſhewn both, as occaſion has required him to ſhow them.

'I have but one word to add, and, pray take it as the trueſt mark of unalterable reſpect. Chuſe well, but have to do with but a few; for a multitude may give, but can never keep counſel.

'I ſhall with more impatience than becomes me, wait the reſult of this; and it will be a great mark of goodneſs to let us have the beſt and ſafeſt way.

'Once more, let not the ſeaſon ſpend unprofitably, for a more likely one can hardly come than between this and the firſt of March. Interpret this, I pray, as no private intereſt of my own, or partial motion of any other perſons. It is my ſenſe, my duty, and my friendſhip, which will not let me prevaricate, nor ſuffer thoſe I love and honour to loſe ſo happy and preſſing an occaſion of advantage. With the beſt wiſhes I cloſe up this, and am, &c.'

A letter

ance on king James, and his fidelity to him, and affirmed, that he was ſure the prince of Wales was born of that king's queen; 1690.

A letter without direction.

Decemb. 31.

'It is a preſumption incident to thoſe, that are any where upon the ſpot, to think, that they knew better than thoſe, that are not, what is fitteſt to be done in any occurrence. This makes me ſay, that now is the time to make large advantages by trading, the ſea being fleer than two months paſt, or we can hope it will be two months hence. This gentleman is well inſtructed in our markets, and what the goods are we want, and when and where they ſhall be ſent. It is moſt earneſtly deſired, that this happy opportunity may not be loſt, eſpecially by the late undertakers; and I would not for much they ſhould receive the leaſt diſguſt. They are ſomewhat poſitive in their terms; but they alſo ſay, they will be good and conſtant cuſtomers; and I have more than once ſeen the miſchief of over-rating and over-ſtaying the market. Opportunities are to be uſed; they cannot be given by men.

'The bearer needs nothing from me to recommend him, but he is deſerving in our opinion here, and many will take their meaſures by the uſage he finds there. And indeed the preſſing poſture of our trading affairs will not permit more experiments.

'If the ſeveral parcels arrive not, that have been promiſed, before the 10th of March at fartheſt, (eſpecially the copper and linnen, of which the bearer will be more particular) I am ſatisfied we ſhall loſe this ſummer's profit. I am the more preſſing, becauſe I am well aſſured of what I write; and if ever I judged right, it is upon this occaſion.

'I have ſaid nothing of another gentleman, that takes this opportunity to ſee thoſe parts; but he has ſhewn a zeal and ſincerity in this affair equal to moſt. Jo. is not yet gone, by a misfortune; but he will follow with a good poſtſcript in this affair. Of myſelf I will ſay nothing. I hope I need not, for nobody, without vanity, can be more ſincerely and affectionately a friend and ſervant to the company than myſelf. I writ at large yeſterday, and cannot write what the hand, that gives this, can ſay; and therefore will write no more, but that with the greateſt reſpect I am, &c.

A letter without direction.

SIR,

'I vow to you, I do not repine at having loſt all for your ſake, which I got by your favour: but it grieves me extremely, that there is not that left, which can ſecure me from being troubleſome to you; for that is the thing in the world I would not be. I have told my lord my condition. What I deſire of you, he thinks very moderate; I hope you will.

1691. queen; but denied, that he knew of the contents of the papers

'will. Pray, Sir, be not backward in ſettling my little affair, for I have deſerved your care. Your daughter and I muſt ſtarve, if this government can make us. I hope our intereſts are not divided; that is, you have an equal tenderneſs at leaſt for both. If you think fit to ſpeak what I would have you to this bearer, he will give me a juſt account of it. You know he is obliged to be my friend, and I believe him grateful, ſince he ventures ſo boldly for you. He brings with him ſome merry papers. Adieu, for I dare write no more, but pray ſend a meſſenger on purpoſe to me, that I may exactly know what you will do, and would have me do. If you ſend upon no other buſineſs, there will be no danger. Pray, Sir, aſk my lord, and he will tell you, how I have been uſed, and upon what account. I believe you know it not.

Decemb. 29.

'Your daughter is very well, very tall, and very pretty, as I am told.'

Another letter without direction.

Decemb. 31, 1690.

'Was my condition more deſperate and uneaſy than it is, I deſire no greater ſatisfaction than to have done my duty to ſo good a maſter. I wiſh it was of more uſe to him; that is not my fault, nor of thoſe I have acted with. Let it be looked into what has been foretold both as to England, Scotland, and Ireland, and ſee, if moſt of it is not come to paſs already, and the reſt will follow, if not prevented. I wiſh it may alſo be conſidered what uſage we have met with from men employed, and how they left your buſineſs and friends. How they managed it, you will know from all hands. Things they could not do, nor durſt not undertake, were better undone, than not done by them, men in this place, and in theſe times, muſt have ſome courage as well as ſenſe to do any thing with the people here. It is not my own ill uſage makes me ſay this, but my concern for one I wiſh the beſt in the world, and will give my proofs of this upon all occaſions. I need not inlarge, ſince all our grievances are known to him, that brings this. For my own part, I will ſtay here ſo long as I can be ſafe, if with ne'er ſo great trouble; but it would be ſome comfort to know men (when driven from hence) may be ſo. Therefore the reports of the people's uſage are terrible, as well as of the indiſcretion of St. Germ. family. We feel the ſmart of it by ridiculous letters falling daily into the hands of the government. Their maſter and miſtreſs are little obliged by it no more than we. If there is any thing, Sir, you do particularly command me, or depend upon me for, let me know it. I cannot undertake much, nor furniſh more.

pers, that were taken with him (o). This made ſome conclude, that his paper was drawn up by ſome other perſons, and 1691.

'more. I have ſtill helped every body, and paid to every thing I could; and if a twelvemonth ago my condition was what I then repreſented, you beſt know, if it has been mended. Uſe, and conſidering that of others, makes me grow more contented; and if the proſpect of miſery to us all was any ſatisfaction, that is now plainly ſeen.

'Pray God bleſs us all, by reſtoring every man his own, and you with long life.

'He that gives you this, hath furniſhed for your uſe to me, &c. two hundred pounds, which I deſire may be repaid.

'I only beg, madam, no ill malicious report may take any place in your thoughts, in regard to me. I value your good opinion, and will endeavour to deſerve it. I can do little towards, but with moſt heartily for your happineſs. I know no intereſt, madam, but my maſter's and your's, nor do I think they are to be made two. If you command me in any thing, I will faithfully obey you, as I ever have done him.

'We all depend here upon this bearer's accounts of us and condition, his faith and courage hath been enough experienced.'

(n) Short memorials in lord Preſton's own hand. This paper conſiſts of many heads and particulars, without order or method, and ſeems to be only memorandums made by his lordſhip to put him in mind what he was to enlarge upon when he came to France. It was as follows:

'Lady D. two thouſand pounds, and two hundred pounds for ſhop debts.

'Perſon upon the [illegible] 3 decker ſhips——Britannia, ad.

'Sovereign out and R—James.

'33 3d rates make the 14 and 30, ſixty-ſeven.

'Sundry hoſpitals and fire-ſhips, ſome built on purpoſe proportionable.

'Of third rates, moſt manned; 14 not manned, great ones.

'Reſt in ſome proportion manned, not well manned, nor will be.

'—— Britannia not out till March; the reſt perhaps in April.

'The French muſt be out in April, and in the Downs. Look in at Spithead to ſecure them.

'The Dutch fleet cannot then join them.

'Carter and others at Portſmouth, the likelieſt men to come to him—— Dutch fleet 36 ſail, 9 from 70, to 60 guns; —12 from 50 to 60; —— the reſt betwixt 60 and 70——. Get to it before the conjunction, otherwiſe nothing. To fight in the chops of the channel; not to come ſo high as Beachy. Portſmouth not manned above 500.—One Gibſon a Scots pedlar.——Lands beyond South Sea caſtle. —— Nothing but palliſadoes about Goſport—Jennings or Strickland, or Trevannion comes from St Malo's in one night —— Moſt of the gentlemen have done him moſt miſchief; the tarpaulins his beſt friends,

'which

1690-1. and too haſtily copied over by himſelf, without making due reflection on this part of it; for biſhop Burnet compared this paper,

'which diſpirited—Danby de-
'ſires to be in the monk, keeps
'and fortifies Hull——King not
'to be on board the fl[illegible]t——
'Fooliſh letters from St [illegible]
'every day in the D. poſt, and
'read in council—About June
'——England 67 great ſhips,
'Dutch 60——commanded 36
'to us, 24 to act by themſelves,
'——Buſſel in the Britannia,
'admiral——Killegrew the blue
'—the duke—Aſhby the Royal
'James——Delaval the Sove-
'reign, vice-admiral blue——
'Carter the Vanguard.—Thoſe
'who ſhall not oppoſe nor reſiſt
'him, to be pardoned.—Not
'21 days coming in, or ſhall not
'help the p. of O. 600000 l. to
'the ſtates of Holland,——No
'taxes in this time——and the
'k. of Fr. will require nothing
'—chimney money to be taken
'away——Not excepting out-
'laws——Scotland—Let know
'whether the king will come or
'not ſoon, and acquaint him the
'weakneſs of the pr. council.—
'3 daſhes—or the like f. of—
'That ſome kind anſwer—Mr.
'Eaſt merchant of Briſtol to be
'kept till called for William St.
'—from Amſterdam—Alexan-
'der—England—George——
'Scotland—Dorſet, Cornwallis,
'Montagu, Stamford, Shrewſ-
'bury, Macclesfield, Monmouth,
'Devonſhire—In Feb. the king
'come to Scotland—Endeavour
'to unite the epiſc. and preſbyt.
'parties.——A leſs ſum not in-
'terfere with the fr. k. from
'Highlanders——campaigns—
'land at Leith—The Scots ar-
'my not a French one, 5000
'good Swediſh foot; the repu-
'tation of a proteſtant ally; two
'months to ſettle Scotland—A
'commiſſion given to me from
'Mr P——— For Fl. hinder
'Eng. and D. from joining—
'Two veſſels of 150 l. price for
'Penſilvania; for 13 or 14 months
'—Ormond and Brandon diſo-
'bliged about the guards.
'To have 1200 ſeamen from
'Denmark and Holland——To
'ſave Campbell——To be left
'at the ſhip in ſheets Weſtmin-
'ſter——Flanders—R—Scots
'ſhips in Newcaſtle harbour to
'plague London—The modeſt
'inquiry, the Biſhops anſwer.
'—Not the chilling of them—
'But ſatisfying of friends—To
'tell him, that to protect friends,
'and as ſoon as foreigners are
'gone, he will diſmiſs his.——
'The woman, that was with the
'king in Ireland, and ſent com-
'miſſion to Stafford, and failing,
'not to be ſent again: her friends
'live in Covent-Garden—Pri-
'vate letters not.—Proteſting
'lords again the uſurper; three
'of five againſt the vacancy of
'the crown, Beaufort, New-
'caſtle, Thanet, Sawyer, Lut-
'witch, Pemberton, Levinz,
'Winnington, Montagu, Shew-
'er. London clergy the worſt; we
'have their wiſhes, and they
'their oaths ———K. betrayed
'by J. Porter: Seymour ſaid it
'—Lord Nottingham ſays there
'will be a peace with Fr. and
'the k. left out ——Bring
'foreigners to drive out foreign-
'ers; then diſmiſs them?
'leave all to free parliament—
'No juſtices of peace, &c. ac-
'tually

paper, which he gave the ſheriff, and which was written in his own hand, with thoſe found about him, and it was viſible, that both were written in the ſame hand. 1691.

The

'tually in commiſſion to be criminal.

(o) The paper at large was as follows:

'Mr. Sheriff,

'Having obſerved, that the 'methods of making ſpeeches 'at the place of execution were 'not always attended with the 'deſigned ſucceſſes; and thinking it better to employ my laſt 'minutes in devotion and holy 'communion with my God, I 'have prepared this paper to 'leave in your hands, as well 'to aſſert my principles, as to 'teſtify my innocency.

'As to my religion, I profeſs 'by God's grace, to die in the 'faith, into which I was baptized, that of the church of 'England, in whoſe communion '(nothing doubting of my ſalvation through the merits of 'my Saviour) I have always 'thought myſelf ſafe and happy. 'According to her principles, 'and late much eſteemed doctrine (though now unhappily 'exploded) I have regulated my 'life, believing myſelf obliged 'by my religion to look upon 'my rightful lawful prince (whatever his principles were, or 'his practices might be) as God's 'vice-gerent, and accountable '(if guilty of male-adminiſtration) to God only, from whom 'he received his power, und always believing it to be contrary to the laws of God, the 'church, and the realm, upon 'any pretence whatſoever, to 'take up arms againſt him. And 'let all the world take notice in 'this belief I die. But I have 'more particular obligations to 'the king, my maſter, whom I 'had the honour to ſerve, and 'received many ſignal favours 'from him for ſixteen years 'paſt; ſo that gratitude (a thing 'not much eſteemed at this time) 'as well as duty and religion, 'commanded the utmoſt ſervice 'I could pay him. And when 'I had theſe conſiderations, that 'we were born his liege ſubjects; that we had ſolemnly 'profeſſed our allegiance, and 'often confirmed it with oaths; 'that his majeſty's uſage, after 'the prince of Orange's arrival, 'was very hard, ſevere, and (I 'may ſay) unjuſt; and that all 'the new methods of ſettling 'this nation have hitherto made 'it more miſerable, poor, and 'more expoſed to foreign enemies; and that the religion we 'pretend to be fond of preſerving, is now much more than 'ever likely to be deſtroyed; 'there ſeemed to me no way to 'prevent the impending evils, 'and ſave theſe nations from poverty and deſtruction, but the 'calling home our injured ſovereign, who, as a true father of 'his country, has (notwithſtanding all his provocations and injuries) a natural love and tenderneſs for all his ſubjects. And 'I am ſo far from repining at 'the loſs of my life, that had I 'ten thouſand, I ſhould rather 'think myſelf obliged to ſacrifice 'them all, than omit any juſt and 'honeſt means to promote ſo

'good

1691. The lord Preſton went backward and forward; he had no mind to die, and yet was not willing to tell all he knew. He acted a weak part in all reſpects. When he was heated by the importunities of his friends, who were violently engaged againſt the government, and after he had dined well, he reſolved to die heroically. But the next morning that heat went off, and when he saw death in full view, his heart failed him. The ſcheme he carried over was ſo fooliſh, ſo ill concerted,

Lord Preſton pardoned. Burnet. Boyer.

'good and neceſſary a work. 'And I adviſe and deſire all my 'fellow-ſubjects to think of their 'duty, and turn to their allegi-'ance, before the ſevere judg-'ments of God overtake them 'for their perjury and rebellion. 'But certainly the good and in-'tereſt of theſe nations, abſtract-'ed from all other conſiderati-'ons, will e'er long convince 'them of the neceſſity of doing 'it.

'Having thus frankly declared 'my principles, I know the in-'ference will be, that I have act-'ed accordingly, and conſequent-'ly that I am now juſtly con-'demned. But, as I ingeniouſly 'own the inference, ſo I as poſi-'tively deny the conſequence; 'for whatever my inclinations 'or actings have been, yet as to 'the matter I was ſentenced to die 'for, I declare myſelf innocent. 'And I will appeal even to the 'judges themſelves, whether or 'no, upon my trial, there ap-'peared the leaſt proof, that I 'knew a tittle contained in the 'papers. But preſumptions were 'with the jury thought ſufficient 'to find me guilty, though I am 'told I am the firſt man, that 'ever was condemned for high-'treaſon upon bare ſuſpicion or 'preſumption, and that contrary 'to my lord Coke's and other 'eminent lawyers opinions. The 'knowledge of my own inno-'cency, as to the indictment and 'charge againſt me, was that 'that armed me with ſo much 'aſſurance, and occaſioned my 'caſting my life upon the firſt 'twelve men of the pannel, 'without challenging any. But 'though I have, I think, juſt 'reaſon to complain of the ſe-'vere charge given by the judges, 'and hard meaſure I have re-'ceived; not to mention my 'cloſe impriſonment, the haſty 'and violent proceedings againſt 'me, nor the induſtry uſed in 'the return of fitting perſons to 'paſs upon me; the denying me 'a copy of the pannel, &c. Yet 'as I beg pardon and forgive-'neſs at the hands of God, I do 'moſt heartily pray for, and for-'give them, and all my enemies, 'all the world, nay even that 'judge and jurymen, who did 'ſo ſignally (contrary to com-'mon juſtice) expoſe themſelves 'to deſtroy me. But let the will 'of God be done; I rely wholly 'upon his mercy, and the merits 'of my bleſſed Saviour, for ſal-'vation. I do chearfully and 'entirely reſign myſelf into his 'hands, as into the hands of a 'faithful creator, in ſure and 'certain hopes of a happy re-'ſurrection. Bleſs, protect, and 'ſtrengthen, O Lord God, my 'good and gracious king and 'maſter;

concerted, and ſo few engaged in it, that thoſe, who knew the whole ſecret, concluded, that if he had got ſafe to the court 1691.

maſter; in thy due time let the virtue, goodneſs, and innocency of the queen my miſtreſs make all her enemies bluſh, and ſilence the wicked and unjuſt calumnies that malice and envy have raiſed againſt her; make her and theſe nations happy in the prince of Wales, whom, from unanſwerable and undoubted proofs, I know to be her ſon. Reſtore them all, when thou ſeeſt fit, to their juſt rights, and on ſuch a bottom, as may ſupport and eſtabliſh the church of England, and once more make her flouriſh, notwithſtanding the wounds ſhe hath received of late from her prevaricating ſons.

'Forgive, forgive, O Lord, all my enemies; bleſs all my friends; comfort and ſupport my dear afflicted wife, and poor babes; be thou a huſband and a father to them; for their ſakes only I could have wiſhed to live; but pardon that wiſh, O good God, and take my ſoul into thy everlaſting glory.' Amen.

JOHN ASHTON.

This paper was immediately followed by an anſwer to it, ſuppoſed to be written by Dr. Edward Fowler, afterwards biſhop of Gloceſter, in which it is obſerved, that there was reaſon to ſuſpect that paper to have been drawn up by another hand than that of Mr Aſhton; that the uncharitableneſs at leaſt of the paper was unbecoming a perſon going out of the world; that paſſive obedience was not the cauſe of Mr. Aſhton's ſuffering, but the want of it; that king William was our only lawful ſovereign then; that the meaſure of obedience is determined by law; that the revolution is to be juſtified by ſeveral conſiderations; that Mr. Aſhton had no hard meaſure, ſince treaſon was proved upon him. 'The ſeverity of 'the charge, ſays the anſwerer, 'lay in applying the ſtatute 25 'Edw. III. to his fact, which 'was a deſign to carry into 'France a treaſonable ſcheme 'and project of an invaſion, in 'order to depoſing the king and 'queen. This laſt the judges 'declared had been always held 'to be high-treaſon. All the 'queſtion then was, whether 'ſuch a fact were an overt act of 'ſuch a deſign; and ſo it was 'left to the jury, whether Mr. 'Aſhton intended to go over with 'ſuch a deſign or not. If there 'be any ſeverity here, it muſt 'be in the law; and that all 'thoſe, who ſuffer by a law, 'are apt to complain of.

'He particularly chargeth that 'judge and that juryman, who 'did, he ſaith, ſignally, contrary to common juſtice, expoſe 'themſelves to deſtroy him. 'This is a very hard charge for 'a dying man, and ought to 'have great evidence to reconcile it to common charity; 'but he offers none. The jury 'were to act according to their 'conſciences; and if they did 'ſo, how could they expoſe 'themſelves contrary to common 'juſtice, to deſtroy him? But

1691. court of France, the project would have been ſo deſpiſed, that he muſt have been ſuſpected as ſent over to draw king James

'what evidence doth he give, 'that they did not ſo? Some 'have told him, that he was 'the firſt man, that ever was 'condemned for high treaſon, 'upon bare ſuſpicion or pre'ſumption, and that contrary 'to my lord Coke, and other 'eminent lawyers opinions.

'The main point as to the 'jury was, whether they were 'ſatisfied in their conſciences, 'that Mr. Aſhton intended to 'go into France with ſuch a de'ſign. And where the fact lies 'in the intention, there can be 'no direct evidence, without 'ſeeing the heart, but it muſt 'be gathered from a concurrence 'of circumſtances ſtrong enough 'to determine an honeſt man's 'judgment; and ſuch the jury 'believed to be in his caſe. My 'lord Coke's words are on the 'caſe of treaſon, that the com'paſſing, intent, or imagina'tion, though ſecret, is to be 'tried by the peers, and to be 'diſcovered by circumſtances 'precedent, concomitant, and 'ſubſequent, with all endeavour 'evermore for the ſafety of the 'king. It is true he ſaith after'wards fol. 12. that conjectural 'preſumptions, or inferences, or 'ſtrains of wit, are not ſuffici'ent, but there muſt be good 'and manifeſt proof. Yet ſtill 'this proof muſt be ſuch as the 'thing will bear; for there can 'be no direct and plain proof 'of a ſecret intention. Either 'therefore no man can be juſtly 'condemned for a ſecret intenti'on, manifeſted by an overt act; 'or there muſt be ſuch a proof 'allowed, as is ſufficient to ſatiſ'fy a man's conſcience, al'although it come not up to 'plain and direct evidence, as 'it is oppoſed to the higheſt de'gree of preſumption.

'But it may be ſaid, that the 'preſumption lies in judging 'the intention from the overt 'act; but that overt-act muſt be 'manifeſtly proved. The overt 'act in this caſe was the carry'ing over treaſonable papers 'into France, in order to an in'vaſion. The ſole queſtion then 'was, whether there was mani'feſt proof as to theſe papers. 'That the papers were found a'bout him, was manifeſtly prov'ed; and he owns, fol. 110. 'that they were unfortunately 'found upon him, but he ſaith, 'that he knew not the import'ance of them. It was mani'feſtly proved, that he had an 'extraordinary concernment to 'have theſe papers thrown over'board, which he ſaith was per'fectly out of friendſhip; and 'whether that was a true anſwer, 'was left to the conſciences of 'the jury, who were to judge of 'this by all the circumſtances 'antecedent, concomitant, and 'ſubſequent, by which they con'cluded him guilty. And I 'cannot ſee, how they went a'gainſt common juſtice therein, 'eſpecially ſince Mr. Aſhton 'well knew, that one of the 'moſt material papers taken, 'was of his own hand-writing, 'not the firſt draught, but the 'copy, which was ſhowed him 'in the court; and when it was 'ſo, he deſired, fol. 106. that

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James into a ſnare, and bring him into the king's hands. He was therefore pardoned. And as for Mr. Elliot, there being no poſitive proof againſt him, he was not brought to a trial. Soon after, on the 25th of February 1690-1, the queen iſſued out a proclamation for diſcovering and apprehending Dr. Turner, the late biſhop of Ely, William Penn, the famous quaker, and Mr. James Graham, as accomplices of the lord Preſton and Mr. Aſhton; and the earl of Clarendon was ſeized and committed to the Tower on the ſame account; but after ſome months, the king, in regard to that earl's relation to the queen, would proceed to no extremities againſt him, but gave him leave to live confined to his houſe in the country. But the biſhop of Ely, Graham and Penn abſconded. 1691.

'the original may be read, and not the copy. And he had good reaſon for it; for, as far as I can judge upon peruſal of both, it is the very ſame hand, in which this ſpeech was written. But what ſaid Mr. Aſhton to the jury to clear this matter? He ſaith, fol. 129. that his hand was not proved to any of the papers, and therefore there was nothing but ſuppoſition, or ſuſpicion againſt him. It is true, there was no direct and plain proof of the hand, as there was in the caſe of my lord Preſton, (and it is a wonder it was omitted, for that would have been plain proof of his knowing what was in thoſe papers.) However all the other circumſtances put together were a ſufficient proof of his privity to the contents of them. And I wonder how Mr. Aſhton could ſo confidently in his paper declare himſelf innocent as to the matter, for which he was ſentenced to die; when he knew the paper was of his own hand-writing, and plain proof hath been ſince made of his own delivery of it to a third perſon. Can a man be innocent and guilty of the ſame thing?

'The only thing to be taken notice of, which remains, is a reflection on the government for his cloſe impriſonment, and the haſty and violent proceedings againſt him. If there were any thing more than uſual in ſuch caſes, as to his impriſonment, he ought to have mentioned the particulars, for otherwiſe it is to arraign the common juſtice of the nation. As to the haſty and violent proceedings of his trial, it was then told him, that the greateſt advantage he had was by putting off his trial; for by that he knew how to lay the papers on my lord Preſton; which yet could not clear him as to thoſe papers, which were not written with my lord's hand, nor related any ways to him; but one of them was written with his own hand.'

1691. Four days before the king's arrival, a fire happened at Whitehall, which began about eight o'clock at night, by the negligence of a maid ſervant, (who, to ſave the pains of cutting a candle from a pound, burnt it off, and threw the reſt down careleſsly before the flame was out) at the lower end of the ſtrong gallery, in thoſe lodgings which were the dutcheſs of Portſmouth's, and burnt very violently till four the next morning; during which time almoſt all the ſtone gallery and buildings behind it, as far as the Thames, were conſumed, and one or two men killed by the buildings that were blown up (p).

Whitehall burnt. April 9. MS. letter of Mr. Pulteney to Sir W. Colt.

Vacant ſees filled. Kennet. Burnet.

The king, after having given the neceſſary orders for the reduction of Ireland, and for fitting out a large fleet which admiral Ruſſel was appointed to command, beſtowed his care on filling the vacant eccleſiaſtical dignities. He had ſuffered the deprived biſhops to continue, now above a year, in their ſees. They all the while neglected the concerns of the church, doing nothing, but living privately in their palaces. Biſhop Burnet had, by the queen's order, moved both the earl of Rocheſter and Sir John Trevor, who had great credid with them, to try, whether, in caſe an act could be obtained to excuſe them from taking the oaths, they would proceed to diſcharge their functions in ordinations, inſtitutions, and confirmations, and aſſiſt at the public worſhip, as formerly. But they would give no anſwer; only they ſaid, that they would live quietly, that is, keep themſelves cloſe, till a proper time ſhould encourage them to act more openly. Upon this all thoughts of this kind were laid aſide. One of the moſt conſiderable men of the party, Dr. Sherlock, upon king James's going out of Ireland, thought, that this gave the preſent government a thorough ſettlement; and in that caſe he thought it lawful to take the oaths, and therefore not only took them himſelf, but publickly juſtified what he had done; which expoſed him to very ſevere reproaches from thoſe, whom he had abandoned. The diſcovery of the biſhop of Ely's correſpondence and engagement in the name of the reſt, gave the king a fair opportunity of filling the vacant ſees, which he reſolved to lay hold of. He judged rightly, that it is was of great conſequence both to his own ſervice,

(p) During the king's abſence, Sir Robert Cotton of Cambridgeſhire, and Mr. Thomas Frankland were made Poſt-maſters general in the room of major Wildman, who was removed by the queen. And Sir Edward Villiers was on the 20th of March, created baron Villiers of Hoo, and viſcount Villiers of Hartford in Kent. He was maſter of the horſe to the queen.

and

and the intereſts of religion, to have the ſee of Canterbury well filled, ſince the reſt would turn upon that. By the choice, which he was to make, all the nation would ſee, whether he intended to proceed with his firſt deſign of moderating matters, and healing the diviſions in religion; or whether he would go into the paſſions and humours of a high party, that ſeemed to court him as abjectly as they inwardly hated him. Dr. Tillotſon had now been well known to him for two years; his ſoft and prudent counſels, and his zeal for his ſervice, had begot both in the king and queen a high and juſt opinion of him. They had both for above a year preſſed him to come into this poſt; and he had ſtruggled againſt it with great earneſtneſs. As he had no ambition nor aſpiring in his temper, ſo he foreſaw what a ſcene of trouble and ſlander he muſt enter into now in the decline of his age. The prejudices, which the jacobites would poſſeſs all people with for his coming into the room of one, whom they called a confeſſor, and who began now to have the public compaſſion on his ſide, were well foreſeen by him. He likewiſe apprehended the continuance of that heat and averſion, which a violent party had always expreſſed towards him, though he had not only avoided to provoke any of them, but had, upon all occaſions, done the chief of them great ſervices, as often as it was in his power. He had large principles, and was free from ſuperſtition. His zeal had been chiefly againſt atheiſm and popery; but he had never ſhewn much ſharpneſs againſt the diſſenters. He had lived in a good correſpondence with many of them, and had brought ſeveral over to the church, by the force of reaſon, and the ſoftneſs of perſuaſion and good uſage, but was a declared enemy to violence and ſeverities on account of differences in religion. He laid before the king all the ill effects, which, as he thought, the promoting him would have on his ſervice; but all this ſerved only to increaſe the king's eſteem of him, and fix him in his purpoſe. Dr. Tillotſon therefore, though with great uneaſineſs to himſelf, ſubmitted to his command. Dr. Simon Patrick, biſhop of Chicheſter, was likewiſe tranſlated to the biſhopric of Ely, in the room of biſhop Turner, and Dr. Beveridge Rector of St. Peter's in Cornhill, was to be promoted to the biſhopric of Bath and Wells, in the room of biſhop Kenn; Dr. Fowler to the ſee of Gloceſter, in the room of biſhop Frampton; Dr. Cumberland to the ſee of Peterborough, in the room of biſhop White; Dr. Moor to the ſee of Norwich, in the room of biſhop Lloyd; and Dr. Grove to the ſee of Chicheſter, void by the tranſlation

1691.

1691. of biſhop Patrick; and Dr. Sherlock, maſter of the Temple, to the deanery of St. Paul's; Dr. Comber to the deanery of Durham, in the room of Dr. Granville; Mr. William Talbot to the deanery of Worceſter, in the room of Dr. George Hickes; and Dr. Woodward to the deanery of Sarum. Not many weeks after their majeſties nominated Dr. John Sharp, dean of Canterbury, to the archbiſhopric of York, in the room of archbiſhop Lamplugh; Dr. Ironſide, biſhop of Briſtol, to ſucceed Dr. Herbert Croſts, lately deceaſed, in the biſhopric of Hereford; Dr. John Hall to be biſhop of Briſtol; and Dr. Richard Kidder, dean of Peterborough, to be biſhop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Beveridge having declined that biſhopric (q), ſo that in two years the king had named fifteen

(q) This gave great occaſion to a pamphlet, printed, May 1691, intitled, 'A vindication 'of their majeſties authority to 'fill the ſees of the deprived Bi'ſhops; in a letter out of the 'country, occaſioned by Dr. 'B———'s refuſal of the bi'ſhopric of Bath and Wells.' It was afterwards reprinted in 'the collection of ſtate tracts 'publiſhed on occaſion of the 'late revolution in 1688, and 'during the reign of king Wil'liam III.' The author of this piece begins with obſerving, that Dr. Beveridge's refuſal had accaſioned great talk, and different cenſures, as men were divided in their intereſts and opinions; and that tho' he could eaſily apprehend ſeveral reaſons, which might move wiſe and good men, where there were no greater and more preſſing obligations to the contrary, rather to chooſe an eccleſiaſtical preferment void by death or ceſſion, than by deprivation; yet 'our preſent circum'ſtances, ſays he, are ſuch, as 'ought to over-rule all niceties, 'the miſchiefs of ſuch a refuſal 'being ſo intolerable, as nothing 'can excuſe, much leſs juſtify 'it, but the abſolute unlawful'neſs of ſucceeding in ſuch pre'ferments, while the deprived bi'ſhop lives; which would be very 'odd for them to pretend, who 'have ſubmitted to the preſent 'government.' He then endeavours to ſhow, that friendſhip for the former incumbent is no good reaſon for refuſing; and that ſuch a refuſal would give an unpardonable ſcandal both to the enemies and friends of the government, and to the government itſelf; and he ſtates the doctor's caſe in this manner. 'He ſubmitted to the govern'ment, and took the oath of 'allegiance as early as any man; 'and never, that I heard, had the 'leaſt ſcruple about it; and yet 'this was the time to have been 'ſcrupulous if he would have been 'ſo; for it ſeems a little of the 'lateſt, when he is become a 'ſworn ſubject to king William 'and queen Mary, to queſtion 'their authority to make a bi'ſhop. And if the former bi'ſhops were deprived, and new 'biſhops made, by ſuch an au'thority as he can ſwear allegi'ance to, I cannot underſtand, 'that it can be unlawful to ac'cept

fifteen biſhops; and they were generally eſteemed as the moſt learned, the wiſeſt, and beſt men, who were in the church. And it was viſible, that in all theſe nominations, and the filling the inferior dignities, which became void by their promotion, no ambition nor court-favour had appeared, but on the contrary men were ſought for, and brought out of their retirements, and moſt of them very much againſt their own inclinations. They were remarkable for their moderate principles and calm tempers: and their promotions were ſuch a diſcovery of their majeſties deſigns with relation to 1691

'cept a biſhopric from the 'hands of thoſe, whom he owns, 'by his ſwearing allegiance to 'them, to have authority to 'give it; for this is an authority, 'which belongs to the imperial 'crown of England. Beſides 'this, Dr. B** was one of 'thoſe, who by commiſſion 'from the dean and chapter of 'Canterbury; hath exerciſed 'archiepiſcopal authority, during 'the vacancy of the ſee by the 'deprivation of the archbiſhop, 'as it is expreſſed in the com-'miſſion. And I take this to 'be altogether as unlawful (if 'either of them were unlawful) to 'ſeize upon the authority of the 'archbiſhop upon the account of 'his deprivation, as to take the 'character, and exerciſe the au-'thority of a biſhop in the ſee 'of a deprived biſhop. To re-'ceive the conſecration of a bi-'ſhop, I ſuppoſe, is not the 'thing he accounts unlawful, 'nor to exerciſe the authority of 'a biſhop; and, then there is 'nothing he can think unlaw-'ful but to exerciſe the authori-'of a biſhop in the ſee of a de-'prived biſhop. And it ſeems to 'me as unlawful for a preſbyter 'to do this, as for a biſhop to do 'it, unleſs a preſbyter may do 'it, without the revenues of the 'biſhopric, but a biſhop muſt 'not do it with them. But this 'can be no eccleſiaſtical ſcruple, 'as ſo great a canoniſt muſt 'needs know; for if the civil 'power cannot diſpoſe of ſuch 'temporal matters, it can do 'nothing.'

The author remarks, that in a chriſtian nation and government the church is incorporated into the ſtate, and the ſovereign power has a ſupremacy in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes; and that this ſupremacy, though it do not extend to the adminiſtration of holy offices or church cenſures, yet it reaches the perſons and external juriſdiction of biſhops and the other clergy, and the regulating and ordering the externals of religion; as the making and depoſing biſhops, when there is juſt cauſe for it, belongs to the ſupremacy; which authority was exerciſed by the Jewiſh kings over the high-prieſt himſelf: that therefore, when a church is incorporated into the State, an offence againſt the ſtate, is a juſt reaſon to depoſe a biſhop from the exerciſe of his epiſcopal authority in ſuch a ſtate; eſpecially if ſuch a biſhop wholly diſowns the authority and government of the ſtate, and refuſe to ſubmit to it. State Tracts I. 635—639.

1691. the church, that it ſerved greatly to remove the jealouſies which ſome other ſteps the king had made, were beginning to raiſe in the whigs, and very much ſoftened the ill humour, which was ſpread among them.

The king goes to the Hague.

On the laſt day of April the king, in purſuance of his reſolution to command in perſon the confederate army in Flanders, ſet out from Kenſington, embarked at Harwich on the 2d of May, ſet ſail with a fair wind for Holland, attended by a ſquadron of men of war under rear-admiral Rooke, landed the next day near Maeſland Sluice, went from thence to Hounſleardick, and arrived the ſame evening at the Hague; where we ſhall leave him for a while, to ſee how his orders were executed in Ireland.

Proceedings in Ireland. Boyer. Kennet. Story. Burnet.

After both armies had gone into winter quarters the preceding year, they remained quiet on both ſides for a time; and though ſeveral deſigns were formed by each party againſt the other, yet no conſiderable action happened between them (r). The greateſt miſchief done to the Engliſh was done by the

(r) The moſt remarkable events, as well as the general ſtate of Ireland, will appear from the following extracts of original letters written by Mr. John Pulteney, under-ſecretary to the lord viſcount Sidney, to Sir William Colt, envoy extraordinary at Hanover.

SIR,

Whitehall, 24 Feb. 1690-1.

'Yeſterday came in nine or ten mails, the laſt with letters of the 12th inſtant from Dublin. The news they bring is in ſubſtance, that Tyrconnel arrived at Limerick about the 14th of January with three frigates and nine veſſels laden with proviſions, clothes, ſome arms and ammunition; but that notwithſtanding the joy, which this ſupply occaſioned among the Iriſh, the officers ſhew but melancholly countenances, looking upon themſelves to be but in an ill condition: that ſince the repulſe of the Iriſh at Fermoybridge, which they attacked the 24th of January laſt, and were beaten off with the loſs of about twenty of their men, they had drawn together again about fourteen troops of horſe and dragoons, and fifteen hundred foot, and moved towards Ballimagooly under the command of brigadier Carrol; and that thereupon major-general Tetteau having aſſembled about ſeven hundred horſe and three hundred foot from Corke and the neighbouring garriſons, marched againſt the rebels, who would not ſtand an engagement, but upon the approach of our troops fled in great confuſion towards Limerick. That ſince Tyrconnel's arrival the rebels had been likewiſe in motion towards Athlone, giving our troops an alarm, as if they intended to attack Mullingar, our principal garriſon and

the Iriſh rapparees, who committed great cruelties and depredations, and then retreated to their bogs and faſtneſſes, where the regular forces could not reach them. Nor were the lords juſtices more ſucceſsful in their attempts to ſuppreſs them, either 1691.

'and magazine on that ſide; 'which occaſioned the marching 'thither of colonel Foulke's re-'giment from Dublin. But the 'enemy ſtopp'd half way be-'tween Athlone and Mullingar 'at a place called Ballymore, and 'built there a ſmall fort, which 'they will as ſoon quit, when 'our men think it worth their 'while to march thither. That 'the rapparees continue to com-'mit great depredations in the 'country, and are very nume-'rous; but that our parties often 'meet with them, and general-'ly kill or take as many as 'they can come up with; and 'by the meaſures now taken it 'was to be hoped they would 'be ſoon reduced to a ſmall 'number. Our parties had like-'wiſe had ſeveral rencounters 'with ſome of the enemy's 'formed troops with their uſual 'ſucceſs, killing divers of them, 'and taking ſome priſoners; but 'the particulars are not worth 'the mentioning here. That 'the lords juſtices had put out 'two proclamations, one to pre-'vent the robberies and plun-'derings of the ſoldiers; for 'which ſatisfaction is to be made 'out of their pay upon due 'proof before ſome juſtice of 'the peace in the county, where-'in ſuch offence is committed, 'beſides other puniſhment ac-'cording to the nature of it. 'The other, appoints William 'Robinſon, —— Johnſton, Ed-'ward Corker, John South, 'and William Molineux, eſ-'quires, or any three of them, 'to be commiſſioners for ſtating 'the accounts of the army, and 'aſcertaining all debts due to 'and from the ſaid army, and 'examining all accounts of mo-'ney whatſoever paid unto or 'diſburſted by any perſon for 'the uſe of the army. That 'lieutenant-general Ginckel had 'likewiſe put out a declaration, 'wherein, after taking notice of 'the artifices made uſe of by 'the penſioners of France to de-'lude the Iriſh, and to make 'them obſtinate to their ruin, he 'declares, that an Iriſh Roman 'catholic gentleman, that came 'out of the enemy's quarters, 'upon humble application to 'their majeſties, had been fully 'informed of the mercy and in-'dulgence deſigned to ſuch of 'the Iriſh army and inhabitants, 'as did ſubmit to their govern-'ment; but that he having been 'hitherto obſtructed to make 'his meſſage known, the ſaid 'lieutenant-general had thought 'fit to take this way of making 'it public: that he had authority, 'and was ready to grant rea-'ſonable terms to them, who are 'willing to return to their duty, 'their majeſties not deſiring to 'oppreſs the Iriſh either by per-'ſecuting them for their religi-'on, ruining them in their e-'ſtates, or enſlaving them in 'their liberties; their majeſties 'having a greater regard to the 'preſervation of the inhabitants 'of that kingdom, than to the 'juſt reſentment, which their be-'haviour had deſerved. Laſtly, 'that the lords juſtices had held

'ſeveral

1691 either by offers of mercy to ſuch as ſhould ſubmit to their majeſties obedience, or by propoſing a reward for every head of a rapparee. But now the Engliſh army having taken the field

'ſeveral conſultations with lieutenant-general Ginckel, and 'the reſt of the general officers, 'about the affairs of the army; 'and making the neceſſary preparations for an early campaign.'

Whitehall, 6 March, 1690-1.

'This day came in ſeveral by 'the common poſt, of the 3d 'inſtant, but all to private perſons, and from one and the 'ſame hand, which is the mayor 'of Liverpool, who writes, that 'a maſter of a veſſel from Dublin put in there that day, reports, that on the 27th paſt there 'happened, a very ſharp engagement between our army and 'the rebels near Ballymore, in 'which we gave them an intire 'defeat, killing and taking priſoners between five and ſix 'thouſand of them, and all 'their bag and baggage, with 'the loſs of but two hundred on 'our ſide. That it was reported 'Sarsfield was mortally wounded: and that general Ginckel 'was brought to Dublin on Saturday night in a coach ſorely 'wounded. This is the ſubſtance of the letters. There 'were other particulars, which 'I have omitted, becauſe this 'account coming but after an 'odd manner, we muſt wait for 'a confirmation of it from a 'better hand.'

Whitehall, March 10. 1690-1.

'I have nothing to trouble 'you with this poſt, but to refer you to yeſterday's Gazette, 'which you will receive from 'Mr. Le Pin; wherein you will 'find an account of a late engagement, with a defeat of the 'rebels in Ireland, which, 'though ſmall in itſelf, yet 'will undoubtedly in its conſequences prove very conſiderable, it being juſt upon the opening the campaign, and a 'freſh inſtance of their not daring to ſtand againſt an Engliſh 'force, though never ſo ſmall. 'But to let you ſee, how little 'reaſon there is to apprehend 'any great danger from ſuch an 'enemy, I cannot but take notice to you of a paſſage omitted in the Gazette, which is, 'that they had placed their paliſadoes inwards; ſo that inſtead of hindering us from falling on them, they were a ſecurity to us from their breaking in upon our men. But I 'doubt not you will eaſily look 'upon this as an act of ſupererogation or Iriſh underſtanding. 'In fine, that Sarsfield, this 'mighty hero, is highly diſſatisfied; and that there are great 'factions and diſcontents 'amongſt them upon the account 'of the French, and the great 'neceſſities and diſtreſſes they 'labour under, we have all the 'reaſon in the world to believe, 'from the frequent accounts we 'have from deſerters and priſoners daily taken from them.'

Whitehall, March 13. 1690-1.

'This day came in letters 'from

field about the beginning of June, the rapparees mixed themſelves with king James's forces, with whom they muſt wait the fortune of war. King William's forces being conſiderably 1691.

'from Dublin of the 7th inſtant, 'which ſay, that brigadier Stu- 'art from his quarters near Bel- 'tarbat went out lately with a 'party of about ſeven hundred 'men towards James town, ſe- 'venteen miles into the enemy's 'quarters, upon notice, that 'two regiments of the rebels 'were encamped there with fif- 'teen hundred rapparees, and a 'very great prey of cattle; and 'had it not been for one of 'the protected Iriſh, who gave 'notice ſo early of our motion, 'that colonel Clifford had time 'enough to join two other regi- 'ments, one of horſe, and a- 'nother of dragoons, to their 'party, we had ſo ſurprized 'them, as in all probability had 'given them there a greater de- 'feat than the other we lately 'did near Athlone, whereof the 'laſt Gazette gave you an ac- 'count, and taken their cattle 'too. But the enemy, though 'above four times our number, 'flying before our men, as they 'came near them, little execu- 'tion was done, our party kill- 'ing only nine or ten of the e- 'nemy in their flight, without 'any loſs on our ſide; that the 'lord juſtice Coningſby, who 'has been very ill of a fever, is 'now upon his recovery: that 'the Iriſh give no alarms, nor 'ſeem to be in a poſture to do 'it: that a cornet and eight 'troopers, deſerters, who came 'over from the rebels the day 'theſe letters bear date, report 'the conſternation was ſo great 'at Athlone, that they ſhut the 'gates upon them, and left all 'to our mercy, and many of 'them periſhed: that purſuant 'to the king's orders, the regi- 'ment of Dorſ foot command- 'ed by colonel White, colonel 'Ruſſel's regiment of horſe, ſix 'troops of colonel Wooſeley's 'regiment of horſe, and four 'troops of the earl of Oxford's 'regiment, are forthwith to be 'broke.'

Whitehall, 20 March, 1690-1.

'Our laſt letters from Dub- 'lin are of the 15th inſtant, 'which bring no account of any 'particular action in thoſe parts, 'but in general, that ſeveral pro- 'teſtants, and men of very good 'ſenſe, who made their eſcape 'lately from Limerick, do re- 'port there are great diſcontents 'in that place: that the ſmall 'ſum of money, that the lord 'Tyrconnel brought over with 'him from France, is applied to 'no other uſe than the works, 'and given to deſerters from us; 'of which ſort there are not 'any horſe or Engliſh, but of 'the Daniſh foot above two 'hundred are lately gone over 'thither, though they refuſe to 'take ſervice with the Iriſh, 'and are therefore to be tranſ- 'ported to their own country: 'that the garriſon of Limerick 'has already begun to open 'the magazines of the laſt ſea- 'ſon, the old being all ſpent: 'that they have no expectation 'of men from France, nor are 'they making any preparations 'for taking the field: that Sars- 'field

1691. rably augmented by the addition of thoſe troops, which under Mackay had compleated the reduction of the Scots High-

'field and Tyrconnel do by no 'means agree together, the latter having ſent ſeveral times 'for Sarsfield to Limerick before 'he would go: that three Daniſh deſerters going towards 'the enemy were met by four 'deſerters coming from them; 'and the three being taken priſoners, and brought back to 'their quarters, were immediately executed: and, laſtly; 'that one Daily, a judge in the 'late king James's time, and 'others, have been ſecured upon ſuſpicion of deſigning to 'betray Galway into the Engliſh hands.

Whitehall, 27 March, 1691.

'We have had letters this 'morning of the 23d from 'Dublin, which ſay, that upon 'examination of the murder of 'colonel Foulkes's men, though 'they had light enough to be 'verily perſuaded, that all the 'protected papiſts, who live 'near the place, where it was 'committed, were privy to the 'fact, or at leaſt well pleaſed 'with it, and that the whole 'kingdom over they are ready 'to do the like at the inſtigation of their prieſts that inſenſibly endeavour to weaken us; 'yet they had been only able to 'fix this murder upon one man, 'who was hanged, and at his 'execution owned, that he had 'buried them; but would not 'diſcover any of his accomplices; and on the 22d at night 'the lords juſtices were informed, that a conſiderable number of Iriſh deſigned to meet 'within two miles of Dublin, 'in order to ſome daring reſolution for the reſcue of their 'friends who to the number of 'above eighty were priſoners 'there on that account; upon 'which a ſtrong party was ſent 'out to look after them, but 'they came back the next morning without meeting any ſuch 'number of papiſts, as was 'mentioned in the information. 'The carriage of the protected 'papiſts, who on all occaſions 'ſhew their implacable hatred 'to the Engliſh, and contribute 'all they can to their diſturbance, 'will at laſt force the government to have recourſe to greater 'ſeverities than have yet 'been made uſe of. Theſe 'letters ſay likewiſe, that the 'French were ſending over ſome 'forces to make an attempt upon Cork and Kingſale; but it 'deſerves no credit, though this 'I think, is taken for granted, 'that the French deſign thither 'another convoy of proviſions.

Whitehall, April 3, 1691.

'While I am writing this, in 'come two packets from Dublin with letters of the 28th and '30th paſt, but without one 'word of news, except only the 'daily advantages the malitia of 'that kingdom have over the 'rapparees, and the progreſs 'that has been made into the 'diſcovery of the perſons concerned in the murder of colonel Foulkes's ſoldiers, which 'is little more than what the 'Gazette has already given you 'an account of.'

landers

landers, lieutenant-general Ginckel, commanded in chief, and decamped from Mullingar, and next day came before Ballymore: the marquis de Ruvigny being ſent before with a detachment of horſe and dragoons to poſſeſs himſelf of a paſs between that place and Athlone. The batteries being raiſed, the general ſent a meſſage to colonel Burke, who commanded in the town, 'that if he and the garriſon would 'ſurrender within two hours, he would ſave their lives, and 'make them priſoners of war; if not, they were to expect 'no mercy.' To which the governor made an evaſive kind of anſwer, in hopes of obtaining better terms; but the cannon and bombs having made two breaches, the pontons being put into the water, and all things ready for ſtorming the place, it occaſioned ſo great a conſternation among the enemy, that the ſame evening the garriſon, which conſiſted of ſeven hundred and eighty men, beſides four field-officers, and two hundred and fifty-nine rapparees, laid down their arms, and ſubmitted at diſcretion.

1691. June 6. Ballymore taken. June 8.

The Engliſh having repaired the damage done to Ballymore, and put that town into a better condition for defence, they marched from thence on the 18th of June, and being joined the ſame day by the prince of Wirtemberg, encamped at Balymony's paſs, whilſt a ſtrong detachment of horſe advanced towards Athlone. On the 19th, very early in the morning, the vanguard marched from Balymony, and beat the enemy from ſeveral out-ditches of the Engliſh town of Athlone on this ſide the Shannon, and lodged themſelves there. The next day a battery of ten 18 pounders having ruined a baſtion near the water-ſide, looking towards Laneſborough, the general ordered an aſſault to be made; which was performed accordingly; and though the Iriſh made conſiderable reſiſtance, yet the Engliſh went on, and kept firing till they came to the breach, which a French captain of grenadiers firſt mounted, throwing his grenade, firing his piece, and ordering his men to do the ſame. His bravery ſo encouraged his party, that though he was killed in the action, yet the Iriſh were ſoon forced to quit their poſt, ſome retiring over the bridge to Connaught ſide, and the reſt leaping into the Shannon, where many were drowned.

Athlone beſieged. Ibid.

After this ſucceſs batteries were planted againſt the Iriſh town, which being finiſhed by the 22d, the cannon and mortars began to play very briſkly on the north-eaſt ſide of the caſtle, where it was weakeſt, and continued to do ſo the next day, when the pontons came up. The 25th was ſpent in raiſing batteries, one below, and another above the bridge, while

1691. while a third was erected without the town-wall by the river-ſide, oppoſite to a baſtion, which the Iriſh had made on the other ſide the river. At the ſame time the general was contriving methods to march part of his army over the Shannon, at a ford towards Laneſborough; but that deſign being fruſtrated, he reſolved to force his way through Athlone, and therefore laboured hard to gain the bridge, wherein he found no ſmall difficulty. However, on the 27th in the evening, the Engliſh burnt the wooden-breaſt-work, which the enemy had made on the other ſide of the broken arch; and the next morning had laid their beams over, and partly planked them; which a party of the beſieged endeavouring to deſtroy, they were all killed in the attempt. This did not deter another party of ten men from ſetting about the ſame work, which they reſolutely effected, throwing down the planks and beams into the river, notwithſtanding all the firing and ſkill of the Engliſh; which made the generel reſolve to carry on the work by a cloſe gallery on the bridge, and to paſs the Shannon the next day; but they met with ſuch oppoſition, eſpecially by having their gallery burnt by the enemy, that the farther proſecution of the attack was deferred for that day. On the 30th a council of war being held, it was warmly debated, whether it were adviſeable to make another attempt, or to draw off. There were not wanting ſtrong reaſons for the latter; but the duke of Wirtemberg, the major-generals Mackay, Talmaſh, Ruvigny, and Tetteau, and colonel Cambon urged, 'That no brave action could be per-'formed without hazard: that the attempt was like to be 'attended with ſucceſs;' and they proffered themſelves to be the firſt, who ſhould paſs the river, and attack the enemy. Their opinion having prevailed, the detachment drawn out the day before was ordered ſtill to be in readineſs, and the general gave command that they ſhould be brought down by ſix the uſual hour for relieving the guards, that the enemy might not ſuſpect the deſign; which indeed they did not. All things being ready, the conjuncture favourable, and the ſignal given. Captain Sands and two lieutenants led the firſt party of ſixty grenadiers, all in armour, and twenty abreſt, ſeconded by another ſtrong detachment of grenadiers, (which were to be ſuported by ſix battalions of foot) and with an unparallelled reſolution took the ford, that was a little to the left of the bridge, againſt a baſtion of the enemies, the ſtream being very rapid, and the paſſage very difficult by reaſon of ſome great ſtones, that were in the river. At the ſame time the Engliſh great and ſmall ſhot began to play

from

from their batteries and works upon thoſe of the enemy on the other ſide, who fired as thick as poſſibly they could upon thoſe who paſſed the river. But at length theſe, by an incredible effort of bravery, forced their way through the enemy's bullets, fire and ſmoke, and having gained the oppoſite bank, the reſt laid planks over the broken part of the bridge, while the others were preparing the pontons. By this means the Engliſh paſſed over ſo faſt, that in leſs than half an hour they were maſters of the town, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the works, that remained entire towards the enemy's camp; the Iriſh being ſo amazed at the ſuddenneſs of the attack, and reſolution of the Engliſh, that they quickly abandoned the place and fled to the army, though not without conſiderable loſs. The beſiegers had not above fifty men killed in this memorable action, which Mackay and Tetteau and la Mellioniere conducted with great vigour, and to the good ſucceſs whereof Talmaſh, who went with the grenadiers as volunteer, the duke of Wirtemberg, count Naſſau, and brigadier Bellaſis, greatly contributed by their courage and preſence of mind. It would be difficult to ſhew in hiſtory ſo brave an enterprize, in which a fortified town was attacked acroſs a river by only three thouſand men, in the face of the enemy's army, that were maſters of all the fords by the intrenchments, which they had caſt before them. And therefore it was but juſt, that general Ginckel ſhould entail on his family the honour of this atchievement by the title, which was afterwards beſtowed on him, of earl of Athlone. 1691. Athlone taken.

St Ruth, who commanded the French auxiliaries and the Iriſh army, did not upon this occaſion, act ſuitable to the reputation, which he had formerly acquired. The Engliſh were no ſooner entered the river, but an expreſs was ſent to him from the town, to which he only made this anſwer, 'That it was impoſſible for the Engliſh to pretend to take a 'town, and he near with an army to ſuccour it; adding, 'That he would give a thouſand piſtoles they durſt attempt it.' Sarsfield replied, 'That he knew the enterprize was not too 'difficult for Engliſh courage to attempt;' and therefore preſſed St Ruth to ſend ſpeedy ſuccours to the town; which that general refuſing to do; and ſtill turning the undertaking to a jeſt, ſome warm expreſſions paſſed between him and Sarsfield, which bread a jealouſy amongſt them, that proved of fatal conſequence not long after. St Ruth being ſoon convinced, that the Engliſh were in actual poſſeſſion of the place, ordered ſeveral detachments to drive them out again; but then he was ſenſible of a former overſight, in not leveling thoſe fortifications of Athlone, that were next his camp;

for

1691. for now the Engliſh uſed the enemies works againſt themſelves, ſo that they thought it adviſeable to decamp that very night.

July 10. General Ginckel having continued at Athlone till he had put it into a poſture of defence, marched on with his army, and encamped along the river Suck upon Roſcommon ſide, which was a very good paſs, and which if the Iriſh had ſecured, they would have given the Engliſh a great deal of trouble. But they poſſeſſed themſelves of a far more advantageous poſt, for they lay on other ſide of Aghrim caſtle, Story three miles beyond Ballinaſloe, and were extended from the church of Kilcommodon, on their right, to a church called Gourtnapori, about two miles in length. On their left run a rivulet, having ſteep hills and little bogs on each ſide; next to which was a large red bog almoſt a mile over, in the end of which ſtood the caſtle of Aghrim, commanding the way that led to their camp, paſſable for horſe no where but juſt at the caſtle, by reaſon of a ſmall river, which running thro' a moiſt ground made the whole a moraſs. This moraſs extended itſelf along to the right, where there was another paſs at Urachree, having a riſing ground on either ſide of it; and the Iriſh camp lay along the ridge of an hill, on the ſide of which ſtood two Daniſh forts about half a mile's diſtance from the bog below, and this cut into many ſmall incloſures, which the Iriſh lined very thick with muſketeers, and managed a communication between them. General Ginckel having viewed the enemy's camp, found it very difficult of acceſs; but conſidering, that he was now advanced ſo far, that he muſt either fight his way through, or retreat with loſs and diſgrace, ordered the army to march the next day towards the enemy. St Ruth ſuppoſing by the countenance of the Engliſh, that they were reſolved to attack him, made a ſolemn ſpeech to the Iriſh, in which he told them, 'How 'ſucceſsful he had been in ſuppreſſing heriſy in France, 'and bringing over a vaſt number of deluded ſouls into the 'boſom of the mother church. That for this reaſon his 'maſter had made choice of him before others, to eſtabliſh 'the church of Ireland on ſuch a foundation, that it ſhould 'not henceforward be in the power of hell or heretics to 'diſturb it; and that all good Roman catholicks depended 'on their courage to ſee theſe glorious things effected. He 'confeſſed, that matters did not entirely anſwer his expec-'tation ſince he came among them; but that ſtill all 'might be recovered. That he was informed, the prince 'of Orange's heretical army was reſolved to give them battle.

'That

'That now or never was the time for them to recover their 1691.
'loſt honours, privileges, and eſtates of their anceſtors.
'That they ought now to remember, they were no mercenary ſoldiers; their all being at ſtake, and their deſign to reſtore a pious king to his throne, to propagate the holy faith, and extirpate hereſy. And laſtly, to animate their courage, he aſſured them of king James's love and gratitude, of Lewis the Great's protection, of himſelf to lead them on, of the church to pray for them, and of ſaints and angels to cary their ſouls into heaven.' He cloſed his ſpeech with a ſtrict order, 'to give quarter to none, eſpecially not to ſpare any of the French heretics in the prince of Orange's army (s).' He took likewiſe the moſt effectual Burnet.
way poſſible to infuſe courage into the Iriſh, by ſending their prieſts about among them, to animate them by all the methods they could think of; and, as the moſt powerful of all, they made them ſwear on the ſacrament, that they would never forſake their colours.

On Sunday the 12th of July the Engliſh army early in the morning prepared to advance towards the enemy; but the weather proving foggy, they moved not till about twelve a clock, which was then done in as good order as the ground would permit. The general at the ſame time having viewed the poſture of the Iriſh, and ſeeing the neceſſity of making himſelf maſter of the paſs of Urachree, ſent a Daniſh captain with ſome horſe to force it; but they not ſucceeding, he ordered two hundred of Cunningham's dragoons to march to certain ditches nigh the ford, to keep the enemy from coming over, and in the mean time the Engliſh army marched forward. By this time it was two of the clock, and the general finding it neceſſary to gain that ford, and the other ways, that led to the right of the Iriſh camp, as the moſt proper means of attacking them, commanded Cunningham's dragoons at the ditch to advance towards a party of the enemy poſted on the other ſide; who upon their approach, with another party that ſuſtained them, all retired behind a hill nearer the camp, where was poſted a greater body. All theſe parties being ſtill reinforced by others, obliged the Engliſh dragoons to retreat; whereupon general Ginckel ordered Eppinger's dragoons to get between thoſe bodies and the enemy's camp. This motion was preſently diſcovered by the enemy, who had the advantage in pouring in ſo many men The battle of Aghrim. Story. Boyer.

(s) This ſpeech was found afterwards amongſt the papers of his ſecretary, who was killed in the field. Story's continuation of the wars in Ireland, p. 123.

1691. upon the Engliſh, that they would ſtill have been too hard for the dragoons, had they not been ſeconded by the earl of Portland's horſe, who behaved themſelves here with great bravery. What was at firſt only a ſkirmiſh, had by this time engaged a conſiderable body on both ſides; yet the enemy retiring in ſome time brought the generals together to deliberate, whether it were not beſt to defer the battle till next morning. Which was agreed on ſo far, that their tents were ordered to be ſent for. But when they perceived the enemy to be in ſome diſorder by what had already happened, it was reſolved not to delay the attack, leaſt the enemy ſhould march off in the night, and ſo afford no more opportunities for a deciſive action. Wherefore by the advice of Mackay it was agreed to begin the fight on the enemy's right, thereby propoſing to draw part of their ſtrength from Aghrim caſtle, near to which their main body was poſted, that ſo the right wing of the Engliſh might have the eaſier paſſage over to attack their left; and then the whole Engliſh army might have the opportunity to engage, which was otherwiſe impoſſible. This advice had it's deſired ſucceſs. About half an hour after four in the afternoon, a party of the Engliſh left wing moved towards the enemy, and by five the battle began. The ditches were ſtrongly guarded by Iriſh muſketeers, and their horſe advantageouſly poſted to ſuſtain them. And here the Iriſh behaved themſelves with undaunted courage, defending their poſts with unparallelled obſtinacy; nor would they ſtir from one ſide, till the Engliſh put their pieces over at the other; and then having lines of communication from one ditch to another, they would preſently poſt themſelves, and flank the Engliſh, which occaſioned great firing on both ſides, and continued on the left almoſt an hour and a half before the centre and the right wing of the army began to engage. In the mean time the Engliſh main army advanced, and Mackay and the reſt obſerving ſeveral bodies of the enemy's horſe and foot draw off from the left, and move towards their right, where the Engliſh preſſed them very hard, they laid hold of that advantage, and ordered the foot to march over the bog, which fronted the enemy's main battle. The regiments of Earle, Herbert, Creighton, and Brewer, going over the narroweſt place, where the hedges on the enemy's ſide ran fartheſt into the bog, they had orders to march to the loweſt of the ditches adjoining to the ſide of the bog, and there to poſt themſelves, till the horſe could come about by Aghrim caſtle, and ſuſtain them, and till the other foot had marched over the other bog below, where it was broader, and ſupported by Foulke's and Stewart's regiments.

ments. According to theſe orders, Earl's and the other three regiments advanced over the bog, moſt of them paſſing up to the middle in mud and water; and upon their near approach to the ditches received the enemy's fire. But that did not hinder them from marching to the loweſt hedge, and to drive the Iriſh from thence, and ſoon from hedge to hedge, till they were got very near their main body. On the other hand, the Iriſh had ſo well ordered the matter, that they had made an eaſy paſſage for their horſe among all thoſe hedges and ditches, by which means they poured in great numbers, both of horſe and foot, upon the Engliſh; which colonel Earle obſerving, animated his men, by telling them, 'that 'now their ſafety lay wholly in their courage.' However, being now both flanked and fronted, and expoſed beſides to all the enemy's fire from the adjacent hedges, the Engliſh were forced to quit their ground, and retreat to the bog again with conſiderable loſs; and among others the colonels Earle and Herbert were taken priſoners; Earle after being twice taken and retaken got free at laſt; but Herbert, was barbarouſly murthered after quarter given by the Iriſh, when they ſaw he was like to be reſcued. 1691. Story.

While theſe things paſſed on this ſide, colonel St. John's, colonel Tiffin's, the lord George Hamilton's, the French proteſtants in the Engliſh ſervice, and ſeveral other regiments, were marching over below the bog, while the Iriſh lay ſo cloſe in their ditches, that ſeveral were doubtful, whether they had any men at that place or no. But no ſooner were the French refugees and the reſt got within twenty yards of the ditches, but the enemy fired moſt furiouſly upon them, which the other ſuſtained with intrepidity, ſtill preſſing forwards, though they could ſcarce ſee one another for ſmoke, which the wind blew towards them. The battle ſeemed doubtful for ſome time, but now there was reaſon to believe, that victory was leaning on the ſide of the Iriſh; for they had driven the foot in the centre ſo far back, that they were almoſt got into a line, with the great guns, planted near the bog, of which the Engliſh had no benefit in that conjuncture, becauſe the Iriſh were intermixed with their own men.

While the infantry was thus engaged, Ruvigny's regiment of French horſe, which had formerly been the duke of Schomberg's, and Sir John Lanier's, being both poſted on the right, Lanier's was afterwards drawn to the left where they did very great ſervice; and the right wing of the Engliſh horſe were in the mean time making the beſt of their way to ſuccour the foot, being ſenſible of their extreme danger, and that all

1691. ly at ſtake. The cavalry, beſides the ſhowers of bullets from a body of the enemy's dragoons and foot, that were conveniently poſted under a covert place, was likewiſe obliged to preſs and tumble over a very dangerous paſs; but having bravely ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, they lodged themſelves at laſt in a dry ditch, in the hotteſt of the enemy's fire from Aghrim caſtle, and ſome old walls and hedges adjoining.

The Engliſh foot all this while laboured under very great diſadvantage in the centre; which Talmaſh obſerving haſtened to their relief with ſome freſh men, and gave orders to the broken regiments to halt and face about; which they immediately obeyed, and bravely charged the Iriſh, who had advanced upon them to the centre of the bog, killed above three hundered of them, before they could retreat out of it, and then marched boldly up to their old ground again, from whence they had been ſo lately beaten. At the ſame time Mackay had fallen upon the enemy with a good body of horſe on their left; and among the reſt a French regiment of horſe had forced a regiment of Iriſh dragoons from an advantageous poſt, and put to flight Tyrconnel's horſe. Whereupon Ruvigny, at the head of the earl of Oxford's regiment of horſe, ſupported by his own, went along the ſide of the bog, and bore down all before him. And now the horſe and foot of the Engliſh right and the Iriſh left being mixed, there was nothing but a continued fire, and a very hot diſpute along the line, the Iriſh with great reſolution endeavouring to maintain their ditches, and the Engliſh with no leſs bravery to beat them from thence. However, the fight was not much longer doubtful; for though St Ruth, when he ſaw the Engliſh foot in the centre repulſed, in a bravado told thoſe about him, that he would now beat the Engliſh army to the gates of Dublin, yet ſeeing, with great ſurprize, the regiments of Oxford, Ruvigny, Langſton, and Bierly, together with Leviſon's dragoons, preſſing over towards the caſtle, he ordered a brigade of his own horſe from the right wing to march up to the left; then riding to one of his batteries, and giving orders to the gunners where to fire, and afterwards leading on ſome horſe towards the place, where he ſaw the Engliſh endeavour to go over, he was killed by a cannon-ball, as he rode down the hill of Kilcommodon, the place where the main ſtreſs of the battle was fought, being juſt under the Engliſh camp. His fall put his troops to a ſtand, and his guards drawing off with his corps, many of the reſt drew off alſo; Sarsfield, who ſhould have commanded

St Ruth killed.

commanded them, (and who ſince the affair of Athlone, was upon the reſerve with St Ruth) not knowing the order of battle. The Engliſh obſerving their diſorder, preſſed boldly on, and in a ſhort time drove the enemy to the top of Kilcommodon hill, where their camp had lain; whereupon they began to commit their ſafety to flight, the foot running full ſpeed towards a great bog behind them on their left, and the horſe on the high-way towards Loughreagh. 1691.

While this was doing in the right wing and centre, thoſe who firſt engaged towards the left; bravely maintained their ground, and though the Iriſh once or twice made themſelves maſters of the chevaux de friſe, that covered the French foot, yet the French reſolutely regained them. However, little happened on that ſide for near two hours; neither did the Daniſh horſe and foot, that were on the left of all, diſturb the enemy as yet, but kept in awe ſeveral bodies of horſe and foot, that faced them on the other ſide the rivulet. But then perceiving Mackay's battalions in the centre to drive the enemy before them, leſt thoſe bodies, that faced them, ſhould fall back to the releif of the flying party, they engaged them very briſkly, and were at firſt received with great reſolution; but the Iriſh being upon the decline, they all fled out of the field, their foot being miſerably ſlaughtered by the Engliſh horſe and dragoons, and their horſe purſued near three miles. The night coming on with a thick miſty rain, prevented the Engliſh from getting betwen them and a very advantageous paſs near Loughreagh, which gave many of them an opportunity to eſcape. However it was computed, that there was no leſs than ſeven thouſand of the Iriſh ſlain upon the ſpot, and of the Engliſh ſix hundred killed, and nine hundred and ſixty wounded, which ſtill makes this victory the more conſiderable, ſince the Engliſh army did not make up above eighteen thouſand effective men; whereas the Iriſh were compoſed of twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe and dragoons. As for the honour of this great day, general Ginkel himſelf confeſſed, that it was principally owing to the conduct and bravery of monſieur Ruvigny, and to the Oxford and the French regiments of horſe.

The Engliſh lay upon their arms all night, and then after a few days refreſhment, the general marched to Galloway, the moſt conſiderable place now left in the hands of the Iriſh next to Limerick; and having poſted his forces before it, he ſent a ſummons to the garriſon. The lord Dillon, the governor, made anſwer, that monſieur D'Uſſon, who commanded in chief as well as himſelf, and the reſt of the officers, were Galloway ſurrendered. Story.

1691. were reſolved to defend the place to the laſt. But notwithſtanding this reſolution, the Engliſh had no ſooner marched part of the army over the river, and taken the fort, which the Iriſh were building, but the enemy beat a parley, and hoſtages were immediately exchanged. The Iriſh demurring upon the manner of ſurrendry, the general grew impatient, and ſent once or twice to them to come to a ſpeedy concluſion. At laſt lieutenant colonel Bourke, one of the Iriſh hoſtages, was permitted to go in, to whom Talmaſh being as was believed inclined to lay the treaty aſide, and take the town by ſtorm, ſaid, "When they were ready to "begin again, give us a ſign by firing a gun into the Air." But the other replied, "that they would not fire a gun from "within till they were provoked from without." After ſome time the articles were agreed on, and the town delivered into the hands of the Engliſh. The conſequence of which was the ſubmiſſion of Balderick O Donnel, with a conſiderable number of men under his command; and not long after the marching of the Engliſh army towards Limerick, which was the only place, that ſtood out, and where Tyrconnel died on the 14th of Auguſt. He had, with a particular view, ſtudied to divert the French from ſending over ſoldiers to Ireland, deſigning, in caſe of new misfortunes, to treat with king William, and to preſerve himſelf and his friends; and now he began to diſpoſe the Iriſh to think of treating, ſince they ſaw, that otherwiſe their ruin was inevitable. But as ſoon as this was ſuſpected, all the military men, who reſolved to give themſelves intirely up to the French intereſt, combined againſt him, and blaſted him as a feeble and falſe man, who was not to be truſted. This was carried ſo far, that, to avoid affronts, he was adviſed to leave the army. He ſtaid therefore all this ſummer at Lymerick, where he died of grief, as was believed; but before he died, he adviſed all that came to him, not to let things go to extremities, but to accept of ſuch terms as could be got. And his words ſeemed to weigh more after his death, than in his life-time; for the Iriſh began generally to ſay, that they muſt take care of themſelves, and not be made ſacrifices to ſerve the ends of the French.

And ſurrenders. July 20.

Death of Tyrconnel. Burnet.

Lymerick beſieged. Story.

On the 25th of Auguſt the Engliſh army reached Lymerick, and the ſame day made themſelves maſters of Ireton's and Cromwell's forts, which were now ordered to be called Mackay's and Naſſau's, becauſe gained under thoſe commanders. Two days after Caſtle Connell and Caſtle Carrick a Gunnell ſtanding upon the Shannon three miles below the town,

were

were attacked, and the garriſons of both made priſoners of war. And at the ſame time ſome Engliſh ſhips coming up the river fired ſome ſhot among the Iriſh horſe, that were encamped near the banks; which very much ſurpriſed the enemy, who till then were made to believe, that either the Engliſh had no ſhips there, or elſe that thoſe, which they had, would quickly be deſtroyed by the French fleet, which they hourly expected. But though the ſiege was vigorouſly carried on, and that in the mean time the Iriſh abandoned ſeveral ſmall places in the country, and brigadier Leviſon routed many of their parties in the county of Kerry; though the bombs did very great execution upon their camp, and within the town, yet on the 17th of September it was warmly debated in a council of war, whether they ſhould proſecute the ſiege, or march over the river to deſtroy all the enemy's forage in the county of Clare, and then turn the ſiege into a blockade. And it was ſo far carried for the latter, that an engineer was ordered to go with a detachment towards Kilmulock, and fortify that place. But before he got out of the camp, he was countermanded, and a great many palliſadoes were brought into Mackay's fort, as if the army intended to winter there. On the 19th it was reſolved to paſs the river with a great party, either to preſs the ſiege on that ſide, or at leaſt to burn the enemy's forage. The ſame day a battery was raiſed between Ireton's fort and the old church, to flank the Iriſh, in caſe of a ſally from St. John's gate; four mortars were brought from the great battery to Mackay's fort; that place being judged the fitteſt for bombarding, ſince the whole town lay in a line from thence; and orders were given, in caſe of an alarm from the Iriſh troops without, that every regiment ſhould ſtand to their poſts aſſigned them for that purpoſe. On the 22d general Ginkel, who was indefatigable in his buſineſs, paſſed the Shannon over a bridge of boats, with ſtrong detachments of horſe and dragoons, ten battalions of foot, and fourteen peices of cannon, leaving Wirtemberg, Mackay and Talmaſh to command on this ſide; and all that morning the enemy continually fired upon them from ſeveral batteries, but without any great harm. In the afternoon a party of colonel Matthews's dragoons was vigorouſly attacked by a ſtronger detachment of the enemy, till the Engliſh foot coming up, the Iriſh retreated under their cannon. Then all the Engliſh grenadiers, ſuſtained by four regiments of foot, were commanded to aſſault the works, that covered Thomond bridge, being one fort to the right, above a muſket 1691.

1691. ſhot from the bridge, and another to the left ſomewhat nearer, beſides ſeveral other fortifications, wherein the enemy had poſted above two hundred men. The diſpute was hot and obſtinate for a while, and the attack extremely hazardous, the beſieged plying the aſſailants with their cannon from the king's caſtle, and two or three more batteries, with ſome ſmall ſhot from the wall. However, the Iriſh being undauntedly preſſed upon by the grenadiers, they abandoned their poſts. Upon which a ſtrong detachment was ſent from the town to ſupport them; but the Engliſh went on with that courage and firmneſs, that they beat the enemy notwithſtanding this reinforcement, and purſued them over the bridge to the town. A French major, who commanded at Thomond-gate, fearing the Engliſh would enter the town with the runaways, ordered the bridge to be drawn up, and left the whole party expoſed to the fury of their purſuers, who killed ſix hundred of them, and made above one hundred and ſixty priſoners, beſides a great number that were puſhed into the Shannon (t).

Upon this the Engliſh lodged themſelves within ten yards of the bridge, notwithſtanding a high tower, that ſtood near the end of the bridge next to them; and the Iriſh finding now all communication cut off between them and their horſe, and deſpairing of the French ſuccours, began to think of giving up the town. For ſoon after the action colonel Wachop looking out of a tower, called to Scravenmore, and deſired leave to come and ſpeak with him, which was readily

granted,

(t) Among the priſoners was colonel James Skelton, (who died of his wounds) in whoſe pockets were found a paper with a ſpear's head or wound drawn upon it, and theſe words round it. 'This is the meaſure of 'the wounds of the ſide of our 'Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which was 'brought from Conſtantinople 'to the emperor Charmaine 'in a coffin of goulde, and is a 'moſt precious relique, to the 'end that he or ſhe that carried 'the ſame about him, no fire 'nor water, no wind, tempeſt, 'knife, launce or ſword, nor 'the devil cannot hurt him; and 'the woman with child the day 'ſhee ſeeth the ſame meaſure, 'ſhall not dey a ſudden death, 'but ſhall be delivered by—— 'and if any man carre the ſame 'about him with good devotion, 'ſhall have the honor and victory of his enemy, the day 'that any doth read the ſame, 'or heard it read, ſhall not die 'an evil death. Amen.' This was ſuppoſed to be the handwriting of ſome ignorant Iriſh prieſt, and kept poſſibly by the colonel out of devotion. Story's continuation of the wars in Ireland, p. 225.

granted. After ſome diſcourſe, he deſired the ſame liberty for Sarsfield to ſpeak with Ruvigny; which was likewiſe allowed him, and accordingly both diſcourſed about terms for the ſurrender of the place, and towards evening they returned into the town. The next day Sarsfield and Wachop came out again, and deſired a ceſſation of arms for three days, till they could ſend to lieutenant-general Sheldon, who lay with about fifteen hundred horſe at Six-miles-bridge, in order that they might be included in the general capitulation, which was granted them; and the priſoners in the town were releaſed. On the 26th Sarsfield and Wachop dined with the general; and it being then agreed, that hoſtages ſhould be exchanged in order to a farther treaty, the lord Cutts, Sir David Collier, colonel Tiffin, and colonel Piper, were ſent into the town, in the room of the lords Weſtmeath, Evagh, Timoſtown, and Lowth, who remained in the Engliſh camp. The next day the Iriſh ſent out their propoſals, but in ſuch extravagant terms, that general Ginckel was ſo far from granting them, that he returned anſwer, 'That 'though he was a ſtranger to the laws of England, yet he 'underſtood, that what they inſiſted upon was ſo far con-'tradictory to them, that he could not grant any ſuch 'thing;' and ſo ordered a new battery to be raiſed; but upon the requeſt of the Iriſh he ſent them twelve articles, which proved to be the ſum of the capitulation. The Iriſh, it ſeems, were ſet on by the French to inſiſt on very high demands, in hopes they would be rejected. But the king had given Ginckel ſecret directions, that he ſhould grant all the demands they could make that would put an end to that war. This was the reaſon that the articles he ſent them were ſo favourable, that a capitulation was ſoon agreed upon to the great diſappointment of the French, and the no ſmall grief of ſome Engliſh, who hoped this war ſhould have ended in the total ruin of the Iriſh intereſt. On the 1ſt of October the lords juſtices of Ireland arrived in the Engliſh camp; and after ſome farther conferences with the commiſſioners on the part of the garriſon, and their troops in the county of Clare, the articles for the ſurrender of the city of Lymerick, and the caſtles of Roſs and Clare, with all other places and caſtles, that were ſtill in the hands of the Iriſh, were on the 3d of that month finally concluded. The Iriſh were all indemnified and reſtored to all they had enjoyed in king Charles's time. They were alſo admitted to all the privileges of ſubjects upon their taking the oaths of allegiance, without being bound to take the oath of ſupremacy. Not only

1691.

1691. Oct. 5. only the French, but as many of the Irish as had a mind to go over to France, had free liberty and a safe transportation. But Ginckel receiving a letter from a lieutenant-colonel in the Irish army, wherein he complained, that he was confined for refusing to go into France, he resented that violence to that degree, that he immediately ordered four guns to be planted upon Bolls-bridge, saying in some heat, 'that 'he would teach the Irish to play tricks with him.' Upon this Sarsfield came to the English camp, and some sharp expressions passed between him and the general, Sarsfield saying at last, 'that he was in the general's power.' 'Not so, 'replied Ginckel, but you shall go in again, and do the 'worst you can.' However, the affair was at last composed, and the prisoners inlarged; and as many of the Irish as were willing to go, were shipped off for French, to the number of about twelve thousand, where, upon their arrival, they were welcomed by a letter from king James, directed to general Sheldon, then the officer in chief with them, the substance of which was, 'That having been informed of the 'necessities, which forced the lords justices, and the general 'officers of his forces, to surrender Lymerick, and the other 'places, that remained to him in the kingdom of Ireland, 'he would not defer to let him know, and the rest of the 'officers, that came along with him, that he was extremely 'satisfied with his and their conduct, and of the valour of 'his soldiers, but most particularly of his and their declaration to come and serve where he was; assuring both him 'and the other officers and soldiers, that he should never 'forget this act of loyalty, nor fail, when in a capacity, to 'give them, above others, particular marks of his favour. 'In the mean time he charged Sheldon to inform them, that 'they were to serve under his majesty's command, and by 'his commissions; and that his brother, the king of France, 'had already given orders to cloath them, and furnish 'them with all necessaries, and to give them quarters of refreshment.'

Thus ended the Irish war by the surrender of Lymerick, to the great reputation of general Ginckel, and with so much the more glory to the English, as the Irish were so powerfully supported by the king of France. And it is worth observation, that a fleet of men of war and store-ships, which the French king had sent to the relief of Lymerick, arrived in Dingle-bay but a day or two after the articles were signed. These articles were punctually executed; and some doubts, that arose out of some ambiguous words, were explained in favour

favour of the Iriſh; ſo earneſtly deſirous was the king to have all matters compoſed at home, that he might direct his whole force againſt the enemy abroad. The Engliſh in Ireland, though none could ſuffer more by the continuance of the war than they did, yet were uneaſy, when they ſaw that the Iriſh had obtained ſuch good conditions; and ſome of the more violent among them, who were moſt exaſperated with the wrongs, which had been done them, began to call in queſtion the legality of ſome of the articles. But the parliament of England did not think fit to enter upon that diſcuſſion; nor made they any motion towards violating the capitulation. 1691. Burnet.

General Ginckel came over into England full of honour after ſo glorious a campaign. The parliament was ſo ſenſible of what he had done for the intereſt of the nation, that the houſe of commons ordered lord Caſtleton, Sir Henry Goodrick, and five other members, to thank him and his officers for their great ſervices in the reduction of Ireland. To which the baron replied, 'I acknowledge this diſtinguiſhing honour done me by the houſe of commons, and 'value it above a triumph. The ſucceſs of their majeſties 'arms in Ireland, was owing chiefly to the valour of the 'Engliſh; and I will take care to communicate the vote of 'the houſe to the officers that ſerved in Ireland, and always 'endeavour the proſperity of their majeſties and their go-'vernment.' He was ſoon after made earl of Athlone and baron of Aghrim, and to ſupport his honours had a grant of lands in Ireland, of twenty-ſix thouſand four hundred and eighty acres, which was confirmed to him by the Iriſh parliament, but which however we ſhall ſee hereafter put into the report of the commiſſioners for the Iriſh forfeitures. The city of London invited the new earl, with the duke of Wirtemberg, the generals Scravenmore, Lanier, Talmaſh, and Ruvigny, with moſt of the field officers then in town, to dine with the lord-mayor Sir Thomas Stamp, and entertained them with equal reſpect and magnificence. After all, it muſt be owned, that without detracting from Ginckel, a large ſhare of all that was done, was due to ſome of the general officers, in particular to Ruvigny (who was afterwards made earl of Gallway) to Mackay and Talmaſh. Ginckel thanked by the commons, Jan. 4. and made earl of Athlone. Feb. 20.

With regard to the affairs of Scotland, they were now brought to ſome temper. Many of the lords, who had been concerned in the late plot, came up, and confeſſed and diſcovered all, and took out their pardons. They endeavoured to excuſe themſelves, by alledging, that they had apprehend- Affairs of Scotland. Burnet.

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1691. ed themſelves to be expoſed to ruin: and that they dreaded the tyranny of preſbytery no leſs than they did popery; and they promiſed, that if the king would ſo balance matters, that the lord Melvil, and his party, ſhould not have it in their power to ruin them and their friends, and in particular, that they ſhould not turn out the miniſters of the epiſcopal perſuaſion, who were yet in office, nor force preſbyterians on them, they would engage in the king's intereſts faithfully and with zeal. They likewiſe undertook to quiet the highlanders, who ſtood out ſtill, and were robbing the country in parties; and engaged to the king, that if the epiſcopal clergy could be aſſured of his protection, they would all acknowledge and ſerve him. They did not deſire, that the king ſhould make any ſtep towards the changing the government, that was ſettled in Scotland; but only requeſted, that epiſcopal miniſters might continue to ſerve in thoſe places, which liked them beſt; and that no man ſhould be brought into trouble for his opinion, as to the government of the church; and that ſuch epiſcopal men, as were willing to mix with the preſbyterians in their judicatories, ſhould be admitted, without any ſevere impoſition in point of opinion. This looked ſo fair, and agreed ſo well with the king's own ſenſe of things, that he very eaſily hearkened to it; though it afterwards appeared, that all this was an artifice of the jacobites to engage the king to diſguſt the preſbyterians, by loſing whom, or at leaſt rendering them remiſs in his ſervice, they reckoned they ſhould ſoon be maſters of that kingdom. For that party reſolved now to come in generally to take the oaths; but, in order to that, they ſent one to king James, to ſhew the neceſſity of it, and the ſervice, which they intended by it, and therefore aſked his leave to take them. That king's anſwer was more honeſt; he ſaid, that he could not conſent to that, which he thought unlawful; but if any of them took the oaths on deſign to ſerve him, and continued to advance his intereſts, it ſhould never be remembred againſt them.

The younger Dalrymple was now made ſecretary of ſtate in conjunction with the lord Melvill; and he undertook to bring in moſt of the jacobites into the king's ſervice; but they entered at the ſame time into a cloſe correſpondence with St. Germains. The truth was, that the preſbyterians, by their violence, and other abſurd practices, were rendering themſelves both odious and contemptible. They had formed a general aſſembly in the end of the former year, in which they very much expoſed themſelves by the weakneſs

and

and peeviſhneſs of their conduct. Little learning or prudence appeared among them; poor preaching, and wretched haranguing partialities to one another, and violence and injuſtice to thoſe, who differed from them, appeared in all their meetings. And theſe ſo much ſunk their reputation, that they were weaning the [illegible] moſt effectually from all fondneſs to their government. But the [illegible] of many, who, under a pretence of moderating matters, were really undermining the king's government, helped in the ſequel to preſerve the preſbyterians, as much as their own conduct did now alienate the king from them. 1691.

Affairs at ſea.

The events at ſea were not very conſiderable. For the fleets being now of almoſt equal ſtrength on both ſides, the French as cautiouſly avoided a general engagement, as they eagerly ſought it the year before. Their deſign was to intercept the Engliſh Turky fleet, which was exceedingly rich; for which purpoſe they hovered a long time about the Iriſh coaſt; and had ſailed from before Kingſale, but a few days when the Smyrna fleet came all ſafe into that harbour under a convoy of fourteen men of war, commanded by captain Aylmer, having been held back ſeven weeks by contrary winds in their paſſage from Cadiz. The Engliſh grand fleet all this while kept another courſe, for want of intelligence. But as ſoon as admiral Ruſſel was informed, that the Smyrna fleet was got into Kingſale, he ſteered thither from cape Clear, and afterwards took all imaginable care, that they might be ſafely convoyed into their reſpective ports; and then ſtood over to Uſhant in queſt of the enemy, whom he underſtood, to be returned that way to their own coaſts. The French had orders to avoid an engagement. And tho' for the ſpace of two months Ruſſel did all he could to come up with them, yet they ſtill kept at a diſtance, and ſailed off in the night. The ſeaſon being over for action, Ruſſel came into Plymouth in a ſtorm, which was much cenſured, for that road is not ſafe, and the Coronation a ſecond rate, and the Warwick a third rate, were loſt upon the occaſion. Great factions were among the flag-officers, and no other ſervice was done by this great equipment, but that our trade was maintained. Sept. 3.

Boyer. Burnet.

Campaign in Flanders.

Burnet. Boyer. Kennet.

Let us now return to the king, whom we left at the Hague. His majeſty being gone to Loo, diſpatched into Flanders count Solmes and the earl of Marlborough, to prepare all things againſt his arrival there. Some few days after, the king put himſelf at the head of the confederate army, whither he was followed by the duke of Ormond, the marquis

1691. quis of Wincheſter, and the earl of Eſſex. The French had taken the field earlier than the confederates. Prince Waldeck had not got above eighteen thouſand men together, when Luxemburg with an army of forty thouſand men was marching to ſurpriſe Bruſſels; and at the ſame time the marquis de Boufflers, with another army, came up to Liege. Prince Waldeck poſted his army ſo well, that Luxemburg, believing it ſtronger than indeed it was, did not attempt to break through; in which it was thought he might have ſucceeded. The king haſtened the reſt of the troops, and came himſelf to the army in good time, not only to cover Bruſſels, but to ſend a detachment to the relief of Liege, which had been bombarded for two days. A body of Germans, as well as that which the king ſent to them, came in time to ſupport thoſe of Liege, who were beginning to think of capitulating. Bouffiers therefore drew off, and the French kept themſelves ſo cloſe in their poſts all the reſt of the campaign, that though the king made many motions to try, if it was poſſible, to bring them to a battle, yet he could not do it (u). Having therefore blown up the fortifications of Beaumont,

(u) As the proceedings of this campaign might perhaps be cenſured by thoſe, who did not conſider the reaſon and circumſtances of things, it will be proper to ſubjoin here a vindication of his majeſty's conduct in it, from an original letter of Mr. John Pulteney, under ſecretary to the lord Sidney, written to Sir William Dutton Colt, envoy extraordinary at Hanover, and dated at the camp at St. Gerard the 27th of Auguſt 1691, N. S. 'It 'is plain, ſays he, that the 'French king finding our king 'intended to put himſelf at the 'head of the confederate army 'to be employed in thoſe parts, 'and knowing his natural temper to puſh, bent his greateſt 'ſtrength this way; and to give 'him what mortification he 'could, ſent a powerful army 'little inferior to our's even in 'number, and conſiſting of the 'choiceſt of all his troops to oppoſe him; but with orders at 'the ſame time not to hazard a 'battle, if it could poſſibly 'be avoided. Notwithſtanding 'which our king marches forward, and paſſing the Sambre, 'breaks in upon their conqueſts, 'and tries all means poſſible to 'draw them to a battle, which 'they ſtill avoid; and any body, 'who knows this country, and 'the art of war, as now practiſed, muſt needs own, that it 'is impoſſible to force them to 'a battle, without the greateſt 'diſadvantage and hazard imaginable. Wherefore, having 'thus dared them to fight, and 'ſubſiſted hitherto upon the 'ſpoils of their conqueſts, the 'country being near waſted and 'eat up, it is no wonder, if we 'are now obliged to draw off, 'and cloſe the campaign without action. To beſiege ſome 'town

Beaumont, a place which he had made himſelf maſter of, marched the army towards Aeth, from whence he departed the 7th of September for Loo, leaving the forces under the command of prince Waldeck. The ſame day the confederate army marched from Irknowel to Leuze, and decamped again on the 9th in the morning, advancing towards Cambron; and about eleven o'clock the whole right wing, with the body of foot, and the greateſt part of the horſe of the left

1691.

'town of theirs, that way to 'provoke them to battle, was 'what the king very much en-'deavoured; but the want of 'magazines, and ſome neigh-'bouring garriſons to ſupply us 'with proviſions, Mons being 'loſt, and the country round 'about thoſe towns, which lay 'moſt convenient to be attacked, 'quite waſted, made it impra-'cticable to be done. Nor will 'you wonder at the politics of 'our enemy in avoiding a bat-'tle, ſince the loſs of one on 'their ſide would have lain all 'Champagne, and conſequently 'their whole country up to the 'very walls of Paris, open to 'us.'

In another letter dated at the camp at Enghien, Sept. 10, 1691, N. S. he writes thus to Sir William Dutton Colt, 'Laſt 'Friday morning we marched 'from Meſle, and encamped 'that night at Bois Seignior 'Iſaac —— The next day we 'continued our march, intending 'to have encamped that night at 'Hoytecroye, with a deſign to 'have fallen upon the enemy 'the next day, in caſe they had 'lain ſtill where we heard they 'then were. But in our march 'thither we were informed, that 'the French were likewiſe upon 'their towards Ninove; ſo that 'we ſhortned our march, and 'encamped that night at Lem-'beck near Halle. The French 'marched that day above eight 'leagues in the greateſt diſorder 'and hurry imaginable, being 'under an apprehenſion (as ſome 'deſerters and priſoners tell 'us) leſt we ſhould attack them, 'and yeſterday we heard they 'had paſſed the Deindre near 'Grammont. Whereupon the 'king finding they would not 'ſtand, reſolved to give over 'the chace, and to have gone 'from the army as to morrow 'morning for Loo, ſeveral of 'his majeſty's train being alrea-'dy gone before. But at night 'thoſe meaſures were altered, 'and this morning early we 'marched for Lembeck, and 'encamped at this place.— We 'have carried two great points 'here againſt the French this 'campaign, tho' we have had 'no battle; and that is, to drive 'them before us, as we have 'moſt apparently done; and the 'other to deſtroy the forage ſo 'much, that they will not be 'able to play the ſame trick 'next ſpring, as they did the 'laſt for want of magazines. 'For laſt ſummer, after the bat-'tle of Flerus, they had little or 'or nothing elſe to do but to 'make them; whereas this year 'there is not enough left where-'withal to do it.'

'wing,

1691. wing, had paſſed the little river and defile near Catoire: Luxemburg being informed of this motion, and encouraged by king William's abſence, advanced at the ſame time with the troops of the French king's houſhold, and a ſtrong detachment of his cavalry, making together fifty five ſquadrons, his ſwift march not being diſcovered by reaſon of a great fog, and charged the rear-guard of the allies with great fury. Count Tilly, who commanded in the rear, drew up his men as well as the ſuddenneſs of the attack would permit, and received the ſhock with great bravery, but was ſoon over-powered and put into diſorder. By this time ſeveral of thoſe, that had already paſſed the river, were brought back by the generals Overkirk and Opdam, and forming a ſecond line, gave an opportunity to the firſt to rally. Two battalions were likewiſe poſted behind the hedges adjoining to the defile, who much galled the enemy. Here the conflict was very fierce, till the ſecond line was alſo forced to give way before the enemy; but the cavalry being ſoon rallied by Overkirk, who ſignalized his conduct on this occaſion, the French, who were unwilling to puſh the action too far, for fear of the Dutch infantry, which was alſo marching up, retreated in ſome haſte and confuſion, contenting themſelves with having killed about a thouſand of the confederates, and amongſt them ſome men of great diſtinction, with the loſs of about half the number on their ſide (w). And with this action

(w) Biſhop Burnet gives the following account of this affair. 'When the time came of going into quarters, the king left the armies in prince Waldeck's hands, who was obſerved not to march off with that caution, that might have been expected from ſo old a captain. Luxemburg, upon that, drew out his horſe with the king's houſhold, deſigning to cut off his rear; and did, upon the firſt ſurprize, put them into ſome diſorder. But they made ſo good a ſtand, that, after a very hot action, the French marched off, and loſt more men on their ſide than we did. Averquerque, commanded the body, that did this ſervice.' Mr. John Pulteney, in a letter to Sir William Dutton Colt, dated at Loo, Sept. 14, 1691, O.S. writes thus: 'Yeſterday the king received an expreſs from prince Waldeck, giving an account, that on Tueſday laſt about nine or ten in the morning, as our army was paſſing the river in their march between Leuſe and Cambron, the right being got over, the French taking the advantage of a great miſt, (which hindered our paſſing over by three hours ſo ſoon as otherwiſe we ſhould have done) fell in with ten thouſand horſe, amongſt which was the Maiſon de

action the campaign ended in Flanders; during the course of which the king had several remarkable escapes, and particularly, that having once stood under a tree for a time, the enemy observing it, levelled a cannon so exactly, that the tree was shot down two minutes after the king was gone from the place. There had likewise been an attempt to blow up the artillery by one of the conductors of it. For at the first return of the army from Beaumont, on the 11th of August, about nine at night, two of the carriages belonging to the train of artillery, each laden with twenty-five bombs and a barrel of powder, took fire, by the blowing up of a bomb in each carriage; and in that, which was on the left, the powder blew up, and set fire to two others, so it was amazing, that the whole train was not blown up. But monsieur Goullon, the colonel of it, and the rest of the officers belonging to it, encouraged their men so effectually, that they all threw themselves into the midst of the flames, and drew out the two carriages from amongst the rest, notwithstanding one barrel of powder had actually taken fire, and was almost ready to blow up; and so they put out the fire. If this attempt had succeeded, the confusion, which was in all reason to be expected upon such an accident, while the enemy was not above a league from them, drawn up, and looking for the success of it, must have had terrible effects. For it cannot easily be imagined, how much mischief might have followed upon it in the destruction of so many as would have perished immediately, if the whole magazine had taken fire, as well as in the pannic, with which the rest would have been struck upon so shocking an accident. By the surprise of it the French might have had an opportunity of cutting off the whole army. 1691. MS. Letter of Pulteney to Colt.

The Spaniards had already lost in Flanders the important town of Mons; but they received a still more sensible mortification nearer home. For the duke of Noailles, who commanded the French forces, advancing with part of his army to Belver, to make head against the Spanish troops, Affairs of Catalonia.

' de Roi, upon our rear-guards, ' and killed between four and ' five hundred men, but were, ' notwithstanding that, received ' so well by our men, that the ' French were at last forced to ' retire. There is not as yet ' any exact account of what par- ' ticular persons of note are kil- ' led on our side or the enemy's, ' though they pretend to name ' on our's the little prince d'An- ' halt, count' de Benthem, and ' the sieur Riperca, captain ' of horse, end major St. Felix ' killed or taken prisoners, be- ' sides some others of less note.'

1691. ſent the reſt under the command of lieutenant-general Chazeron to beſiege Urgell in Cardagne. Though the place was not altogether indefenſible, and had beſides that a garriſon of fifteen hundred men, and moſt of them diſciplined, yet they baſely ſurrendered it in a little time, and themſelves, both officers and ſoldiers, to be priſoners of war; only the militia were diſmiſſed home. Upon this the court of Madrid ſent ſeveral reinforcements to the duke of Medina Sidonia, vice-roy of Catalonia; however he could not hinder the French from fortifying Belver, nor make any other diverſion; for advancing to attack Prato Melo, moſt of his troops abandoned him. Nor did the Spaniards make a better figure at ſea than on land, ſince they could not prevent marſhal d'Eſtres from bombarding Barcelona for three days together; which made a terrible deſolation in that city.

Affairs of Italy. Boyer. Kennet. Burnet.

Nor were the arms of France leſs proſperous in Italy than Catalonia, at leaſt in the beginning of the campaign. Monſieur Catinat having taken the field early, with a deſign to make himſelf maſter of Nice, inveſted that place on the 3d of March; but before he proſecuted the ſiege in form, he thought fit to detach parties to ſummon Villa Franca, and the forts of St. Auſpice and Montalban, which ſurrendered without any reſiſtance. He met with almoſt the ſame good ſucceſs at Nice; for on the 16th the conſuls of the city ſent their deputies to him, who agreed at a certain hour, and upon a certain ſignal, to receive the French king's troops. The governor, upon notice of their deſign, attempted to make himſelf maſter of one of the gates, in order to prevent it's being put in execution; but the citizens being reſolved to ſecure their houſes from the bombs, immediately took arms, fired upon the governor's detachment, and delivered up the city to the French. The governor of the caſtle, enraged at the perfidiouſneſs of the burghers, endeavoured to fire their magazine, and played the cannon upon the convents and private houſes, notwithſtanding the threats of the French, that if he ſhot againſt the city, the garriſon ſhould have no quarter. On the other hand, the French made three attacks upon the caſtle, which were carried on with great vigour; and on the 20th one of their bombs ſet the powder magazine on fire, which ſpread itſelf in a moment through all the caſtle, and blow up not only a good part of it, but killed above five hundred of the garriſon, and about fifty of the beſiegers in their trenches, by the pieces of ſtone and timber that were carried thither. This diſaſter, together with the French being maſters of the covered way, and ſe-

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cond incloſure, obliged the governor to capitulate, which he did on the 23d, and, after all, obtained honourable terms. 1691.

Immediately after the loſs of this important place, prince Eugene of Savoy went to Vienna to ſollicit ſuccours; and the duke of Savoy repaired incognito to Milan, to confer with the count de Fuenſalida, the governor, and haſten the departure of the troops of that duchy. But beſides the ſlowneſs of the Germans and Spaniards in aſſiſting the duke, another cauſe contributed very much to the ill condition of his affairs. King William and the ſtates of Holland allowed the duke the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds a year, chiefly for the maintenance of ſeveral regiments of French refugees and Vaudois; which money was moſtly diverted to other uſes by thoſe, who had the management of the duke's affairs, and were in the French intereſt, and inveterate enemies to the proteſtants; ſo that the officers not receiving their full pay, the regiments were left incompleat, and the ſoldiers undiſciplined. To remedy theſe diſorders, and cauſe the war to be effectually carried on againſt France, king William thought proper to ſend duke Schomberg, the marquis de Miremont, monſieur d'Obercan, a Swiſs, and ſome other brave and experienced officers into Piedmont; but before they could reach Turin, the French had made ſuch a conſiderable progreſs, that few places were left in the duke of Savoy's hands beſides his capital. The ſummer was not far advanced, when Catinat made himſelf maſter of Villana; which encouraged him to undertake the ſiege of Carmagnola, a place ſeated in the marquiſate of Saluſſes, and not above nine miles diſtant from Turin. The trenches were opened on the 22d of May, and three attacks carried on with ſo much vigour, that the beſieged, finding themſelves incloſed on all ſides, and without hopes of relief, conſented to march out, the diſciplined men with their arms, the militia without, and to be conducted to Turin. This was no ſooner done, but the marquis de Feuquieres was commanded with a ſtrong detachment of horſe and foot to inveſt Coni, a place defended by nine baſtions and ſome outworks, but principally ſtrong by its ſituation on a ſteep craggy hill, and garriſoned by ſeven hundred Vaudois and French refugees, about five hundred of the militia of Mondovi, and ſome other troops commanded by the count de la Rovere. The duke of Savoy being informed of the enemy's deſign, ordered the regiment of Saluzzo, with ſome other troops, to the number of near three thouſand, to throw themſelves into

Duke Schomberg ſent into Italy.

Coni inveſted.

1691. the place; but Feuquieres having notice of their march, attacked them with great vigour, and being received with no leſs courage, many were killed on both ſides. The iſſue of this encounter was, that part of the relief entered the town, which was preſently inveſted by the French to the number of twelve thouſand men, who proſecuted the ſiege very vigorouſly.

Duke Schomberg arrives at Turin.

Duke Schomberg arrived at Turin the 8th of June, where he found affairs in a moſt deſperate condition, and the minds of people under the deepeſt conſternation. Carmagnola had been lately taken; Coni was actually beſieged, and given for loſt; monſieur la Hoguette had forced the paſſages of the valley of Aoſta, which give him entrance into the Vercellois, and the frontiers of the Milaneſe. And the duke of Savoy inſtead of oppoſing the enemy's career, encamped with his ſmall army on the ſide of the hill of Montcallier, from whence he had the mortification to ſee his towns taken, and his palace at Rivola deſtroyed. Turin was under the apprehenſions of a bombardment, and the removal of the princeſſes, with the court, and all their moſt precious goods, to Verceil, had ſtill increaſed the terror of the inhabitants. The emiſſaries of France ſaid aloud, that the duke would be diſpoſſeſſed of all his dominions this campaign: that the confederates entertained him with chimerical ſuccours; and that the king of England, who was his laſt reſource, ſent him only duke Schomberg with a magnificent retinue, inſtead of real aſſiſtance; and that therefore the beſt way for him was to betake himſelf immediately to his moſt chriſtian majeſty's mercy. Things being reduced to this extremity, duke Schomberg had a very difficult part to act, eſpecially at a court, and in a country, which he had never ſeen but in printed relations and maps. He therefore employed ſome time in making himſelf acquainted with both, and till then was very reſerved in ſpeaking his thoughts. The firſt thing he judged neceſſary to be done was to revive the drooping ſpirits of the people, by giving life and motion to the army, and ſhewing ſome vigour to the French. He adviſed the duke to order his infantry to deſcend to the foot of the hill, and to extend his horſe to the right between the hill and the Po; and made the colonels of the army ſenſible, that the beſt way to render both officers and ſoldiers briſk and active, was to ſend them often upon parties. And becauſe the French, being uſed to deſpiſe the duke of Savoy's troops, came and foraged even in ſight of his grand guard, Schomberg was of opinion to go and inſult them. Accordingly on

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the 12th of July the duke of Savoy with the general officers, and about three thouſand horſe advanced towards the enemy's forage; but upon his approach the French retired, and Catinat did not think fit to ſuſtain his foragers, which might have occaſioned a general engagement. It happened the ſame day, that Schomberg having ſpoke High Dutch to a German officer in the duke's preſence, the Duke ſaid, 'that 'he had once tried to learn that language, but was diſcour-'aged by the difficulty he found in it;' upon which Schomberg offering to teach him, 'No, my lord, replied he; it 'is the trade of war I deſign to learn of you.' 1691.

In the mean while, though the garriſon and inhabitants of Coni defended themſelves with great reſolution, yet it was not poſſible for them to hold out much longer. It was therefore high time to think of relieving a place the loſs of which muſt be attended with the total ruin of the duke's affairs. And how to do it with moſt ſafety and appearance of ſucceſs, was variouſly debated in a council of war, wherein Schomberg did not content himſelf with ſpeaking his advice, but gave it afterwards to the duke. His opinion was, that monſieur la Hoguette appeared in the valley of Aoſta, with no other deſign than to keep the confederates in ſuſpence, and thereby favour the ſiege of Coni: that as ſoon as the troops of the confederates ſhould begin to move, he would return into the Tarentoiſe: that the duke ought to run where the danger was moſt preſſing, leſt by endeavouring to remedy all, he ſhould remedy nothing: that after all, he could not do better than to fight Catinat, whoſe army was inferior, at leaſt in number, to that of the allies, Feuquieres having carried away ten or twelve thouſand men with him before Coni. That, at the worſt the confederates could but be beaten, which was ſtill to be preferred before the loſs of Coni, and the reinforcement of Caſal; and that the French, if they ſhould have the advantage, would yet pay dear for their victory; and their army being conſiderably weakened by ſickneſs, deſertion, and their loſſes before Veilanne, Carmagnola, and Coni, they would not think of any other enterprize that ſummer. The duke and prince Eugene gave ear to Schomberg's opinion; but the marquis de Legonez, lately made governor of Milan, and don Gaſpar Henriquez de Zara, oppoſed it with frivolous reaſons, not daring to ſpeak the true one; which was, that the war was maintained at the duke of Savoy's coſt; and that as long as the French were kept out of the Milaneſe, it was policy in the Spaniards not to hazard a deciſive action. However the relieving Coni The ſiege of Coni raiſed.

1691. being of so great importance, it was resolved, that an hundred mules laden with provisions and ammunition should be sent thither under the convoy of twenty two hundred horse commanded by prince Eugene. Accordingly that prince set out on the 16th of June in the night from the camp, and leaving the French army on the right, marched to the left along the hills, that terminate the plain, that he might reach Coni with less danger. The next day, the French made an assault upon the place, wherein they were repulsed with great loss; and towards the evening prince Eugene reached Magliano, a place within seven miles of Coni, where he was reinforced by five or six thousand of the militia of Mondovi. Of this Catinat had no sooner notice, but he sent an express to monsieur de Bulonde, who commanded at the siege, not to stir out of his lines, and to acquaint him farther, that two thousand five hundred men were on their march to reinforce him under the command of monsieur Sylvestre, mareschal de Camp. However Bulonde thought it convenient to raise the siege (x) on the 18th of June, and that with so much haste and confusion, that he left behind him two or three pieces of cannon, three mortars, good store of bombs, powder, warlike utensils, tents, and provisions, besides many of his sick and wounded men, amongst whom were five engineers. But, for his reward, he was no sooner arrived at the camp, but Catinat had orders to put him under arrest. The French lost two thousand five hundred men before the place, the preservation of which was principally owing to the bravery of the French protestants in garrison there, and more particularly to the courage, vigilance, and conduct of

(x) The marquis de la Fare, in his memoires & reflexions sur les principaux evenemons du regne de Louis XIV, l. 10. seems to censure the attempting this siege, which he imputes to the orders of monsieur de Louvois against monsieur Catinat's judgment. 'Monsieur Catinat, says he, carried on the war in Piedmont with great conduct, courage, and success. He won the battle of Staffardo; and it was none of his fault, that we did not afterwards attack and make ourselves masters of Turin. But the repeated orders of monsieur Louvois, his relation and benefactor, obliged him, against his will, in the latter season, to order monsieur Bulonde to lay siege to Coni, which he was obliged soon after to raise. Neither the capacity of monsieur Catinat, which at last occasioned him to be made marshal of France, nor the voice of the people, were able to hinder the king from sacrificing him to monsieur Chamillard.'

colonel

colonel Julien, whoſe ſervices the duke of Savoy acknowledged with the preſent of a diamond ring of conſiderable value. The court of France was ſtruck with the utmoſt conſternation upon the news of the raiſing this ſiege, and Louvois himſelf was inconſolable; and going to the king to give an account of it with tears in his eyes, his majeſty anſwered him with great coolneſs, 'you are caſt down for a 'little matter. It is plainly ſeen, that you are too much 'uſed to good ſucceſs. For my part, who remember to 'have ſeen the Spaniſh troops in Paris, I am not ſo eaſily 'caſt down.' 1691.

Immediately after the raiſing the ſiege of Coni, the French troops under monſieur de la Hoguette, according to Schomberg's prediction, abandoned the valley of Aoſta; and Catinat, who was encamped near Carignan, retired with his army towards Villa nova d'Aſti, after having ſent Feuquieres with two thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe to change the garriſon of Caſale. And if the Germans had come up, or the Spaniards been willing to fight, Schomberg would have prevented the reinforcement of that garriſon, which was already reduced to fifteen hundred men.

Some days after, duke Schomberg applied himſelf to the affairs relating to the forces in Engliſh and Dutch pay. Monſieur Vandermeer, appointed by king William to be their commiſſary and pay-maſter, and the ſeveral colonels, preſented their accounts to the duke, which he examined with great exactneſs; and afterwards made a particular inquiry into the behaviour of the inferior officers. Upon the whole matter, he found in thoſe regiments, not only a great remiſſineſs in the martial diſcipline, but likewiſe other irregularities; which being partly occaſioned by ill pay, the duke gave effectual orders to have that point remedied; and becauſe a captain of Loches's regiment had killed a ſuttler in a riot, and another captain led an infamous life, he cauſed them to be caſhiered. At the ſame time he ordered all the officers in Turin to repair immediately to their reſpective commands, and declared to them, that he expected, that his majeſty's ſervice ſhould be performed with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs of diſcipline. It was no wonder, that theſe troops were ſo diſorderly, there being no body to inſpect them beſides Vandermeer, a man generally hated and deſpiſed; and they would certainly have diſbanded themſelves this campaign, if it had not been for the duke of Schomberg's arrival. June 30.

The inglorious retreat of the French from before Coni, gained no ſmall reputation to the duke of Savoy's arms Pignatelli choſen pope.

1691. throughout all Italy, and had a particular influence on the resolutions of the conclave at that time sitting at Rome for the election of a new pope, in the room of Alexander VIII, who died on the 1st of February. The affairs of Piedmont had kept that assembly in suspence all that time, the Italians fearing to disoblige the court of France, by filling the papal chair with a person in the interest of Spain. But the duke of Savoy's late success, and the approach of the German succours raised the courage of the Italian cardinals, who, notwithstanding the opposition of the cardinal d'Estrees, a Frenchman, and his faction, concerted measures with the Spaniards and Imperialists, in order to get cardinal Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, elected pope (y). The cardinals Cantelmi and Giudici, managed the design with that address, that when the French spoke of it to Giudici, he seemed very cool in the matter, as if he thought it could not succeed, since Pignatelli would be very unacceptable to the Spaniards, on account of the differences, which formerly happened between him and the viceroy of Naples. This stratagem had the desired effect, and made the French more zealous for him. The Spaniards and Imperialists seeing the French engaged concurred with all their voices, so that at the scrutiny of sixty-one voices, that composed the conclave fifty-three were given for cardinal Pignatelli, who was accordingly chosen
July 2. pope, being then seventy-six years and four months old. He possessed great dignities in the kingdom of Naples, and had been created cardinal in the year 1681 by Innocent XI, in memory of whom he took the name of Innocent XII, and of whose inclinations, interests, and maxims, he had been a long observer.

By this time the German succours, to the number of eighteen thousand horse and foot, having joined the duke of Savoy; and the elector of Bavaria being arrived to com-

(y) Bishop Burnet tells us, that the party of the zealots stood long firm to Barbarigo, who had the reputation of a saint, and seemed in all things to set cardinal Barromeo before him as a pattern. But they at last were persuaded to consent to the choice of Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, who, while he was archbishop of Naples, had some disputes with the viceroy concerning the ecclesiastical immunities, which he asserted so highly, that he excommunicated some of the judges, who, as he thought, had invaded them. The Spaniards had seemed displeased at this; which recommended him so to the French, that they also concurred to his elevation.

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mand them, the French, who not long before threatned no less than to beſiege Turin itſelf, were obliged to repaſs the Po, and to ſend ſeveral expreſſes to court to ſolicit a reinforcement. The confederates, on the other hand, having vainly endeavoured to engage Catinat to a battle, bent their thoughts upon retaking ſome of the other places, which they had loſt in the beginning of the campaign. Accordingly prince Eugene inveſted Carmagnola on the 12th of September, and carried on the ſiege with ſo much vigour, that in eleven days the garriſon was forced to capitulate. And becauſe after the firſt taking of this place the French did not punctually obſerve the articles in relation to the Vaudois, theſe took this opportunity to be revenged; and having waylaid them, took away their arms and part of their baggage. This being obſerved by the Germans, they came in for a ſhare of the booty, ſo that the French were entirely ſtript. Catinat made great complaints of this violation of the martial law; but the confederates anſwered, 'That they were 'ſorry ſuch things ſhould happen; but that he himſelf had 'ſet them the firſt example: however, that for the future 'they would prevent any ſuch diſorders, provided he would 'do the ſame.' 1691.

In the mean time the marquis d'Hocquincourt, with a body of French troops, having laid ſiege to Montmelian, made himſelf maſter of the town without much reſiſtance. But the caſtle ſtill holding out, it was reſolved by the confederates to ſend into Savoy eleven thouſand Spaniards, two thouſand of the refugees, and two thouſand of the duke of Savoy's troops to the relief of that fortreſs. Theſe detachments were already marching by the valley of Aoſta, when they received counter orders immediately to join the main army, the confederates having formed a deſign to attack Catinat in his intrenchments. But that enterprize not ſucceeding, the allies bent their arms againſt Carmagnola, which Catinat was ſo far from attempting to relieve, that having quitted Foſſano, Savillana, and Saluſſes, he retreated towards Pignerol, where he had ſtill the mortification to hear, that the Vaudois, aſſiſted by the French refugees, had routed three thouſand men, whom he had detached to lay waſte their vallies. However, this did not hinder the council of France from reſolving upon the reduction of the caſtle of Montmelian, whither Catinat was ordered to repair with part of his army. This general arrived before the place on the 6th of November, and after a moſt vigorous ſiege, wherein they had to diſpute as well with the rigours of the ſeaſon, as with

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1691 the desperate defence of the garrison, that fortress was at last, on the 2d of December, surrendered to the French upon honourable conditions; by which means they became entire masters of all the dutchy of Savoy; the king of France all this while caressing the princes and states of Italy, by monsieur Rebenac his ambassador, lest growing jealous of his successes, they should close in with the confederates, and thereby increase the number of his enemies, who in these parts began to be too strong for him. The loss of Montmelian was chiefly imputed to Caraffa, who commanded the imperial army, and was more intent on raising contributions, than in carrying on the war, and crossed every good motion that was made. Duke Schomberg undertook to relieve the place, and was assured, that many protestants in Dauphiné would come and join him. But Caraffa, and even the court of Turin, seemed to be more afraid of the strength of heresy, than of the power of France; and chose to let that important place fall into their hands, rather than suffer it to be relieved by those, whom they did not like. When the duke of Savoy's army went into quarters, Caraffa obliged the neighbouring princes, and the states of Genoa, to contribute to the subsistence of the imperial army, threatning them otherwise with taking winter quarters among them; so that how ill soever he managed the duke of Savoy's concerns, he took care of his own. But upon the complaints made against him on all hands, he was recalled, and Caprara sent to command in his room.

The campaign on the Rhine. Ibid.

The campaign upon the Rhine was very inconsiderable this year, tho' on that side too the French were rather gainers. Their first design was to surprize the city of Mentz by a treacherous correspondence, which they held in the place with one of the emperor's commissioners, Consburg, a Westphalian; which being prevented by a timely discovery, they turned their arms against Algesheim, a town five or six leagues from that city, which they carried after some resistance, and then retired towards Creutsnach. On the other hand, the imperial army, commanded by the elector of Saxony, with the generals Caprara and Schoning under him, passed the Rhine not far from Manheim, where the French had intrenched themselves, in order to prevent it. But though great things were expected from the Germans, they rather lost than gained by passing that river; for the French, to divert them, crossed the Rhine also at Philipsburgh, which, after a warm consultation in a council of war, obliged the Germans to follow them, though not with that diligence

and

and ſucceſs, but that the others took the town of Portzheim, 1691.
ſituate in the marquiſate of Baden Dourlach, on a neck of land, that gives entrance into the country of Wirtemberg, which the French had all along a deſign to put under contribution, and had never ſo fair a proſpect of affecting it as at this time. With the taking of this place, and another of leſs conſequence, beſides the ravaging of that part of Juliers, that belongs to the elector Palatine, the French ended their campaign that way. And as for the Germans, the execution of their deſigns was partly prevented by the death of the elector of Saxony, which happened on the 2d of September, in the 44th year of his age.

The emperor's affairs in Hungary went on ſucceſsfully this year, under the command of prince *Lewis of Baden*; though he committed an error, which had like to have proved fatal to him. His ſtores lay near him in great boats on the Danube; but upon ſome deſign he had made a motion off from that river; and of which the grand-vizir took the advantage, and got into his camp between him and his ſtores; ſo that he muſt either ſtarve, or break through to come at his proviſions. The Turks not having had time to fortify themſelves in their new camp, he attacked them with ſuch fury, that they were quite routed, and loſt their camp and cannon, and a great part of their army, the grand-vizir himſelf being killed (z) If the court of Vienna had really deſired a peace,

Affairs in Hungary. Burnet.

The Turks are defeated.

(z) The lord Pagett, the Engliſh envoy extraordinary to the emperor, in a letter to Sir William Dutton Colt, envoy extraordinary at Hanover, dated at Vienna $\frac{18}{28}$ Auguſt 1691, gives the following account of this victory.

'Though I have not leiſure 'to ſay ſo much as I would, yet 'I think myſelf obliged to tell 'you ſhortly, that though a 'peace with the Turk is not 'concluded, yet I believe it may 'now quickly be made. For 'upon the 19th inſtant prince 'Lewis fought their army, and 'beat them ſoundly. The firſt 'relation of the engagement 'was brought hither by the 'prince of Vaudemont upon 'Friday the 24th imperfectly. 'That day the emperor had the 'particulars of it, which are, 'that the Turk has loſt twenty 'five thouſand of his beſt ſoldiers upon the place, beſides 'ſuch as were killed in the flight 'and retreat. Many of their 'moſt eſteemed officers, baſhaws, '&c. loſt their lives, amongſt 'which the grand-vizier, the 'Seraſkier, the aga of the janiſaries were the chief. The 'reſidue of the army is entirely 'broken; their ſaicks or great 'boats diſappear; their ſhattered 'troops have repaſſed the Save; 'and the garriſon left in Belgrade, which is not ſtrong, is 'in

1691. peace, they might have had it, upon this victory, on very eaſy terms; but they reſolved to be maſters of all Tranſilvania; and, in order to that, undertook the ſiege of Great Waradin, which they were forced to turn into a blockade; ſo that it did not fall into their hands 'till the ſpring following. The emperor was led on by the prophecies, that aſſured him of conſtant conquests, and that he ſhould, in concluſion, arrive at Conſtantinople itſelf; ſo that the practices of thoſe, whom the French had gained about him, had but two much matter to work on in himſelf. Beſides, the news of the total reduction of Ireland, confirmed him in his reſolutions of carrying on the war in Hungary. It was reckoned, that England being now diſengaged at home, would, with the reſt of the proteſtant allies, be able to carry on the war with France. And the two chief paſſions in the emperor's mind being his hatred of hereſy, and his hatred of France, it was ſaid, that thoſe about him, who ſerved the intereſts of that

'in great conſternation. All 'the baggage is taken, and one 'hundred and fifty four field-'pieces of braſs, tents, proviſi-'ons, and in ſhort all they 'brought into the field either 'for ſubſiſtence or parade, is tak-'en by prince Lewis of Baden, 'who, with his victorious army, '(though very much weakened 'in the conflict, having loſt a-'bout eight thouſand good old 'ſoldiers, and many brave offi-'cers, amongſt whom general 'Souches, the prince of Arem-'berg, and the prince of Hol-'ſtein, killed, are the chief) the 'general hopes are yet, that the 'campaign will end in a peace 'with the Porte.'

In another letter dated at Vienna $\frac{\text{August } 23.}{\text{Sept. } 2.}$ 1691, lord Paget writes thus:

'Our court has been ſo taken 'up with rejoicing for the late 'important victory in Hungary, 'that ſcarce any other buſineſs 'is talked of. And indeed it 'has mended matters very much 'on that ſide; and the grand 'vizir, ſeraſkier, and aga of the 'janiſaries are ſaid to be of the 'number of the ſlain, beſides 'twenty five thouſand other 'Turks. On our part are reck-'oned eight thouſand killed, 'among whom a great many 'brave officers. But how all 'this may diſpoſe them to a 'peace, I am not yet able to 'ſay, ſince it is not known, who 'will ſucceed the grand vizir, 'if ſlain, and manage the Turk-'iſh affairs. Deſerters ſay, that 'they are in great confuſion, 'and the ſmall remains of their 'army, aſſembled near Belgrade; 'which place likewiſe is report-'ed to be in no ſmall conſterna-'tion. Prince Lewis, to whoſe 'excellent conduct and perſonal 'valour much of the ſucceſs 'of this action is due, is ſince 'declared by the emperor, lieu-'tenant-general.

that court, perſuaded him, that he was to let the war go on between France and thoſe he eſteemed heretics, ſince he would be a gainer, which ſide ſoever ſhould loſe; for either France would be humbled or the hereticks be exhauſted, while he ſhould extend his dominions, and conquer infidels. King William, on the other hand, had a ſort of regard and ſubmiſſion to the emperor, which he had to no other prince whatever; ſo that he did not preſs him, as many deſired he ſhould, to accept of a peace with the Turks, that ſo he might turn his whole force againſt France. 1691.

Flanders lay expoſed to great danger, where the feebleneſs of the Spaniſh government ſo exhauſted and weakened the whole country, that all the ſtrength of the confederate armies was ſcarce able to defend it. The Spaniards had offered to deliver it up to king William, either as he was king of England, or as he was ſtadtholder of the United Provinces. He knew the bigottry of the people ſo well, that he was convinced it was not poſſible to get them to ſubmit to a proteſtant government; but he propoſed the elector of Bavaria, who ſeemed to have much heat, and an ambition of ſignalizing himſelf in that country, which was then the chief ſcene of the war; and he could ſupport that government by the troops and treaſure, that he might draw out of his own electorate. Beſides if he governed that country well, and acquired a fame in arms, that might give him a proſpect of ſucceeding to the crown of Spain, in the right of his electreſs, who if the houſe of Bourbon was ſet aſide, was next in that ſucceſſion. The Spaniards agreed to this propoſal; but they would not make the firſt offer of it to that elector, nor would he aſk it; and it ſtuck for ſome time at this. But the court of Vienna adjuſted the matter, by making the propoſition, which the elector accepted; and was accordingly appointed governor, and the choice of him declared at Madrid, in the council of ſtate; which put new life into thoſe oppreſſed and miſerable provinces. The elector of Bavaria made governor of Flanders. Burnet. Lett. Hiſt. I. 86.

This was the general ſtate of affairs when the king returned to Loo, where having ſpent almoſt two months in the diverſion of hunting, he came to the Hague to ſettle the operations of the war for the enſuing year, and then to return to England. The contrary winds, that detained him there, made him large amends, by bringing over Mr. Henry Furneſe with the agreeable news of the ſurrender of Lymerick, for which the king beſtowed the honour of knighthood upon him; and on the 18th of October embarked in the Mary yatch in the Maeſe, being attended by a ſquadron of The king returns to the Hague, and from thence to England.

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1691. men of war, under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, rear-admiral of the blue; and the next day safely landed at Margate, whence he immediately went to Kensington.

The parliament meets. Pr. H. C. II. 389.

The parliament which was adjourned to the 31st of March, and from thence continued by several adjournments and prorogations to the 22d of October, being then met, the king made the following speech to both houses.

'My lords and gentlemen,

The king's speech at the opening.

'I Have appointed this meeting of the parliament as soon as ever the affairs abroad would admit of my return into England, that you might have the more time to consider of the best and most effectual ways and means for the carrying on of the war against France this next year.

'I am willing to hope, that the good success with which it had pleased God to bless my arms in Ireland this summer, will not only be a great encouragement to you to proceed the more chearfully in this work, but will be looked upon by you as an earnest of future successes, which your timely assistance to me may, by God's blessing, procure to us all. And as I do not doubt, but you will take care to pay the arrears of that army, which hath been so deserving and so prosperous in the reducement of Ireland to a peaceable condition; so I do assure you, there shall no care be wanting on my part to keep that kingdom, as far as it is possible, from being burthensome to England for the future.

'My lords and gentlemen,

'I do not doubt but you are all sensible, that it will be necessary, we should have a strong fleet next year, and as early at sea, as we had this summer. And I must tell you, that the great power of France will as necessarily require, that we should maintain a very considerable army ready upon all occasions, not only to defend ourselves from any insult, but also to anoy the common enemy, where it may be most sensible to them. And I do not see how it is possible to do this with less than sixty-five thousand men.

'I shall only add, that by the vigour and dispatch of your counsels and assistance to me in this session of parliament, you have now an opportunity in your hands, which, if neglected, you can never reasonably hope to see again, not only to establish the future quiet and prosperity of these kingdoms, but the peace and security of all Europe.'

Congratulatory address.

Both houses congratulated his majesty upon his safe and happy return, after so many hazards, to which he had exposed

poſed his perſon, and upon the ſucceſs of his arms in the reduction of Ireland; and aſſured him, that they would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power in carrying on a vigorous war againſt France, in order to procure an honourable and laſting peace to his own dominions, and to ſecure his neighbours from the injuries and invaſions of the common oppreſſor. Addreſſes were alſo preſented to the queen, to acknowledge her prudent care in the adminiſtration of the government during the king's abſence. 1691. Ibid.

Notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions of the parliament, it ſoon appeared, that a party was avowedly formed againſt the government. They durſt not own it before, while the war in Ireland continued. But now, ſince that was at an end, they began to infuſe into all people, that there was no need of keeping up a great land army; and that the Engliſh ought only to aſſiſt their allies with ſome auxiliary troops, and increaſe their force at ſea. Many perſons, who did not underſtand the ſtate of foreign affairs, were drawn into this notion, not conſidering, that if Flanders was loſt, Holland muſt ſubmit, and take the beſt terms they could get; and the conjunction of thoſe two great powers at ſea muſt ſoon ruin our trade, and in a little time ſubdue us entirely. But it was not eaſy to bring all people to apprehend this aright, and thoſe who had ill intentions, would not be beaten out of it, but covered worſe deſigns with this pretence. And this was ſtill kept up as a prejudice againſt the king and his government, that he loved to have a great army about him, and that when they were once modelled, he would never part with them, but govern in an arbitary way, as ſoon as he had prepared his ſoldiers to ſerve his ends. A party formed againſt the government. Burnet.

Another prejudice had more colour, and as bad effects. The king was thought to love the Dutch more than the Engliſh, to truſt more to them, and to admit them to more freedom with him. He gave too much occaſion to a general diſguſt, which was ſpread among the Engliſh officers and the nobility. He took little pains to gain the affections of the nation; nor did he conſtrain himſelf enough to render his Government more acceptable. He was ſhut up all the day long; and his ſilence, when he admitted any to an audience, diſtaſted them as much, as if they had been denied it. The earl of Marlborough likewiſe thought, that the great ſervices, which he had done, were not acknowledged nor rewarded, as they well deſerved, and began to ſpeak like a man diſcontented. And the ſtrain of almoſt the whole nation was, that the Engliſh were overlooked, and the Dutch the only perſons favoured or truſted. Jealouſies of the king.

This

1691. This was national; and the Engliſh being too apt to deſpiſe other nations, and being of more lively tempers than the Dutch, grew to expreſs a contempt and an averſion for them, that went almoſt to a mutiny. It is true the Dutch behaved themſelves well, and regularly in their quarters, and paid for every thing punctually; whereas the Engliſh were apt to be rude and exacting, eſpecially thoſe, who were all this winter coming over from Ireland, who had been ſo long in an enemy's country, that they were not eaſily brought into order; ſo that the common people were generally better pleaſed with the Dutch ſoldiers, than with their own countrymen. But it was not the ſame as to the officers. Theſe ſeeds of diſcontent were carefully managed by the enemies of the government; and by this means matters went on heavily in the houſe of commons. The king was believed to be ſo tender in every point, that ſeemed to relate to his prerogative, that he could not well bear any thing, that was a diminution of it; and he was ſaid to have taken a diſlike and miſtruſt of all thoſe, whoſe notions leaned to public liberty, though thoſe were the very perſons, who were firmeſt to him, and the moſt zealous for him. The men, whoſe notions of the prerogative were the higheſt, were ſuſpected to be jacobites; yet it was obſerved, that many of theſe were much courted, and put into employments, in which they ſhewed ſo little affection to the government, and ſo cloſe a correſpondence with its profeſſed enemies, that it was generally believed they intended to betray it. The blame of employing theſe men was caſt upon the earl of Nottingham, who, as the whigs ſaid, infuſed into the king jealouſies of his beſt friends, and inclined him to court ſome of his bittereſt enemies.

The earls of Rocheſter and Ranelagh made privy-counſellors.

The earls of Rocheſter and Ranelagh were made privy-counſellors. The earl of Rocheſter was reckoned a man of parts, and to have had a good pen, but did not ſpeak gracefully. When he came into buſineſs, and roſe to high poſts, he grew violent, but was thought incorrupt. He had high notions of government, which he thought muſt be maintained with ſeverity. He delivered up his own notions to his
1679. party, that he might read them. He was one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury in the reign of king Charles II, and afterwards lord preſident of the council; but growing
1684. weary of a place which procured him neither confidence nor dependance, he was by the duke of York's intereſt, made
1685. lord-lieutenant of Ireland. At king James's acceſſion he was made lord-treaſurer, and was one of the eccleſiaſtical
1686. commiſſioners. Soon after, for refuſing to turn catholic, he

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loſt the white ſtaff, and had a penſion of four thouſand pounds a year for his own and ſon's life, beſides two valuable grants. He was one of the managers for a regency in oppoſition to thoſe who were for a king. Queen Mary was ſo poſſeſſed againſt him at firſt, that he in vain endeavoured to recover her favour. But at laſt, by means of biſhop Burnet, the queen laid aſide her reſentment, and by degrees admitted him into high meaſure of favour and confidence. The biſhop was quickly convinced of his error, for the earl went into an intereſt very different from what he imagined he would have purſued. He was for ſetting up notions of perſecutions and violence, which he had promoted in king Charles's time, and talked againſt all favour to diſſenters, profeſſing himſelf an enemy to the preſent biſhops, and their methods of endeavouring to gain them by gentle uſage. 1691.

The earl of Ranelagh was a man of great parts, and as great vices. In king Charles's time the revenue of Ireland was in his management, and he was looked upon as one of the ableſt men that iſland had bred, capable of all affairs, even in the midſt of a looſe run of pleaſure and much riot. He had the art of pleaſing maſters of very different tempers and intereſts ſo much, that he continued above thirty years in great poſts. He had been pay-maſter of the army in king James's time, and being fit for the poſt, he was continued in it all this reign. He was likewiſe among thoſe that had voted for a regency.

The taking off parliament-men who complained of grievances, by places and penſions, was believed to be now very generally practiſed. Sir Edward Seymour, who had in a very injurious manner, not only oppoſed every thing, but had reflected on the king's title and conduct, was this winter, to the great mortification of the whigs, brought into the treaſury and the cabinet council. He was a man of great birth, being the elder branch of the Seymour family, and was a graceful man, bold and quick. He had a ſort of pride peculiar to himſelf, and had with it neither ſhame nor decency. He was in king Charles's time the moſt aſſuming ſpeaker that ever ſat in the chair. He knew the houſe and every member in it ſo well, that by looking about he could tell the fate of any queſtion, and accordingly managed matters. Sir Edward Seymour privy-counſellor and commiſſioner of the treaſury. 1675.

The ſupplies granted for the ſervice of the next year amounted in all to three millions, four hundred and eleven thouſand, ſix hundred and ſeventy-five pounds for the fleet The ſupplies for the year 1692.

1691. and army (a). But the diſpatch of theſe ſupplies was retarded by ſeveral incidental affairs this ſeſſion; particularly the Affair of the India company. ſetling the conditions on which the charter of the Eaſt-India company was to be confirmed, which took up much time (b). The amuſement alſo given to both houſes by one William

(a) For the fleet (including the ordnance and charge of building one dry and two wet docks at Portſmouth) was granted 1,575,898l. and for the army of ſixty-four thouſand nine hundred and twenty-four men 1,935,787l. To raiſe theſe ſums, 1,651,702 l. was granted upon land; and for the remainder were paſſed an exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for one year, and a poll-tax, by which all perſons (except ſuch as received alms of the pariſh, poor houſe-keepers and their children) were to pay twelve-pence quarterly for one year; all tradeſmen and artificers, having an eſtate of the clear yearly value of three hundered pounds, and upwards, ten ſhillings; all gentlemen or reputed gentlemen, having an eſtate of three hundred pounds or more, as alſo all clergymen and teachers, who had an eccleſiaſtical benefice or contribution to the value of eighty pounds per annum, or upwards, twenty ſhillings; every lord of parliament, either ſpiritual or temporal the ſum of ten pounds; and all perſons, who refuſe to take the oaths to their majeſties double the ſums charged by the reſpective heads.

(b) On the 28th of October, ſeveral merchants preſented a petition to the commons againſt the Eaſt-Indja company; and at the ſame time the Eaſt-India company put another petition in behalf of themſelves; the conſideration of both which was referred to a committee of the whole houſe. About a fortnight after the heads of the complaints againſt the Eaſt-India company, were delivered to their governor; to which they having put in their anſwer, the ſame was communicated to the petitioners and Eaſt-India company ordered to make their defence on the 20th of November.

Not only the appointed day, but ſeveral others were ſpent in examining the accounts, which Sir Joſeph Herne, the governor of the Eaſt-India company, delivered in, as a ſtate of their ſtock and debts at home and abroad; and in conſidering ſeveral other petitions relating to the Eaſt-India trade, till at laſt the commons agreed to the following reſolutions, on the 17th of December. ‘1. That a ſum not leſs ‘than 1,500,000 and not exceeding two millions, was a ‘fund neceſſary to carry on the ‘Eaſt-India trade in a joint ſtock. ‘2. That no one perſon ſhould ‘have any ſhare in a joint ſtock ‘for the Eaſt-India trade exceeding 5000l. either in his own ‘name, or in any other in truſt ‘for him. 3. That no one ‘perſon ſhould have above one ‘vote in the ſaid company; and ‘that each perſon, who had 500l. ‘ſtock therein, ſhould have one ‘vote. 4. That the company ‘to trade to the Eaſt-Indies ‘ſhould be obliged to export ‘every

Jiam Fuller, was another cauſe of delay to the ſupplies. 1691.
The conſpiracy of the papiſts in Lancaſhire to raiſe a rebel-

lion Fuller's ſham-plot.

'every year in their trade goods, 'being the growth and manu- 'facture of this nation, to the 'value of 200,000l. at leaſt. 5. 'That no private contracts 'ſhould be made, but all goods 'ſold at public ſales by inch of 'candle, except ſalt-petre for 'for the uſe of the crown. 6. 'That the Eaſt-India company 'be obliged to ſell to the king 'yearly ſalt-petre refined (the re- 'fraction not exceeding four or 'five per cent. out of one hund- 'red and twelve) five hundred 'tons, at the rate of 30l. per 'ton. 7. That no lot ſhould be 'put at any ſales in the Eaſt-In- 'dia company at one time, ex- 'ceeding 500l. 8. That no 'perſon ſhould be governor or 'deputy-governor of the com- 'pany to trade to the Eaſt-In- 'dies, who had leſs ſhare in the 'ſtock than 2000l. or commit- 'tee-men, that had leſs than '1000l. 9. That the election 'of governor, deputy-governor, 'and committee for the com- 'pany to trade to the Eaſt-In- 'dies, be made every year. 10. 'That all dividends be made in 'money. 11. That no divi- 'dends be made, without leav- 'ing a ſufficient fund to pay all 'debts, and carry on the trade. '12. That a valuation of the 'ſtock be made every five 'years by the accomptant of 'the company upon oath, to 'be ſeen by all ſuch as are con- 'cerned therein. 13. That no 'ſhips, either with permiſſion 'or without, for the future, be 'allowed to go to the Eaſt-Indies, 'except only ſuch as ſhould be 'of a company, or be eſtabliſh- 'ed by act of parliament. 14. 'That no by-laws ſhould be 'binding to the company, but 'ſuch as were approved by a ge- 'neral court of adventurers, 'and were not repugnant to 'the laws of the land. 15. 'And laſtly, that the joint-ſtock 'of a company to trade to the 'Eaſt-Indies be for twenty one 'years and no longer.'

The next day the three following reſolutions were added to the reſt, viz. 'That all per- 'ſons now having above the 'ſum of 5000l. in the ſtock of 'the preſent Eaſt-India compa- 'ny, in their own or other per- 'ſons names, be obliged to ſell 'ſo much thereof, as ſhould ex- 'ceed the ſaid ſum of 5000l. 'at the rate of 100l. for every 'hundred. That the members 'of the committee of the Eaſt- 'India company be obliged to 'give ſecurity to be approved of 'by the houſe; that the ſtock 'and eſtate they now had, ſhould 'be made good 749,000l. all 'debts paid. And, laſtly, that '(ſecurity being firſt given) an 'humble addreſs be preſented 'to his majeſty, to encorporate 'the preſent Eaſt-India compa- 'ny by charter, according to 'the regulations agreed upon by 'the houſe, that the ſame might 'paſs into an act.' On the 23d of December Sir Thomas Cooke, Sir William Langhorne, Sir Thomas Rawlinſon, and others, the committee of the Eaſt-India company, delivered in propoſals concerning the ſecurity to be given; which being diſapproved, the

ſaid

1691 lion in the kingdom, in order to re-inthrone king James, was atteſted by ſeveral witneſſes, which the jacobites were ſo dextrous as to take off either by fair or violent means; but nevertheleſs their ſiniſter deſigns being confirmed by the papers taken with the lord viſcount Preſton, and ſeveral other circumſtances, which amounted to a moral demonſtration, ſome perſons of note were ſeized, and ſearch made after others; which brought the buſineſs to be examined before the commons. At this juncture Fuller, who was then a priſoner in the King's-Bench, ſet up for an evidence, and at his own deſire was brought to the bar of the commons, where he produced ſeveral papers, which were peruſed by the houſe; and, according to his prayer, it was reſolved, 'that an application be made to his majeſty, that 'he would pleaſe to give to Mr. Fuller a blank paſs for two 'perſons, for their ſafe coming from beyond ſea, or any 'other place, hither, to give their evidence, for their protec'tion, while they were here, and for their ſafe return, if 'deſired.' About ſix weeks after Fuller was ordered to attend the houſe of commons, with the perſons mentioned by him; but he pretending to be ſick and not able to come abroad, ſeverel members were ordered to repair to him, to ſecure his papers, and to take his information upon oath. The next day Fuller's examination was preſented to the houſe, and read; and he mentioning Mr. James Hayes and colonel Thomas Delaval to be the two witneſſes, which he had informed the houſe of, ſeveral members, attended by meſſengers, were ordered to go to the places directed by Fuller, and bring the ſaid perſons with them. They went but found no ſuch

ſaid committee was ordered to produce the perſons they propoſed to be ſecurity; which being done accordingly on the 29th of December, the commons after a long examination of the whole matter, approved of the ſecurity propoſed, and on the 8th of January appointed a committee to prepare and bring in a bill to eſtabliſh an Eaſt-India company, according to the regulations agreed upon by the houſe; but it came to nothing. On the contrary ſeveral petitions being preſented againſt it, to which the Eaſt-India company did not give ſatisfactory anſwers, the commons addreſſed the king to diſſolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. The king's anſwer was, 'It is a motion of 'very great importance to the 'trade of this kingdom, I will 'conſider of it, and in a ſhort 'time give the commons a poſi'tive anſwer.' However he was pleaſed to confer the honour of knighthood on Sir John Goldſborough, who was going to India in quality of the company's commiſſary-general.

ſuch perſons as had been deſcribed to them; whereupon Fuller was ordered to produce them himſelf, and alſo one Jones; which he not being able to do, the commons unanimouſly declared, 'that William Fuller is a notorious impoſtor, a 'cheat, and a falſe accuſer, having ſcandalized their majeſ-'ties and their government, abuſed his houſe, and falſely 'accuſed ſeveral perſons of honour and quality.' And they further reſolved, 'that an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, 'to command his attorney-general to proſecute the ſaid im-'poſtor.' Fuller was accordingly proſecuted, and ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory; which ignominy he underwent without the leaſt modeſty or concern. 1691.

The warm diſpute between the two houſes, raiſed by the bill for regulating trials in caſes of high-treaſon, was a farther interruption of the public buſineſs. This bill having been laid aſide by the lords in the preceding ſeſſion, was now again brought in and paſſed by the commons, and ſent to the lords for their concurrence, who added a clauſe to it, 'that upon the trial of any peer or peereſs for treaſon or miſ-'priſion of treaſon, all the peers who have a right to ſet and 'vote in parliament, ſhould be duly ſummoned to attend 'twenty days at leaſt before the trial, and ſhould vote at the 'trial of ſuch peer or peereſs.' As it had been the cuſtom for the lord ſteward, for the time being, to ſummon by his ſerjeant at arms a competent number only of peers, to be triers of peers, and as the lord ſteward was appointed by the king's commiſſion, the commons diſagreed to the clauſe, as thinking it an alteration in the conſtitution; which occaſioned ſeveral conferences between the managers of both houſes (c). But the reſult of all was, that the lords inſiſted upon their clauſes, and the commons adhered to their diſagreement. Debates on the bill for trials of high-treaſon. Nov. 18. Pr. H. C. II. 393.

The commons having reſolved, that the miſcarriages of the fleet ſhould be inquired into, admiral Ruſſel preſented to the houſe the inſtructions given by the commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of England, a liſt of the ſhips, and an extract of ſeveral letters and orders touching the proceedings of the fleet during the laſt ſummer's expedition; all which were compared and examined 1691-2. Enquiries into the conduct of the fleet. MS. let. of Pulteney to Colt.

(c) Charles Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax, diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the firſt conference as a manager for the commons. For the lords, were the duke of Bolton, the marquis of Halifax, the earls of Mulgrave, Rocheſter, Nottingham, Monmouth, and Stamford.

1691-2. with 'the copies of the ſeveral orders, that had been iſſued 'by the commiſſioners of the admiralty to the ſaid admiral,
Nov. 10. 'and a liſt of the ſhips, that had been loſt or damaged ſince
1691. 'the year 1688,' delivered to the houſe of commons by the lord Falkland from the commiſſioners of the admiralty. And it appearing to the houſe, that in the whole matter the great fault lay upon the admiralty, a committee was appointed to receive their anſwer to the accuſation. The admiral being likewiſe aſked, how he came to lie at the Buoy in the Nore after the fleet was ready, and the wind fair for ſix days together? anſwered, that he did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to go out at firſt, ſince he could not ſail with above fifty ſhips, the Dutch refuſing to go to the blockade before Dunkirk (which was to be maintained) till their compliment came up; and that after the ſame was arrived, he then wanted proviſions. And he ſaid, that the reaſon why he ſtaid ſo long in Torbay after the wind ſerved to go out, was for want of orders from the admiralty, notwithſtanding he had ſent ſeveral times to their lordſhips for that purpoſe; it being one of the articles in his inſtructions, that whenever he came into port, he ſhould not ſtir out again but by orders from the admiralty.

Ibid. On the 12th of November the commons were acquainted,
Nov. 20. that Mr. Bridges, a member of their houſe, could give an account of an information given him by a captain in their majeſties fleet, that Sir Ralph Delaval had lately taken a French boat going for Ireland, with papers of dangerous conſequence to the government. Whereupon Mr. Bridges was ordered to name the perſon; and he having named the lord Danby, a conference was deſired with the lords upon matters relating to the ſafety of the kingdom. Accordingly the lord Danby attending in his place in the houſe of lords, acquainted them, that he being on board Sir Ralph Delaval's ſhip, when the packet of papers was opened, which had been taken in the French prize, he ſaw, amongſt other papers, a copy of a letter from the earl of Nottingham to Sir Ralph. Whereupon being ordered by the houſe to put what he had then ſaid into writing, and to ſign it, he withdrew, and did the ſame accordingly. Preſently after a packet from Sir Ralph being brought to the earl of Nottingham, while he was in the houſe, he opened it before them, wherein were the papers taken in the prize; and Sir Ralph in his letter to his lordſhip ſaid the incloſed were all that were taken; which containing, as he thought, nothing of conſequence, he did not ſend them ſooner. But the copy of

the

the earl of Nottingham's letter not being amongſt them, lord Danby ſaid, there were not all the papers, he being confident he ſaw the abovementioned copy of the earl's letter; and named another captain of the ſquadron, who, as he believed, ſaw it as well as himſelf. Upon this Sir Ralph Delaval, (who had been ordered to attend the houſe of commons,) the other captain, and the maſter of the French prize, were ordered to attend the houſe of lords. But upon a full examination of the whole affair, it was found, that there was not a copy of any letter from the earl of Nottingham to Sir Ralph Delaval in the packet taken on board the French boat, but only a letter written by his lordſhip to Sir Ralph for ſending up the papers intercepted by him. Upon this occaſion the commons took into their conſideration the confeſſion and examinations of the lord Preſton and Mr. Crone, which, according to their deſire, the king had ordered to be laid before the houſe. 1691-2.

About this time Dr. James Welwood, a Scots phyſician, to ſignalize his affection to the government, employed his pen in detecting and expoſing the ſiniſter deſigns of their majeſties enemies in a weekly paper, intitled, 'Mercurius 'reformatus, or the new obſervator.' But his zeal having carried him ſo far as to reflect on the proceedings of the commons, that houſe, ever jealous of their privileges, ordered both the author and printer of that paper to be ſent for in cuſtody of their ſerjeant at arms; from whence they were at laſt diſcharged, after having been reprimanded for their offence. However, Dr. Welwood was fully recompenſed for the trouble and charge of his confinement, being ſoon after made one of the phyſicians in ordinary to his majeſty (d).

About the middle of January many of the French proteſtants preſented a petition to the commons, praying the conſideration of that houſe in order to their relief. This petition having had but little effect, by reaſon of the multipli- The French refugees petition for relief.

(d) Several other affairs amuſed the houſe of commons to little purpoſe, as a bill for regulating abuſes in elections and returns to parliament, which was rejected on the 12th of December, without pleading; a bill for the better improvement of the woollen manufacture of this kingdom, which was alſo thrown out before a ſecond reading; a bill for the better repair of the harbour of Dover, which was likewiſe rejected; a bill to regulate the hackney coaches; another to diſcourage the exportation of bullion, and encourage the importation of it, and converting the ſame into the coin of this realm; and a third to encourage privateers, wherein no progreſs was made. Boyer.

1691-2. city of affairs, that were depending in that houſe, thoſe diſtreſſed refugees applied themſelves to the king with their caſe in print, and their majeſties declaration of the 25th of April 1689, in their favour; both which the king commanded to be laid before the commons on the 17th of February. A week after, the houſe conſidered his majeſty's meſſage, and the motion already made for a ſupply to be given towards the relief of the petitioners; but before they came to a reſolution, the king's affairs required their riſing, by a ſudden adjournment, which prevented the paſſing ſeveral bills, that were depending. Among theſe was a bill for aſcertaining the commiſſions and ſalaries of the judges, and to put it out of the king's power to ſtop them. The judges had their commiſſions, during their good behaviour; yet their ſalaries were not ſo ſecured to them, but that they were at the king's pleaſure. But the king put a ſtop to this, and refuſed to paſs the bill; for it was repreſented to him, by ſome of the judges themſelves, that it was not fit they ſhould be out of all dependance on the court; though it did not appear that there was any hurt in making judges, in all reſpects, free and independent (e).

The parliament is prorogued Feb. 24. Pr. H. C. II. 407.

As the king was deſirous to be early in Holland, he came on the 24th of February, to the houſe of peers, and paſſing ſeveral bills (f), cloſed the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech to both houſes.

My

(e) The other bills that were depending were as follow:

1. A bill for leſſening the intereſt of money, which the commons had paſſed, and ſent up to the lords for their concurrence. 2. For diſabling minors to marry without the conſent of their fathers or guardians, and for preventing clandeſtine marriages, which the lords had ſent down to the commons. 3. For the paying of the army according to the muſters of effective men, puniſhing mutineers and deſerters, and preventing falſe muſters; to which the lords had made ſome amendments, that occaſioned great diſputes. 4. Againſt the buying and ſelling of offices. 5. For the better apprehending highwaymen. 6. To prevent frauds by clandeſtine mortgages. 7. Againſt duelling.

(f) Acts paſſed this ſeſſion were,

1. An act for abrogating the oath of ſupremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths; when the bill was ſent up to the lords, the earl of Nottingham alledged, that it was in ſome parts contrary to the articles of the capitulation of Lymerick; upon which ſome amendments were made, particularly that the lawyers of Lymerick ſhould not be comprehended in the bill. This occaſioned two conferences between the houſes, the reſult of which

1691-2.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I Return my hearty thanks to you all for the great de- The
" monſtrations you have given me of your affections in King's
" this ſeſſion, and for your zeal for the ſupport of the go- ſpeech.
" vernment.

" And I muſt thank you, gentlemen of the houſe of com-
" mons in particular, for the great ſupplies you have granted
" for the proſecution of the war. I aſſure you, I ſhall take
" care ſo to diſpoſe of the money you have given me for the
" public occaſions, as that the whole nation may be intirely
" ſatisfied with the application of it.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I think it proper to acquaint you with my intentions of
" going beyond ſea very ſpeedily; which I am afraid have
" been already retarded more than is convenient for the pre-
" ſent poſture of affairs. And upon that account I think it
" neceſſary to put an end to this preſent meeting, the ſea-
" ſon of the year being now ſo very far advanced, that it
" may prove of the laſt ill conſequence to continue it any
" longer."

Then the parliament was adjourned to the 12th of April, and afterwards prorogued by proclamation to the 29th of May.

The moſt material acts paſſed this ſeſſion were as follow: Acts paſſed this third ſeſſion.

1. An act for explaining and ſupplying the defects of the former laws for the ſettlement of the poor. As the poor had been taken care of by the monaſteries, it was neceſſary, after their diſſolution, to make laws about them. Accordingly, by an act of the 43d of Eliz. overſeers of the poor were firſt eſtabliſhed, who were to ſet to work the children of ſuch as could not keep them, to bind them apprentices;

which was, that the lords at laſt concurred to the bill without their alterations. Pulteney's MS. letter to Colt. Nov. 17, 1691.

2. An act for taking away clergy from ſome offenders, and to bring others to puniſhment.

3. An act againſt deer-ſtealers.

4. An act for the better repairing the high-ways, and for ſettling the rates of carriage of goods.

5. An act for relief of creditors againſt fraudulent devices.

a boy

1691-2. a boy to the age of twenty-four, a girl to the age of twenty-one, and to raiſe money for a ſtock of hemp, flax, &c. to employ ſuch as had no means to maintain themſelves, and for the relief of the lame, old, and blind, that could not work. This act was continued by the 3d and 16th of Car. I. and by the ſtatute of the 13th and 14th of Car. II. Any poor man coming to ſettle in a tenement under ten pounds a year, may be removed to the place of his laſt ſettlement within forty days. Now by this act of the 3d and 4th of Will. and Mar. the forty days continuance in a pariſh, intended by the 13th and 14th of Car. II, to make a ſettlement, ſhall be accounted from the publication of a notice in writing, which the poor perſon ſhall deliver, of the houſe of his abode, and the number of his family, to the church-warden or overſeer of the poor; which notice is to be read publicly in the church the next Sunday, and regiſtered in a book, under the forfeiture of forty ſhillings to the poor of the pariſh.

2. An act for the encouragement of the breeding and feeding of cattle. By this act from the 1ſt of March 1691, any perſon may export into any part of the world, all ſorts of beef, pork, butter, cheeſe, and candles, free from any impoſition whatſoever.

3. An act for the better aſcertaining the tythes of hemp and flax. As the ſowing of theſe is very beneficial to England, by reaſon of the multitude of people employed in manufacturing them, and as the manner of tything them is exceeding difficult, creating many chargeable and vexatious ſuits; by this act every acre ſown with hemp or flax, is to pay a ſum not exceeding four ſhillings, before the ſame be carried off the ground.

Honours and preferments.

As to the honours and preferments during the laſt year, John George, elector of Saxony, and Charles earl of Dorſet and Middleſex, were made knights of the garter. The earl of Pembroke was made privy-ſeal, and his place of commiſſioner of the admiralty given to lord Cornwallis. The lord viſcount Sidney, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, was made lord lieutenant of Ireland, Sir John Somers was made attorney-general in the room of Sir George Treby, advanced to the place of chief juſtice of the common-pleas. Sir Rowland Gwin was removed from the place of treaſurer of their majeſties chamber, for words reflecting on the lord viſcount

count Sidney (g). The biſhopric of Lincoln being vacant by the death of Dr. Barlow, was given to Dr. Thomas Tenniſon, 1691-2.

(g) We have a very particular account of this affair in the following letters of Mr. Warre, &c. to Sir William Dutton Colt, envoy extraordinary at Hanover.

From Mr. Warre.

Whitehall, April 1, 1692.

"Sir Rowland Gwin acquainted the queen, that my lord Sidney ſold all the places in Ireland. The queen was ſurpriſed at it, and having taken ſome notice of it to his lordſhip, he earneſtly prayed it might be examined; and Sir Rowland was ordered to attend the council yeſterday, that he might produce his proofs. But I do not hear of any he gave, either then or this morning at the cabinet council; ſo that he is now commanded to attend the council on Thurſday next, and it is not believed he will be able to give any tolerable reaſon for this accuſation; at leaſt hitherto he has not pretended to any more than ſome general reports, no better than coffee-houſe talk; and ſome ſuch excuſe perhaps he may make on Thurſday next."

From another letter of the ſame date.

"I told you in my laſt, that Sir Rowland Gwin had made himſelf an affair with my lord Sidney, of which I can give a fuller account. About ten or twelve days ago Sir Rowland went to the queen, and pretending a mighty zeal for her ſervice, took upon him to inform her of a great abuſe and corruption in diſpoſing of employments and offices in Ireland, for that they were all ſold to thoſe that bid moſt. The queen aſked him, whether he had acquainted my lord lieutenant with what he told her, that he might enquire into the abuſe, and give a ſtop to it: he anſwered, that his lordſhip was the unfitteſt man in the world to apply to in this matter, for that it was done by his order, and that he received the money. The queen was pleaſed to tell this to my lord Sidney, who reſenting it, as he had reaſon, ſent for Sir Rowland on Wedneſday was ſe'nnight to his houſe, who not imagining the occaſion of it, came to him. Our friend Mr. P. [Pulteney] was ordered by his lordſhip, to be preſent. When Sir Rowland came, my lord let him know what the queen had told him, and deſired to know, what grounds he had for the complaints he had made. Sir Rowland was ſurpriſed and quite out of countenance; he ſaid, he had no ill intention againſt his lordſhip, but only told it the queen as a report he had heard; and that his lordſhip might have an opportunity to juſtify himſelf. My lord told him, that if this had been his aim, he would have come to himſelf firſt, and acquainted him with the ſcandal that was thrown upon him.

"In

1691-2. niſon, who was recommended to the king for his exemplary piety, and moderation towards the diſſenters, whom the king

"In ſhort, my lord told him, "that he would have the matter "examined before the council, "and that he ſhould produce his "authors. Accordingly my lord "Nottingham wrote him a let-"ter, to let him know, that it "was the queen's pleaſure, that "he ſhould attend the council "yeſterday to make good his "charge againſt my lord Sidney; "which method was obſerved by "reaſon of his being a member "of parliament; for otherwiſe "it is probable a meſſenger "would have fetched him. Yeſ-"terday, when the council were "met, we were all big with ex-"pectation to ſee what he had "to ſay for himſelf; but we "were diſappointed, for the bu-"ſineſs was not called for. The "reaſon I cannot yet certainly "learn; all I know is, that Sir "Rowland came to the council-"door, and deſired to ſpeak "with my lord Nottingham, "who came to him, and then "Sir Rowland went away. We "imagine it was to deſire far-"ther time, or to make ſome "other excuſe. Whatever it "was, he gained that council-"day by it; but there is ſince a "ſecond and poſitive order ſent "him to attend her majeſty in "council on Thurſday next. "You may believe my lord Sid-"ney is reſolved to puſh the "thing, and not to let it fall till "he has public reparation."

From Mr. Warre.

Whitehall, April 8, 1692.

"Yeſterday, the queen being "preſent in council, Sir Row-"land Gwin was called in, who "as he had done before at the "cabinet-council, owned he had "told the queen, that it was re-"ported that places were ſold in "Ireland, but denied to have "ſaid, that my lord Sidney took "the money for them, as the "queen herſelf was pleaſed to "declare he had. My lord Sid-"ney gave the board an account "likewiſe, that Sir Rowland "had not at firſt diſowned the "thing to him, but ſaid he had "no ill intention againſt his "lordſhip, telling it as a report "of the town, and that he "would recollect himſelf, and "endeavour to produce thoſe he "heard it from. Mr. Pulteney, "who was then preſent, decla-"red the ſame thing; and Mr. "Murray did likewiſe teſtify, "that Sir Rowland had owned "to them, that he had told the "queen of the ſelling of places "in Ireland. After which Sir "Rowland was aſked, if he had "any thing farther to ſay; and "his anſwer was, Not before "your lordſhips, and ſo went "away. And after ſome debate "of the matter it was reſolved, "that it ſhould be entered upon "the council-book, and publiſh-"ed likewiſe in the next Ga-"zette, that the report Sir Row-"land Gwin had carried to the "queen about ſelling places in "Ireland, &c. was groundleſs "and ſcandalous; and that her "majeſty is fully ſatisfied of the "falſeneſs of it."

Still

ſtill endeavoured by all gentle methods, to bring over to the church (h). 1691-2.

Some changes were likewiſe made in Scotland, where affairs were put into another method. Lord Tweedale was made lord chancellor of that kingdom, lord Melvill appointed lord privy-ſeal, and moſt of his creatures were laid aſide. But ſeveral of thoſe who had been in Montgomery's plot, were brought into the council and miniſtry. Mr. Johnſton, who had been envoy extraordinary to the elector of Brandenburgh, was called home in February, and made joint-ſecretary of ſtate for that kingdom with the lord Stair. It began ſoon to appear there, how ill the king was adviſed, when he brought in ſome of the plotters into the chief poſts Affairs of Scotland. Burnet.

(h) The reſt of the honours and preferments were as follow:

William Harbord, eſq; was appointed embaſſador extraordinary to the Ottoman port. He embarked the 10th of November 1691, for Holland, to proceed by the way of Vienna to Conſtantinople. The king had received a congratulary letter from the Grand Seignior, deſiring his mediation for a peace with the emperor. About the middle of February, Sir William Phipps, knt. was appointed governor of the province of Maſſachuſets bay, and commander in chief of all the militia of New-England, and Sir Edmund Andros, knt. governor of Virginia, Benjamin Fletcher, eſq; governor of New-York, and Samuel Allen, eſq; governor of New-Hampſhire in New-England; the earl of Bedford was made lord lieutenant of the county of Middleſex; and Sir John Lowther, vice-chamberlain of his majeſty's houſhold, and Thomas Pelham, eſq; having reſigned their places, as commiſſioners of the treaſury, the ſame were diſpoſed of, the one to Sir Edward Seymour, and the other to Charles Montague, eſq; who had lately diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage, and ſignalized his zeal for the government, in the houſe of commons. Two days after the king conferred the honour of knighthood upon Godfrey Kneller, eſq; principal painter in ordinary to their majeſties. On the 17th of March, Anthony lord viſcount Falkland and Robert lord Lexington were ſworn of the privy-council; and on the 19th, Thomas Coningſby, eſq; one of the lords juſtices of Ireland, was created a baron of that kingdom by the title of baron Coningſby of Clanbrazile in the county of Armagh; and about a month after Sir Henry Capel was made baron Capel of Tewkſbury, in the county of Gloceſter. On the 24th of March, Vere earl of Weſtmoreland, took the uſual oaths as joint lord lieutenant of the county of Kent, with Henry lord viſcount Sidney; and Charles lord Lanſdown was ſworn likewiſe joint lord lieutenant of the county of Devon and Cornwall, with John earl of Bath; and in May, Thomas Trevor, eſq; was made ſolicitor-general.

of

1691-2. of that government. As this diſguſted the preſbyterians, ſo it was very viſible, that theſe pretended converts came into his ſervice, only to have it in their power to deliver up that kingdom to king James. They ſcarce diſguiſed their deſigns; ſo that the truſting ſuch men was aſtoniſhing to every body. The preſbyterians had very much offended the king; and their fury was inſtrumental in raiſing great jealouſies of him in England. He well foreſaw the ill effects, which this was like to have, and therefore recommended to the general aſſembly to receive the epiſcopal clergy, and to concur with them in the government of the church upon their deſiring to be admitted; and in caſe the aſſembly could not be brought to conſent to this, he ordered it to be diſſolved, without naming any other time or place of meeting. It was not very probable, that there could be any agreement, where both parties were ſo much inflamed one againſt another; and thoſe, who had the greateſt credit with both, ſtudied rather to exaſperate than to ſoften them. The epiſcopal party carried it high; they gave out, that the king was now theirs; and that they were willing to come to a concurrence with preſbytery, on deſign to bring all about to epiſcopacy in a little time. The preſbyterians, who at all times, were ſtiff and peeviſh, were more than ordinarily ſo at this time; they were jealous of the king; their friends were now diſgraced, and their bittereſt enemies were coming into favour. They continued therefore obſtinate, and would abate in no point of their government; upon which the aſſembly was diſſolved. But they pretended, that by law they had a right to an annual meeting, from which nothing could cut them off; alledging, according to a diſtinction much uſed amongſt them, that the king's power of calling ſynods and aſſemblies was cumulative and not privative; that is, he might call them, if he would, and appoint time and place; but that if he did not call them, they might meet by an inherent right, which the church had, and which was confirmed by law. Therefore they adjourned themſelves. This was repreſented to the king as a high ſtrain of inſolence, that invaded the rights of the crown, of which he was become very ſenſible; and moſt of thoſe, who came now into his ſervice, made it their buſineſs to incenſe him againſt the preſbyterians, in which he was ſo far engaged, that it alienated that party much for him.

The affair of Glencoe. About this time likewiſe, a very barbarous maſſacre was committed at Glencoe, which occaſioned great reflections on the king, though it was done without his knowledge, as

will

will plainly appear, when in the courſe of the hiſtory, an account is given of the proceedings of the Scots parliament when this affair was taken into conſideration. 1691-2.

But the moſt remarkable incident which happened in England during this ſeſſion, was the diſgrace of the earl of Marlborough, which had very ill effects. The earl of Nottingham came to him ſome day in January, with a meſſage from the king, telling him, that he had no more uſe for his ſervice, and therefore demanded all his commiſſions (i). What drew ſo ſudden and ſo hard a meſſage, was not known: for he had been with the king that morning, and had parted with him in the ordinary manner. It ſeemed ſome letter was intercepted, which gave ſuſpicion. It is certain, that the earl thought he was too little conſidered, and had upon many occaſions cenſured the king's conduct, and reflected upon the Dutch (i). But the original cauſe of his diſgrace, is Diſgrace of the earl of Marlborough. Burnet. II. 90.

(i) His poſt of lieutenant-general of the infantry was given to major-general Talmaſh, that of colonel of the third troop of guards to the lord Colcheſter, that of colonel of a regiment of fuzileers to the lord George Hamilton, afterwards earl of Orkney, and that of gentleman of his majeſty's bed-chamber to the lord Lanſdown. MS. letter of Mr. Pulteney to Sir William Dutton Colt, from Whitehall, January 22, 1691-2.

(k) It was ſaid that all the reſentment was for the liberty he had taken to tell the king, "That though himſelf had no "reaſon to complain, yet many "of his good ſubjects were ſorry to ſee his royal munificence "confined to one or two foreign "lords." The earls of Portland and Rochford both Dutchmen, are ſuppoſed to be meant. Whereupon the king is ſaid to turn his back without making any anſwer, and ſoon after diſmiſſed him from all his employments; nor was he employed again, or called to council, till after the peace of Ryſwick. Life of the D. of Marl. I. 71.

Monſieur Bernard (in his hiſtorical letters for Feb. 1692. p. 209.) ſays, "It is very difficult "to penetrate into the true reaſon of the earl of Marlborough's diſgrace, and you cannot imagine how many different conjectures there are "upon this head. You know, "that the earl was the favourite "of king James, who from a "very moderate fortune raiſed "him to a condition capable "of ſatisfying the moſt ambitious perſon. He was one of "the firſt that went over to the "preſent king, which gained him "the eſteem of all the Engliſh, "who loved the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of their "nation. His firſt engagements "have made ſome perſons ſuſpect, that he might have renewed ſome correſpondence "with his old maſter. But it is "thought by others, that if this "were the caſe, it would have "coſt

1691-2. is ſuppoſed by biſhop Burnet, to ariſe from another conſideration, namely, the motion made in parliament for a ſettlement on the princeſs of Denmark, independent of the king, which as has been obſerved, was imputed to the counteſs of Marlborough, as moſt in favour with the princeſs.

A breach between the queen and the princeſs.

Upon the earl's diſgrace, his counteſs was forbid the court, and the princeſs was deſired to diſmiſs her from her family (1). But to this ſhe would not ſubmit. She thought ſhe ought to be allowed to keep what perſons ſhe pleaſed about herſelf. And when the queen inſiſted on the thing, ſhe retired

" coſt him more than the loſs of " his employments. Others are " of opinion, that he has had a " diſpute with ſome lords of the " court, who are in an higher " favour than himſelf; and that " the king ſeeing him in the " wrong, and being apprehen- " ſive, that the conſequences of " ſuch diſputes might be very " inconvenient, has thought pro- " per to remove him. Some are " perſuaded, that his lady has " been in the fault by talking a " little too much. Others ſup- " poſe, that he has ſhewn ſome " diſcontent, becauſe he had not " the command of the Engliſh " troops conferred on him, and " intimated, that he thought " himſelf not ſufficiently con- " fided in. Others trace the " matter higher, and alledge, " that after the taking of Cork " and Kingſale, where the earl " commanded the army, he ex- " pected to be made a duke, " and maſter of the ordnance, " which not being granted him, " he has ever ſince ſhewn great " diſſatisfaction."

It is alſo ſaid, that the king having formed a deſign upon Dunkirk, and communicated it to the earl of Marlborough and two others, found he was betrayed. Upon which, ſending for each of the three perſons ſeparately, he taxed them with breach of truſt. Two denied it, and took their oaths of it, the king himſelf ſwearing them; but the earl of Marlborough refuſing to ſwear, owned at laſt, that he had told it to his wife, who is ſuppoſed to have acquainted her ſiſter the lady Tryconnel with the ſecret, by whom it was revealed to the king's enemies. The two others intruſted with the ſecret are ſaid to be the marquis of Carmarthen and the earl of Shrewſbury.

(1) This event (ſays the dutcheſs of Marlborough, in the account of her conduct, p. 41) might perhaps be well enough accounted for by ſaying that lord Portland had ever a great prejudice to my lord Marlborough, and that my lady Orkney (then Mrs Villiers) though I had never done her any injury, except not making court to her, was my implacable enemy. But I think, it is not doubted, that the principal cauſe of the king's meſſage, was the court's diſlike that any body ſhould have ſo much intereſt with the princeſs as I had; who would not implicitly obey every command of the king and queen.

refused from the court. There were no doubt illo offices done on all hands, as there were ſome that preſſed the princeſs to ſubmit 1691-2.

queen. The diſgrace of my lord Marlborough, therefore, was deſigned as a ſtep towards removing me from about her. The following letter from the queen to her ſiſter, affords ground for this opinion.

Kenſington, Friday, the 5th of Feb.

"Having ſomething to ſay to "you, which I know will not "be very pleaſing, I chuſe rather to write it firſt, being unwilling to ſurpriſe you; tho', I "think, what I am going to tell "you, ſhould not, if you give "yourſelf the time to think, "that never any body was ſuffered to live at court in my "lord Marlborough's circumſtances. I need not repeat "the cauſe he has given the "king to do what he has done, "nor his unwillingneſs at all "times to come to ſuch extremities, though people do deſerve it.

"I hope, you do me the juſtice to believe, it is as much "againſt my will, that I now tell you, that, after this, it is "very unfit lady Marlborough "ſhould ſtay with you, ſince "that gives her huſband ſo juſt "a pretence of being where he "ought not.

"I think, I might have expected you ſhould have ſpoke "to me of it. And the king "and I, both believing it, made "us ſtay thus long. But ſeeing "you was ſo far from it, that "you brought lady Marlborough "hither laſt night, makes us reſolve to put it off no longer, "but tell you, ſhe muſt not "ſtay; and that I have all the "reaſon imaginable to look upon your bringing her, as the "ſtrangeſt thing that ever was "done. Nor could all my kindneſs for you (which is ever "ready to turn all you do the "beſt way, at any other time) "have hindered me ſhewing "you that moment, but I conſidered your condition, and "that made me maſter myſelf ſo "far, as not to take notice of "it then.

"But now I muſt tell you, it "was very unkind in a ſiſter, "would have been very uncivil "in an equal, and I need not "ſay I have more to claim. "Which, though my kindneſs "would make me never exact, "yet when I ſee the uſe you "would make of it, I muſt tell "you, I know what is due to "me, and expect to have it "from you. 'Tis upon that account, I tell you plainly, lady "Marlborough muſt not continue with you in the circumſtances her lord is.

"I know this will be uneaſy "to you, and am ſorry for it: "and it is very much ſo to me to "ſay all this to you, for I have "all the real kindneſs imaginable for you, and as I ever have, "ſo will always do my part to "live with you as ſiſters ought. "That is, not only like ſo near "relations, but like friends. "And, as ſuch, I did not think "to write to you. For I would "have made myſelf believe your "kindneſs for her made you at firſt "forget that you ſhould have for

1691. mit to the queen, as well as others who preſſed the queen to paſs it over, but without effect. Both had engaged themſelves

" the king and me; and reſolved
" to put you in mind of it my-
" ſelf, neither of us being
" willing to come to harſher
" ways.

" But the ſight of lady Marl-
" borough, having changed my
" thoughts, does naturally alter
" my ſtile. And ſince by that I
" ſee how little you ſeem to con-
" ſider what even in common
" civility, you owe us, I have
" told it you plainly; but withal
" aſſure you, that let me have
" never ſo much reaſon to take
" any thing ill of you, my kind-
" neſs is ſo great, that I can paſs
" over moſt things, and live with
" you, as becomes me. And I
" deſire to do ſo meerly from
" that motive. For I do love
" you, as my ſiſter, and nothing
" but yourſelf can make me do
" otherwiſe. And that is the
" reaſon I chuſe to write this,
" rather than tell it you, that
" you may overcome your firſt
" thoughts; and when you have
" well conſidered, you will find,
" that though the thing be hard
" (which I again aſſure you, I
" am ſorry for) yet it is not un-
" reaſonable, but what has ever
" been practiſed, and what you
" yourſelf would do, were you
" in my place.

" I will end this with once
" more deſiring you to conſider
" the matter impartially, and
" take time for it. I do not de-
" ſire an anſwer preſently, be-
" cauſe I would not have you
" give a raſh one. I ſhall come
" to your drawing-room to-mor-
" row before you play, becauſe
" you know why I cannot make
" one: at ſome other time we
" ſhall reaſon the buſineſs calm-
" ly; which I will willingly do, or
" any thing elſe that may ſhew,
" it ſhall never be my fault if
" we do not live kindly toge-
" ther: nor will I ever be other
" by choice, but your truly lov-
" ing and affectionate ſiſter,

M. R.

To this letter the princeſs ſent the following anſwer:

' Your majeſty was in the
' right to think your letter would
' be very ſurpriſing to me. For
' you muſt needs be ſenſible
' enough of the kindneſs I have
' for my lady Marlborough, to
' know, that a command from
' you to part with her muſt be
' the greateſt mortification in the
' world to me; and indeed of
' ſuch a nature, as I might well
' have hoped your kindneſs to
' me would have always prevent-
' ed. I am ſatisfied ſhe cannot
' have been guilty of any fault
' to you. And it would be ex-
' tremely to her advantage, if I
' could here repeat every word
' that ever ſhe had ſaid to me of
' you in her whole life. I con-
' feſs, it is no ſmall addition to
' my trouble to find the want of
' your majeſty's kindneſs to me
' upon this occaſion; ſince I am
' ſure I have always endeavoured
' to deſerve it by all the actions
' of my life.

' Your care of my preſent con-
' dition is extremely obliging.
' And if you would be pleaſed to
' add to it ſo far, as upon my
' account to re-call your ſevere
' command (as I muſt beg leave

' to

ſelves, before they had well reflected on the conſequences of ſuch a breach, which continued to the end of the queen's life, and was by her carried ſo far, that beſides other leſſer matters, ſhe ordered that no public honours ſhould be ſhowed the princeſs. The enemies of the government tried what could be made of this, to create diſtractions, but the princeſs gave no encouragement to them. So this miſunderſtanding had no other effect, but to give her enemies much ill-natured joy, and a ſecret ſpiteful diverſion. 1691-2.

The king having ſettled affairs at home, embarked for Holland the 5th of March, and arriving the next morning in the Maeſe, landed at Orange Polder, went the ſame day to the Hague, and not long after to Loo. The king goes to Holland. March 5.

The king had ſcarce reached Holland before the jacobites began to be elevated with the hopes of their maſter's reſtoration. One Lunt, who was employed to bring over and diſperſe king James's commiſſions, having had the good fortune to be diſcharged from impriſonment, was again entertained in 1691 by the Lancaſhire papiſts to inliſt men, and buy arms, that if the king ſhould be taken off in Flanders, (for which a project was laid, as will hereafter be ſeen) they might be ready for an inſurrection in England, as ſoon as The jacobite plot for the reſtoration of king James. Boyer. Kennet.

'to call it in a matter ſo tender 'to me, and ſo little reaſonable, 'as I think, to be impoſed upon 'me, that you would ſcarce require it from the meaneſt of 'your ſubjects) I ſhould ever 'acknowledge it as a very a'greeable mark of your kind'neſs to me. And I muſt as 'freely own, that as I think 'this proceeding can be for no 'other intent than to give me a 'very ſenſible mortification, ſo 'there is no miſery that I can'not readily reſolve to ſuffer ra'ther than the thoughts of part'ing with her. If, after all this 'that I have ſaid, I muſt ſtill 'find myſelf ſo unhappy as to 'be farther preſſed in this mat'ter, yet your majeſty may be 'aſſured that, as my paſt actions 'have given the greateſt teſtimo'ny of my reſpect both for the 'king and you, ſo it ſhall al'ways be my endeavour, where'ever I am, to preſerve it care'fully for the time to come, as 'becomes

'Your majeſty's

'very affectionate ſiſter

From the Cockpit, Feb. 6th, 1692. 'and ſervant,

'ANNE.'

To this the princeſs received no anſwer, but a meſſage by the lord chamberlain to forbid the counteſs of Marlborough's continuing any longer at the Cockpit. Upon this the princeſs left the Cockpit, and removed to Sion-houſe, which ſhe borrowed of the duke of Somerſet.

1691 2. the blow was given. These preparations having ſpent the ſummer of the year 1691, and the campaigns in Flanders being ended, without any news, either of the aſſaſſination or invaſion, Lunt was ſent in November into France to acquaint the abdicated king, that they were in a condition to receive him, and therefore deſired him to inform them, when his affairs would permit him to make a deſcent into this kingdom. Lunt returned in December following with advice, that king James would be in England the next ſpring; and that in the mean time colonel Parker, and others, ſhould be ſent over with full inſtructions how to put themſelves into a poſture fit for his majeſty's reception; for now the deſcent from la Hogue was reſolved upon.

Parker and Johnſon the prieſt, who in conjunction with ſome few others, had projected the intended murder of the king, and with many the invaſion, landed in England about the latter end of January 1691-2. And thinking the aſſaſſination to be the only means to make the invaſion practicable, and the conqueſt of England eaſy, they communicated this deſign to as many as they could truſt, in hopes, (as Mr. Goodman depoſed before the ſecretary of ſtate) to have done it before the king went to Holland. But they were ſo long in contriving how, by whom, when, and where it was to be done, that the time elapſed before their conſultations came to maturity. However, Parker aſſured them that the aſſaſſination plot would be reaſſumed in Flanders by the ſame perſons, who had undertaken it laſt campaign; which encouraged the jacobites to make preparations for what was to follow, namely the invaſion.

A deſcent in England prepared by king James.

The ſcheme of this deſcent was laid in France, and Parker and others were ſent over to communicate it to the jacobite party here. This Parker did (according to the depoſitions of captain Blaire before the privy-council) by calling their general officers and confederates together, and acquainting them, 'That their old maſter had now obtained of 'the moſt chriſtian king thirty thouſand effective men; 'and that, when the ſpring was a little more advanced, 'king James, who was already marching into Normandy, 'would be wafted over with them into England; with aſſu'rance, that if that number was not great enough to re'duce his rebellious ſubjects, France would ſpare him thirty 'thouſand more.' Therefore he deſired all to be in readineſs with the utmoſt ſpeed and ſecrecy imaginable; and addreſſing himſelf particularly to captain Blaire (at the inſtance of Johnſon the prieſt) told him, 'That he was going to

'command

'command in Lancaſhire, but intended to move ſouthward 1692.
'at his majeſty's landing; and therefore deſired the captain
'to join him, in regard his own men were raw, and the
'captain's, for the moſt part, were all old officers and ſol-
'diers.'

In this interval king James's queen being big with child, and drawing near her time, he ſent a letter to ſeveral lords and others of his late privy-council, requiring ſuch of them as could poſſibly come, to attend him at St. Germains, to be witneſſes of his queen's labour. The letter was alſo directed to ſeveral ladies, as well as to the wives of ſome commoners, but the invitation was not accepted by any of them (m). *King James's letter to his late privy-council.* April 2. St. Tr. II, 234.

Not

(m) The letter was directed not only to privy-councellors but to the dutcheſſes of Somerſet and Beauford, the marchioneſs of Halifax, the counteſſes of Derby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Brooks, Nottingham, Lumley, and Danby; the ladies Fitz-harding, and Fretchville, and to the wives of Sir John Trevor, ſpeaker, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, Sir Thomas Stamp, mayor; Sir William Aſhurſt and Sir Richard Levett, the two ſheriffs, and laſtly to doctor Chamberlain, the famous man-midwife. The letter was as follows:

JAMES R.

'Right truſty and well beloved couſin and counſellor, we 'greet you well. Whereas our 'royal predeceſſors uſed to call 'ſuch of their privy-council, as 'could conveniently be had, to 'be preſent at the labour of 'their queens, and witneſſes of 'the births of their children; 'and that we have followed their 'example at the birth of our 'deareſt ſon James prince of 'Wales; however that precaution was not enough to hinder 'us from the malicious aſperſions 'of ſuch as were reſolved to de'prive us of our royal right; 'that we may not be wanting to 'ourſelf, now it hath pleaſed Al'mighty God, the ſupporter of 'truth, to give us hopes of fur'ther iſſue, our dear conſort the 'queen being big, and drawing 'near her time; we have thought 'fit to require ſuch of our pri'vy-council, as can come, to 'attend us here at St. Germains, 'to be witneſſes to our ſaid con'ſort the queen's labour: we do 'therefore hereby ſignify this 'our royal pleaſure to you, that 'you may uſe all poſſible means 'to come with what convenient 'haſte you can, the queen look'ing about the middle of May 'next. And that you may have 'no ſcruple on our ſide, our 'dear brother the moſt chriſtian 'king has given his royal word 'and promiſe to you, as we 'hereby do, that you ſhall have 'leave to come, and, the queen's 'labour being over, to return 'with all ſafety. The iniquity

1692. Not long after king James ſent over his declaration, dated at St. Germains, April 20, 1692, to this effect, 'That 'whereas the king of France, according to his promiſe had 'put him in a way of endeavouring his reſtoration, and to 'that end had lent him as many troops, as were abundantly 'ſufficient to untie the hands of his ſubjects, and to make 'it ſafe for them to return to their duty, and repair to his ſtandard

King James's declaration. April 20. St. Tri. II. 253.

'of the times, the tyranny of 'ſtrangers, and miſled party of 'our own ſubjects, brought us 'under the neceſſity of uſing 'this unuſual way; yet we hope 'it will convince the world of 'the truth and candour of our 'proceedings, to the confutati-'on of our enemies. We, not 'doubting of your compliance 'herewith, bid you heartily fare-'wel. Given at our court at the 'caſtle of St. Germains, the 2d of 'April, N. S. 1692, and in the 'eighth year of our reign.'

This letter was animadverted upon in a pamphlet printed the ſame year, and intitled, 'The 'late king James's letter to his 'privy-counſellors; with juſt re-'flections upon it, and upon the 'pretended prince of Wales; 'and a ſhort account of the 'judgment of the parliament '1 Edward IV. in confutation 'of the author of The caſe of 'allegiance to a king in poſſeſ-'ſion; with the reaſons why the 'ſham birth hath not been pub-'lickly expoſed.' The author of this piece obſerves, 'That the 'birth of the pretended prince of 'Wales would have been leſs ſuſ-'pected, if all the witneſſes, who 'ſwore materially, were not to be 'thought parties; if the biſhops 'had not been ſent to the tower, 'as it were on purpoſe to re-'move the neceſſity of ſending 'for the then archbiſhop of Can-'terbury, who had not at that 'time reſigned himſelf up to 'the French intereſt; if there 'had been credible proof of the 'queen's having been with child, 'before ſhe was brought to bed; 'and ſhe had not paſſed the years 'at which it was uſual for Italian 'women to bear children.'

He takes notice afterwards, 'That ſome men whoſe crimes 'in former reigns, and profeſſed 'enmity to the liberties of Eng-'land, had engaged them in a 'party, which oppoſed the ac-'ceſſion of their majeſties to 'the imperial throne of this 'realm, after they had invited 'his majeſty's arms, and impor-'tuned him to take upon him 'the adminiſtration, raiſed a 'great clamour upon the ſilence 'of parliaments in relation of 'of the putative prince of Wales, 'as if it were a tacit admiſſion, 'that he was real. But certain-'ly in this the parliaments choſe 'to ſhew, that the government 'is ſettled upon ſuch a bottom, 'as makes it not the leaſt ma-'terial, whether prince or no 'prince; well knowing, that 'the convention, which after-'wards became a parliament, 'upon acting under a legal head, '(as did the parliament which 'afterwards turned into a 'convention by the depoſal of 'Richard

'[illegible]ard; and yet purposely declined sending over such un- 1692.
'[illegible]ous forces, as might raise any jealousies in the minds
'of [illegible] of his good subjects, as if he intended to take the
'wor[illegible]t of their hands, and deprive them of so glorious
'an action, as the restoration of their lawful king (all which
'troops he promised to send away, as soon as he was put
'into peaceable possession). Though the thing spoke for it-
'self and he did not think himself obliged to say any more
'upon the occasion, than that he came to assert his own just
'rights, and to deliver his people from the oppressions they
'lay under; yet considering how strangely they were delud-
'ed by the prince of Orange's declaration, and to prevent
'as much as in him lay the same for the future, he was wil-
'ing to look back and take the matter from the beginning.
'And it could not be forgoten, that as soon as he had no-
'tice of the prince's intentions to invade him, he put him-
'self both by sea and land into the best posture of defence he
'was able, and seemed to have done the same so effectually,
'that though the French king offered him considerable suc-
'cours, he refused them, and threw himself wholly upon
'the fidelity of the English army; and at the same time ap-

'Richard II, acted with Henry 'IV,) exercised a power, which 'was vested in them by the con- 'stitution of this monarchy, 'and followed the wise exam- 'ples of Henry VIII and queen 'Elizabeth of glorious memory, 'Henry VIII, though he had 'basterdized both his daughters, 'Mary and Elizabeth, yet set- 'tled the crown upon them both 'successively, in remainder af- 'ter his son Edward, without 'taking off the illegitimation of 'either daughter: whereby he 'certainly placed the right of 'their successions upon a surer 'foundation, from the king and 'states to dispose of the crown, 'than if he had declared either 'of the sisters to be legitimate. 'Nor indeed would he have 'done this without shewing at 'the same time that one was il- 'legitimate, the question being, 'whether the mother of Mary, or 'the mother of Elizabeth was the 'true and lawful wife. And tho' 'queen Elizabeth had full op- 'portunity and power to cause 'the act, which bastardized her 'to be repealed, especially af- 'ter the protestant religion was 'thoroughly settled, and that 'party crushed, who held the 'pope's authority to make good 'the marriage of Henry VIII 'with his brother's wife carnally 'known by him; yet she wisely 'contented herself with a title 'derived from that constitution 'of the monarchy, by virtue of 'which the crown had been set- 'tled, rather than to fetch 'one from heaven by a divine 'right of birth.' State tracts II. p. 234.

1692. ‘plied himſelf to give reaſonable ſatisfaction to the minds ‘of his good ſubjects, and undeceive them in reſpect of the ‘danger of the intended invaſion. But they perceived it ‘not 'till it was too late, and the defection grown ſo gene- ‘ral, that he was at length neceſſitated to retire into France, ‘in order to avoid the preſent danger, which threatned him, ‘and to preſerve himſelf for better times, and a more happy ‘opportunity, which was then put into his hands. Upon ‘what foundation of juſtice or common ſenſe, the prince's ‘faction in England were pleaſed to treat his eſcape out of ‘the hands of his enemies in the ſtile of an Abdication, ‘which was never before uſed to ſignify any thing but a vo- ‘luntary reſignation; but upon which they built ſuch a ſu- ‘perſtructure, as to make an ancient hereditary monarchy ‘become elective. He then proceeds to ſhew the miſeries ‘and inconveniencies, which he ſuppoſes had already, and ‘would ſtill attend ſuch unwarrantable proceedings; inſiſts up- ‘on the indiſputable title of his only ſon, hoping his queen ‘was then with child of another; ſets forth the calamitous ‘condition of Europe, by reaſon of that war, an end of ‘which there could be no reaſonable proſpect of 'till his reſ- ‘toration; prohibits his ſubjects to pay any taxes to ſupport ‘the preſent uſurpation; and to gain them all over to his ‘ſervice, he declares he would pardon all of them who ‘ſhould return to their duty (except the perſons hereafter ‘named) provided all magiſtrates, upon notice of his land- ‘ing, made ſome public manifeſtation of their allegiance to ‘him, and ſubmiſſion to his authority. And he further de- ‘clared, that if any of the ſoldiery, who were in the prince's ‘ſervice, ſhould come in to him, they ſhould be pardoned, ‘and have their pay and arrears. He likewiſe promiſed to ‘maintain the church of England, and earneſtly recom- ‘mended to his parliament the ſettling of liberty of conſci- ‘ence; and, in a word, to do every thing that might tend ‘to the honour and welfare of the nation (n).

When

(n) The exceptions were, the duke of Ormond, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earls of Sunderland, Bath, Danby, and Nottingham, and the lords Newport, Delamere, Wiltſhire, Colcheſter, Cornbury, Dunblain, and Churchill; the biſhops of London and St. Aſaph; Sir Robert Howard, Sir John Worden, Sir Samuel Grimſtone, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir George Treby, Sir Bazil Dixwell, Sir James Oxendon, Dr. John Tillotſon dean of Canterbury Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Francis Ruſſel, Richard Leviſon, and John Trenchard, eſquires; Charles Duncomb

When Parker went into Lancaſhire he took with him ſeveral good officers, ſome of whom ſtayed with him in that county, and others he diſpoſed of in Yorkſhire and the biſhoprick of Durham. His head-quarters were at Mr. Walmſley's at Dungan-Hall, from whence he iſſued out his orders. And 1692.

Duncomb citizen of London,— Edwards, —— Stapleton, —— Hunt, fiſhermen, and all others, who had offered 'perſonal indignities to him at Feverſham, or 'had a hand in the barbarous 'murther of Mr. John Aſhton, 'and of Mr. Croſs, or of any 'others who had been illegally 'condemned and executed for 'their loyalty; and all ſpies, 'and ſuch as had betrayed his 'counſels during his late ab-'ſence from England.' This declaration was anſwered by Dr. W. Lloyd, biſhop of St. Aſaph, in a pamphlet printed in 1692, under the title of 'A ſecond 'letter to a friend concerning a 'French invaſion, in which the 'declaration lately diſperſed un-'der the title of his majeſty's 'moſt gracious declaration to all 'his loving ſubjects, command-'ing their aſſiſtance againſt the 'prince of Orange and his ad-'herents, is intirely and exactly 'publiſhed, according to the diſ-'perſed copies; with ſome ſhort 'obſervations upon it.' He obſerves, 'That there is nothing 'in the declaration, which a rea-'ſonable man, who remembered 'king James's reign, eſpecially 'the concluſion of it, would 'have expected in it. If the 'deſign, ſays he, of ſuch a de-'claration be to give ſatisfac-'to the minds of the ſubj-'it ought at leaſt to have 'tained as good words and 'promiſes, as a prince could 'give. He knew very well 'what it was, that had alienated 'his ſubjects from him; that 'they apprehended their laws, 'their religion, and their liber-'ties, to be in great dan-'ger; and could not but know, 'that he had given them too juſt 'occaſion for ſuch jealouſies and 'fears. And it is wonderful, 'that he ſhould think of pub-'liſhing a declaration, and not 'think fit to give the leaſt ſatiſ-'faction about theſe matters; 'not to ſay one word about po-'pery and arbitrary power, nor 'to give any expreſs promiſes, 'that he would remove theſe 'fears. The only thing he ap-'peals to is the juſtice of his 'cauſe; and does not think 'himſelf obliged to ſay any 'thing more upon this occaſion, 'than that he comes to aſſert his 'own juſt rights, &c. But this 'was not the controverſy be-'tween him and his people; 'they did not diſpute then his 'right to the crown (though 'they have ſome reaſon to do it 'now) and yet were willing to 'part with him, when he 'thought fit to leave them; 'and if he knew what made 'them ſo, and hoped to return 'again by their aſſiſtance, and 'their good liking, any 'but thoſe of his own coun-'would have thought him o-'bliged to ſay ſomething of it.'

He

1692. And becauſe their arms were, for fear of a diſcovery, [illegible] woods and grounds, or buried between walls and in [illegible]ars and out-houſes, he ordered them all to be taken [illegible] and immediately diſtributed among the officers and ihl[illegible]men; while Mr. James Fountaine, as lieutenant-colonel to the lord

He then vindicates the prince of Orange, from the reflections caſt upon him in the declaration, and denies that he afterwards appeared to be any other than his own declaration had repreſented him. 'He came not for the 'crown, but to reform abuſes, 'and to ſecure the ſucceſſion, 'which the right of his princeſs, 'and his own right and intereſt, 'the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties 'of Europe, gave him a right 'and authority to meddle with. 'But beſides his expectation, and 'original intention, he has the 'crown, which he came not for. 'He has deceived nobody in it; 'but if any one be deceived, 'king James and the people of 'England have deceived him; 'the one in leaving the crown, 'and the other in placing it on 'his head, where indeed it ought 'to be, both in right of his 'princeſs, and for his own merits; for he, who ſaves a nation, had he no other claim or 'title, may very well deſerve to 'wear the crown, eſpecially 'when it was with the free conſent of the princeſs, our moſt 'gracious queen, and upon the 'deſires of the eſtates of the 'realm, and ſtill neceſſary to 'ſave the nation.' He [illegible] wards endeavours to ſhew [illegible]nd his reſtoration out of the the French king was at [illegible]eaty. For things are come all the preſent wars in E[illegible] that extremity now, that 'Who, ſays he, has been the 'great diſturber of the peace of 'Europe, but his moſt chriſtian 'majeſty? With whom are all the 'princes of Europe at war but 'with him? Who elſe has hindered the ſucceſs againſt the common enemy, and the enlarging 'the bounds of the chriſtian empire? Who invited the Turk 'into Europe? Who encourages 'him to continue the war after ſo 'many fatal defeats, which may 'probably prove the ruin of his 'whole empire? In a word, 'what other chriſtian prince is 'the great Turk's ally and confederate in this war? And is 'not this war continued and 'encouraged by all the power and intereſt of the French 'king, on purpoſe to diſturb 'the peace of Europe, that, 'while the imperial forces are 'otherways employed, he may 'make a prey of his weaker 'neighbours? Who but the late 'king could hope to perſuade 'the world, that to reſtore him 'to his kingdom is abſolutely 'neceſſary to the peace of Europe; that before his reſtoration no rational projects of 'a treaty can be formed in order to a peace? He may be 'miſtaken in this, for the French 'king may quickly be glad to 'make a peace. and leave him

'is in vain to think of peace,

'and

lord Montgomery, and colonel Holman, were compleating each a regiment of horſe in London, to join king James at his landing. For by this time that king with his army of English, Scots, Iriſh, and French, was at la Hogue, ready to embark for England. And at the ſame time the jacobites here ſent captain Lloyd expreſs to the lord Melfort, to acquaint him that they had corrupted ſeveral of the Engliſh ſea-commanders, particularly rear admiral Carter (o) and with that falſe intelligence they tranſmitted to him an exact liſt of the number and rates of the Engliſh fleet, and how long it would be before it was poſſible they could be joined by the Dutch; deſiring him to lay it before his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and to procure his command to marſhal de Tourville to ſeek and immediately to fight the Engliſh before they could be reinforced by the Hollanders. Upon the receipt of this meſſage the lord Melfort applied himſelf to the king of France, who immediately gave his poſitive commands to Tourville to engage the Engliſh fleet, without waiting for the Thoulon ſquadron under monſieur d'Eſtrees. 1692.

'till Lewis the great be reduced to ſuch a ſtate as to accept it, and unable to break it. And this argument returns upon him; for the peace of Europe is a neceſſary reaſon why he ſhould not be reſtored.'

With regard to king James's promiſes to protect and defend the church of England, the writer obſerves, that this would be a great favour indeed from him, if he ſhould return with a French power. 'But the church of England, ſays he, is protected already by princes, who think it their duty to do it; and we think ourſelves much ſafer in the inclinations of a proteſtant king and queen, than we can be in all the promiſes of a zealous papiſt. And there this can be no argumen our caſe, becauſe it offers us a worſe ſecurity for our protection, than what we already have; for it is always great odds on nature's ſide. And yet this promiſe to the church of England ſeems fainter and cooler than ſome he has formerly made; which is all the reaſon we have to expect it will be better kept, eſpecially there not being the leaſt intimation of the breach of his former promiſes, nor any excuſe made for it.' State Tracts, II. 253.

(o) Carter it ſeems had been applied to by them, and having given the government intimation of it, he was ordered to humour the thing; which he did ſo effectually, that they jealouſly gave into it, to the deſtruction of their plot and their admiral's fleet.

The

1692. The queen being informed of these preparations, gave orders for hastening out the fleet, and putting the militia in readiness. She sent over for three regiments of Selwin's, Beveridge's, and Lloyd's from Holland, under the command of lieutenant-general Talmash, which together with some other troops remaining then in the kingdom, formed afterwards a camp near Portsmouth. And to be better secured from the dangers of an insurrection, she published a proclamation on the 4th of May, 'commanding 'all papists and reputed papists forthwith to depart from the 'cities of London and Westminster, and from within ten 'miles of the same:' and to provide for the advice and assistance of a sitting parliament, she published another proclamation on the 5th of May, requiring the attendance of the members of both houses on the 24th of May, a day, to which the parliament had been prorogued, declaring, 'That they 'should on that day meet and sit for the dispatch of such 'weighty and important affairs, as may be requisite for the 'safety of the kingdom, in a time when it was threatned with 'a powerful invasion from abroad.' In the next place she caused diligent search to be made after several of the most disaffected persons, and ordered warrants to be issued out against them, upon which they withdrawing themselves from their usual places of abode, and being fled from justice, she published a proclamation on the 9th of May, to discover, take and apprehend the earls of Scarsdale, Litchfield, Newburgh, Middleton, and Dunmore, the lord Griffin, the lord Forbes, eldest son of the earl of Granard, James Griffin, Sir John Fenwick, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, Sir Andrew Forester, colonel Henry Slingsby, James Graham, Mr. Orby, second son of Sir Thomas Orby, deceased, colonel Edward Sackville, Oliver St. George, son of Sir Oliver St. George, major Thomas Soaper, Charles Addeley, David Lloyd, George Porter, son of Thomas Porter, deceased, and Edward Stafford (p). And to be the

The queen's vigilance and care at this juncture.

Suspected persons taken up.

(p) Mr. Warre, in a letter from Whitehall, May 6. 169[illegible] to Sir William Dutton Co[illegible] envoy extraordinary at Han[illegible] ver, writes thus: 'On Tues[illegible] 'night last warrants were i[illegible] 'by the privy-council fo[illegible] 'prehending several perso[illegible] 'upon which my lords Hunt- 'ingdon and Marlborough, Mr. 'Edward Ridley, Mr. Knevett 'Hastings, and Mr. Robert Fer- 'guson, were seized; and yes- 'terday the two lords were 'committed to the Tower, and 'three gentlemen to New- 'by warrant of the council, 'high-treason, in abetting 'and adhering to their majesties 'enemies. And my lord Brude- 'nell

better guarded, ſhe ordered the militia of Weſtminſter, being 1692.
two regiments of foot of about fifteen hundred men each, and a troop of horſe to appear in Hyde-Park on Monday May the 9th, under the earl of Bedford lord lieutenant of Middleſex; and the next day the trained bands of the city of London, in ſix regiments, under the command of the lord mayor and other their reſpective colonels, conſiſting together of about ten thouſand men, were drawn out in the ſame place. Her majeſty was pleaſed to go in perſon among them on both days, and was extremely ſatisfied with the good order they appeared in, and the great zeal and readineſs which they ſhewed for her ſervice. And becauſe a malicious and dangerous report was ſpread abroad, as if ſome of the officers of the fleet were diſaffected to the ſervice, and that the queen had thereupon ordered the diſcharge of many of them from their employments, ſhe commanded the earl of Nottingham to acquaint admiral Ruſſel, that ſhe was ſatisfied, that this report was induſtriouſly raiſed by the enemies of the government; and that ſhe repoſed ſo intire a confidence in their fidelity and zeal for their majeſties ſervice, and the defence of their country, that ſhe had reſolved not to diſplace any of them. Whether any of the ſea-officers were ſtaggering in their duty; is uncertain; but however, it was good policy in the queen to ſend this meſſage; which was no ſooner communicated to them by admiral Ruſſel, but Sir John Aſhby, admiral of the blue; Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the

Addreſs from the fleet.

'nell and my lore Fanſhaw having been ſeized this morning, 'they are in like manner to be 'committed to the Tower. And 'a proclamation is ordered for 'apprehending the reſt, who 'are fled from juſtice.'

In another letter of May the 10th he writes thus: 'The biſhop of Rocheſter was taken 'into cuſtody on Saturday laſt 'upon ſuſpicion, and is confined 'to his own houſe. The ſame 'day, colonel Langſtone, colonel Hale, lieutenant-colonel 'Williams, major Langſtone, 'and three officers more of the 'army were ſeized, and 'committed to Newgate 'high treaſon.' On the 13th of that month he writes: 'Yeſterday morning colonel Sackville, mentioned in the proclamation, was taken; and 'the day before one Wilſon, a 'known jeſuit, was taken in the 'park. He has been heard 'preaching in a preſbyterian 'meeting in the country, and 'was ſent to Newgate. That 'morning Mr. Bernard Howard 'was committed to the Tower 'by order of the council.' On the 17th he writes thus: 'Yeſterday morning the lord Dunmore and Middleton, and Sir 'Andrew Forreſter, were taken 'in Goodmans Fields at a quaker's houſe, and in the afternoon were ſent to the Tower.'

red;

1692 red; Mr. Rooke, vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Cloudesly Shovel, rear-admiral of the red; Mr. Carter, rear-admiral of the blue; and the other commanders of the fleet, unanimously subscribed an address, wherein they assured his majesty, 'That they would with all imaginable alacrity and 'resolution venture their lives in the defence of their majes-'ties undoubted rights, and the liberty and religion of their 'country, against all foreign and popish invaders whatsoever.' This address being presented to the queen by the commissioners of the admiralty, her majesty said, 'That she always 'had this opinion of the commanders; but was very glad 'this was come to satisfy others.' And indeed it was not long before they performed their promise; and in the mean time the queen, trusting to their fidelity and resolution, published a proclamation the same day, declaring, that the parliament should be prorogued from the 24th of May to the 14th of June next, giving this for the chief reason; 'our navy being now at sea, and being joined with that of our allies, 'and in a readiness, by the blessing of God, to resist and repel the designs and attempts of our enemies.

Danger of England for want of intelligence. Burnet.

Notwithstanding these precautions, England was at this time in greater danger than (for want of intelligence) was apprehended by the ministry. King James with fourteen thousand English and Irish, and marshal Belfonds with three thousand French, were to sail in April from Cherbourg and la Hogue, and some other places in Normandy, and to land in Sussex, and from thence to march directly to London. They were to bring over only a small number of horses; for the jacobites undertook to supply them with horses at their landing. The French king, who was at the same time to march a great army into Flanders, seemed to think the project so well laid, that it could not miscarry; for he publicly said, before he set out, that he was going to make an end of the war. And indeed, so little care had been taken to procure intelligence, that, if the winds had favoured the French, they themselves would have brought the first news of their design. They sent over some persons, to give their friends notice but a very few days before they reckoned they should be on the English coast. But there happened, for a whole month together, such a stormy and contrary wind, that it was not possible for them to come out of their ports; nor could marshal d'Estrees, come about with his squadron from Thoulon so soon as was expected. In the beginning of May about forty of our ships were on the coast of Normandy,

dy, and were endeavouring to deſtroy their tranſport ſhips. Upon which, orders were ſent to marſhal Tourville to ſail to the channel, and fight the Engliſh fleet. They had a moſtly wind to bring them into the channel; but then the wind turned to the eaſt, and ſtood ſo long there, that it brought over the Dutch fleet, and alſo brought about our great ſhips. By this means, our whole fleet was joined; ſo that Tourville's deſign of getting between the ſeveral ſquadrons that compoſed it was loſt. The king of France, then in Flanders, upon this change of wind, ſent orders to Tourville not to fight. But the veſſel that carried theſe orders was taken, and a duplicate, ſent by another conveyance, came not to him till the day after the engagement (q). 1692.

Admiral Ruſſel, on the 11th of May, ſailed with the whole fleet, Engliſh and Dutch, towards the coaſt of France; and the day after, about three in the morning, captain Barfleur bearing S. W. by S. diſtant about ſeven leagues, the ſcouts weſtward of the fleet, which were the Cheſter and Charles gallies, fired ſeveral guns; which ſhips in a ſhort time after, coming within ſight, made the ſignal of diſcovering the enemy, and lay with their heads northward. Whereupon the fleet was drawn up into a line of battle, and notice given for the rear to tack, that ſo, if the French ſtood northward, we might the ſooner come up and engage; but the ſun having diſperſed the fog ſoon after four (r), they were ſeen ſtanding The French fleet defeated at la Hogue. Burchet.

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(q) Whilſt the jacobites were pleaſing themſelves with hopes of approaching ſucceſs, the firſt diſcouragement they met with, was the report of the junction of the Engliſh and Dutch fleets: but this being contradicted the next day, leſt that report ſhould have influence upon the French, they ſent over Sir Adam Bilar, to aſſure them, that the Dutch were not yet come up. However it ſo happened, that, before that gentleman could reach Dover, they had certain news that the fleets were joined indeed; and therefore one Mr. Clark was diſpatched into France to acquaint them with this fatal junction. But Clark was ſo far from gaining credit to this report (Sir Adam Blair averring the contrary) that he was impriſoned as a ſpreader of falſe news, till ſeveral other expreſſes confirmed his account. Upon this the king of France ſent to Tourville to decline fighting; but theſe counter-orders came too late.

(r) Monſieur du Larrey in his hiſtoire ſous Lewis XIV, ſays, that

1692. ing ſouthward, forming their line with the ſame tack, which our ſhips had on board; upon which the admiral cauſed the ſignal for the rear to tack to be taken in, and bore away with his own ſhip ſo far to the leeward, as that every one in the fleet might fetch his wake or grain, and then bringing to, he lay by with his fore-top-ſail to the maſt, that ſo others might have the beſt opportunity of placeing themſelves, according as they had been before directed. About eight our line was indifferently well formed, which ſtretched from ſouth, ſouth-weſt, to north, north-eaſt; the Dutch in the van, the admiral in the center, and the blue in the rear; and by nine the enemy's van had almoſt ſtretched as far ſouthward as ours, their admiral and rear-admiral of the blue (who were in the rear) cloſing the line, and their vice-admiral of the ſame diviſion ſtanding towards the rear of our fleet. About ten they bore down upon us with little wind; and the admiral, who ſtill lay by with his fore-top-ſail to the maſt, obſerving, that monſieur Tourville had put out his ſignal for battle, commanded, that his ſhould not be ſpread till the French who had the weather-gage, were come as near as they thought convenient.

At this time admiral Allemonde, who commanded the Dutch ſquadron, was ſent to tack, and get weſtward of the French as ſoon as any of his ſhips could weather them; and thoſe in the blue (then at ſome diſtance a-ſtern) were ordered to cloſe the line. But the fleets had not been long engaged before it became quite calm, ſo that theſe directions could not poſſibly be complied with.

About half an hour after eleven monſieur Tourville, in the Royal Sun, a ſhip of one hundred and ten guns, brought to, and began the fight with admiral Ruſſel at the diſtance

that when the fog was diſſipated, monſieur Tourville was ſurpriſed to find it was the whole Engliſh and Dutch united fleet, which he was going to engage, whereas before he imagined it was only part of it. But however conſidering, that an haſty retreat would bring his fleet into ſuch a confuſion, as might prove more hazardous than a battle, he continued his orders for the engagement. He himſelf commanded the white ſquadron, conſiſting of ſixteen ſhips in the center; the marquis d'Amfreville commanded the blue and white of fourteen ſhips in the van; and the rear or blue ſquadron likewiſe of fourteen ſhips was under the command of monſieur Gabaret; all the fleet conſiſting of ſhips of the firſt and ſecond, according to their way of reckoning in France.

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of about three quarters muſket-ſhot; in which poſture he lay about an hour and a half, plying his guns very warmly, but then began to tow off in great diſorder, his rigging, ſails, and top-ſail-yards being very much damaged, nor could it be diſcerned, that any great endeavours were uſed to repair the ſame. 1692.

About two o'clock the wind ſhifted to the N. W. by W. and in a little time five ſhips of the enemy poſted themſelves three a-head and two a-ſtern of their admiral, and fired very ſmartly, till paſt three; ſo that Mr. Ruſſel, and his two ſeconds Mr. Churchill and Mr. Almer, had ſix or ſeven ſhips to deal with. About four o'clock there was a thick fog; whereupon all firing ceaſed; but, it clearing up in a little time, the French admiral was diſcovered towing away northward; and our admiral that he might the better come up with him, ordered all the ſhips of his diviſion to do the like; and there happening a ſmall breeze of wind eaſterly about half an hour after five, the ſignal was made for chaſing, and notice ſent to every ſhip within reach, that the enemy were ſtanding away. At this time many guns were heard to the weſtward; and though the ſhips which fired, could not be ſeen by reaſon of the fog, it was concluded they were our blue ſquadron, which had, by a ſhift of the wind, weathered the French; but it proved to be the rear-admiral of the red Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, who was got to windward of monſieur Tourville's own ſquadron, and between him and their admiral of the blue. After they had fired ſome time, the ſhips of both ſides came to anchor, but could not diſcover each other by reaſon of the thickneſs of the weather; and in this ſcuffle captain Haſtings, who commanded the Sandwich, a ſecond rate, was killed, not being able to avoid driving amidſt theſe ſhips of the enemy, by reaſon his anchors were not clear. Things being now in great confuſion, the admiral thought it moſt adviſeable to order the ſhips, which were neareſt him, to chaſe weſtward all night, and let them know he intended to follow the French to Breſt, believing it more proper ſo to do than to anchor; and ſo indeed it proved; for next morning he found himſelf nearer the enemy than thoſe ſhips, which had dropped their anchors (s). About eight

(s) The account, which father Daniel gives of this engage-ment, is in ſubſtance, 'That 'monſieur Tourville attacked 'the

1692. eight at night there was firing heard westward, which lasted about half an hour, part of our blue squadron having fallen in with some of the enemy's ships in the fog; and in that dispute rear-admiral Carter was killed, whose last words to his captain William Wright sufficiently shewed, that there was no reason to suspect his zeal to the service, for he recommended it to him to fight as long as the ship could swim.

It continued foggy with very little wind all night, and it was so hazey in the morning, that not any of the enemy's ships, and but very few of ours, could be seen; but, the weather clearing up about eight, the Dutch, who were to the southward, made the signal of seeing the French fleet, and soon after about thirty-four sail were discovered between two and three leagues off, the wind being then at east north-east; and they bearing west south-west, our ships chased them with all the sail they could make, but not in the line of battle, as they did after the fight at Beachy Head; for the signal for a line was taken in, that so every ship might make the best of her way. Between eleven and twelve the wind veered to the south-west, when the French crowd-

'English corps de battaille with 'so much vigour, that all fled 'before him: that he maintained the fight the whole day 'from morning to night, without the loss of a single ship, 'though he did considerable damage to several of the English 'ships; and that he made a 'fine retreat, which would have 'been as happy as glorious, 'had not the tide failed him. 'That his conduct however was 'so much approved, that the 'king his master honoured him 'with a marshal's staff on that 'account.' Monsieur Fourbin in his memoirs begins his relation with somewhat more modesty, and must be supposed to know more of it than father Daniel: he tells us; 'That the English expected them 'in very good order, and suffered them to come as near to 'them, as they thought fit. The 'battle was begun, continues he, 'with a great deal of vigour, 'and even with some advantage, 'on the side of the French; but 'the wind, which in the beginning of the fight was in their 'favour, changed in an instant, 'and was favourable to the English, they took the advantage 'of it, and with their van wheeled round the French fleet, and by that means made them 'be exposed to two fires at 'once. As their fleet was far 'superior to the French (who 'had but four and forty ships) 'beyond all dispute the whole 'French fleet would have been 'lost, if they had managed as 'they might have done. But 'their slowness in attacking let 'the opportunity slip out of their 'hands.'

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ed away weſtward, and our fleet after them; but near four in the afternoon the tide of ebb being over, both fleets anchored, cape Barfleur then bearing ſouth by weſt (t); but they weighed about ten at night, and both plying weſtward, our admiral's fore-top-maſt came by the board near twelve, it having been ſhot in ſeveral places. He continued chaſing until four next morning, and then the tide of ebb being over, anchored in forty-ſix fathom water, cape de la Hogue bearing ſouth by weſt, and the iſland of Alderney ſouth ſouth-weſt; but, by reaſon of his wanting a top-maſt, the Dutch ſquadron, and the admiral of the blue, with ſeveral of his ſhips, got conſiderably to the windward of him. 1692.

About ſeven in the morning part of the French ſhips, which had advanced far towards the Race of Alderney, were perceived driving eaſtward with the tide of flood, without ground-tackle to ride by, for they had in the engagement, and the morning after, cut away all their heavy anchors. When they were driven ſo far, as that our admiral judged he could reach them, he made the ſignal for the ſhips neareſt to him to cut and chaſe, which accordingly himſelf and they did. But Sir John Aſhby, with his diviſion of the blue ſquadron, and ſeveral Dutch ſhips, which were weathermoſt, rid faſt (as Mr. Ruſſel had made the ſign for them to do) to obſerve the

(t) This day the admiral gave an account of the action hitherto, in the following letter, which confirms moſt of the particulars abovementioned.

Cape Barfleur, S. W. diſtance ſeven leagues, May 20, 1692.

'Yeſterday about three in the 'morning, cape Barfleur bearing 'S. W. and S. diſtance ſeven 'leagues, my ſcouts made the 'ſignal for ſeeing the enemy. 'The wind weſterly, the French 'bore down upon me, and at 'eleven engaged me, but at 'ſome diſtance. We continued 'fighting till half an hour paſt 'five in the evening; at which 'time the enemy towed away 'with all their boats, and we 'after them. It was calm all 'day. About ſix there was an 'engagement to the weſt-'ward of me, which I ſuppoſed 'to be the blue. It continued 'calm all night. I can give no 'particular account of things, 'but that the French were beat-'en; and I am now ſteering a-'way for Conquet road, hav-'ing a freſh gale eaſterly, but 'extremely foggy. I ſuppoſe 'that is the place they de-'ſign for. If it pleaſe God to 'ſend us a little clear weather, 'I doubt not we ſhall beat their 'whole fleet. I ſaw in the 'night three or four ſhips blow 'up, but I know not what they 'were. So ſoon as I am able 'to give a more particular rela-'tion, I will not be wanting.'

1692. motion of the reſt of the French ſhips, which continued at anchor in the Race.

Three of their great ſhips, being under the ſhore, tacked about eleven o'clock, and ſtood weſtward; but, after making two or three ſhort boards, the biggeſt of them, being the Royal Sun, ran on ground, and preſently her maſts were cut away; and in the mean while the other two to leeward, which were the French admirals ſeconds, plied up to her. This, it was judged, they did becauſe they could not get to windward of the weathermoſt ſhips, nor ſtretch out a-head eaſtward. The admiral obſerving, that many ſhips of our fleet hovered about him, ſent orders to Sir Ralph Delaval vice-admiral of the red, who was in the rear, to keep a ſtrength with him ſufficient to deſtroy them, and to order the reſt to follow the body of the fleet; which ſervice was effectually performed (u).

About

(u) Mr. Boyer tells us, that Sir Ralph Delaval burnt off Cherbourg the Royal Sun, a ſhip of an hundred and four guns, commanded by admiral Tourville; the Admirable, a ſhip of an hundred and two guns, and the Conquerant that carried eighty guns, with three more of leſſer note. But to be more particular, it will be proper to ſubjoin Sir Ralph's own letter to the earl of Nottingham, dated from on board the Royal Sovereign, May the 22d, 1692.

'I believe it my duty to acquaint you, that, on the 21ſt inſtant, admiral Ruſſel having made the ſignal for the fleet to cut their cables, I obſerved the French to be forced from the Race of Alderney, (where they anchored) to the eaſtward; and finding, that ſome of them endeavoured for the bay of Cherbourg, I ſtood in for that place, where I found there three-decked ſhips of the enemy's, but ſo cloſe to the ſhore, and within ſome rocks, that it was not fit for me to attempt them till I had informed myſelf of the road, they being hawled into ſhoal water. I immediately took my boats, and ſounded within gun-ſhot of them, which they endeavoured to prevent by firing at us. And, that no time might be loſt, I went immediately on board the St. Alban's, where, for the encouragement of the ſeamen, I hoiſted my flag; and having ordered the Ruby, with two fire-ſhips, to attend me, I ſtood in with them, leaving the great ſhips without, as drawing too much water. But coming very near, they galled us ſo extremely, and finding the fire-ſhips could not get in, I judged it beſt to retreat without ſhot, and there anchored; and immediately called all the captains, where it was reſolved to attempt them in the morning, with all the third and fourth rates and fire-

ſhips.

About four in the afternoon eighteen of the French ſhips, which were got eaſtward of cape Barfleur, haled in for La Hogue, 1692.

'ſhips. But, after having drawn 'them into four fathom and half 'water, I found we could not 'do our buſineſs, the water be-'ing ſhoal. Upon which I or-'dered three fire-ſhips to pre-'pare themſelves to attempt 'burning them, going myſelf 'with all the barges and tenders 'to take them up, if by the ene-'my's ſhot they ſhould miſcarry. 'Indeed I may ſay, and I hope 'without vanity, the ſervice was 'warm; yet, God be praiſed, 'ſo effectually performed, that 'notwithſtanding all their ſhot, 'both from their ſhips and forts, 'two of our fire-ſhips had good 'ſucceſs by burning two of 'them. The other by an un-'fortunate ſhot was ſet on fire, 'being juſt going on board the 'enemy. Indeed ſo brave was 'the attempt that I think they 'can hardly be ſufficiently re-'warded, and doubt not but 'their majeſties will do them 'right. The third French ſhip 'being run aſhore, and obſerv-'ing the people on board to go 'on ſhore by boats full, I or-'dered the St. Alban's, the Re-'ſerve, and others, to fire upon 'her, judging it might cauſe 'them to quit her, and after hav-'ing battered her for ſome time, 'I obſerved ſhe made no reſiſt-'ance. I took all the boats 'armed, and went on board her. 'I found abundance of men on 'board, and ſeveral wounded, 'but no officers; and having 'cauſed all the people, as well 'thoſe that were wounded as 'others, to be taken out, I ſet 'her on fire; and, had I not 'had notice by my ſcouts, that 'thirty ſhips were ſtanding with 'us, had ſent all the French on 'ſhore, who are now very trou-'bleſome to me. The ſhips we 'ſaw proved to be Sir John 'Aſhby and the Dutch com-'ing from the weſtward. We 'are proceeding together to the 'eaſtward to La Hogue, where 'I am informed three or four 'of the enemy's ſhips are; and, 'if ſo, I hope God will give us 'good ſucceſs. I expect to find 'the admiral to-morrow, where 'I hope to hear he has deſtroyed 'ſome of the enemy's ſhips, hav-'ing left him in chaſe of them 'laſt night, ſtanding to the eaſt-'ward, and pretty near them, as 'I judged. My lord, I hope 'you will excuſe me, if I pre-'ſume to pray, you will uſe 'your intereſt with the queen, 'that a reward may be given to 'the three captains of the fire-'ſhips, and ſeveral of the o-'thers; for greater zeal and 'greater bravery I never ſaw. 'I pray your excuſe for being 'thus tedious and particular. 'Pray God preſerve their maje-'ſties, and that their arms may 'be ever crowned with ſucceſs 'both by ſea and land, ſhall be 'the prayers and endeavours of, '&c.

'P. S. Captain Heath burnt 'Tourville's ſhip, the Royal 'Sun, which was the moſt 'difficult. Captain Greenway 'burnt the other, called the 'Conquerant. The Admirable

1692 Hogue, where our ſhips anchored about ten at night, and lay until near four next morning; at which time the admiral weighed and ſtood in near the land. The flood coming on, he anchored again; but at two in the afternoon got under ſail, and plied cloſe in with La Hogue, where he found thirteen of the enemy's ſhips very near the ſhore (w).

On Monday the 23d of May he ſent in Mr. Rooke, then vice-admiral of the blue, with a ſquadron, fire-ſhips, and the boats of the fleet, to deſtroy thoſe ſhips; but they were got in ſo far, that not any but the ſmall frigates could advance near enough for ſervice. However, the boats burnt ſix of them that night, and about eight the next morning the other ſeven were ſet on fire, together with ſeveral tranſport ſhips, and ſome ſmall veſſels with ammunition; wherein not only all the officers, but likewiſe the men behaved themſelves with great reſolution and gallantry. Thus at La Hogue and Cherbourg were burnt two ſhips of one hundred and four guns each, one of ninety, two of eighty, four of ſeventy-ſix, four of ſixty, and two of fifty-ſix guns; from which time to the peace concluded in the year 1697, the

'was burnt by our boats; captain Fowlis attempted the Royal Sun, but was ſet on fire by the enemy's ſhot, yet deſerves as well as the others.'

(w) Monſieur Fourbin, contrary to the opinion of father Daniel, blames the conduct of his admiral, in this latter part of the action. 'The general, ſays he, neglecting to improve the advantage, which he had, of eſcaping, reſolved, for what reaſon I could not imagine, to come to anchor, at the entrance of the Race, inſtead of ſheering off quite, as he ſhould have done, not being in any condition to continue the fight. At laſt an unexpected accident completed our ruin. The ſhip, in which the admiral was, with ſeveral others ſlipped their anchors, and were thereupon driven by the tide upon the enemy. Monſieur de Tourville, who ſaw himſelf in danger, being unwilling to expoſe the whole fleet, which was about to follow him, and which would infallibly have been either taken or ſunk, took down his general's flag. Upon this monſieur de Pannetier, commander of a ſquadron, put up a flag as a ſignal to rally, and thereby ſaved the remainder of the fleet. Thoſe, which followed the general's fate, ran themſelves aſhore at La Hogue, where fourteen of our fineſt men of war were unfortunately burnt. I ſaved mine, though bored through and through, and following the remainder of the fleet, which were in no better condition than myſelf, we made for the road of St. Malo's.'

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the French did not attempt to engage the Engliſh at ſea, but contented themſelves, to prejudice their trade by their ſmaller ſhips of war and privateers (x). 1692.

(x) According to a relation, which we find in Kennet, the French loſt five great ſhips in the fight, (which father Daniel however contradicts) one of which was monſieur Gabaret's, admiral of the blue ſquadron, of ninety odd guns; ſo that in the whole one and twenty of their biggeſt ſhips were deſtroyed, beſides the two frigates, and other ſmall veſſels. And, had it not been for the foggy weather, few of the reſt would have eſcaped. On our ſide not one ſhip was loſt, but the fire-ſhips, which were ſpent upon action; and beſides rear-admiral Carter and colonel Haſtings, not one commiſſion-officer.

The Dutch admiral Allemonde gave an account of this action to the ſtates-general in the following letter.

From on board the Prince near cape Barfleur, June 3, 1692. N. S.

'High and mighty lords,

'Since my two laſt of the 31ſt 'paſt, and 1ſt inſtant N. S. 'which gave your high mightineſſes an account of what had 'paſſed in the defeat of the 'French fleet, I came to anchor 'under this cape, where I have 'been ſince yeſterday in the afternoon with your highneſſes 'ſquadron, and that of Sir John 'Aſhby, admiral of the Engliſh 'blue ſquadron, and ſome other 'Britiſh ſhips. At my arrival 'here I was informed by the 'captain of a French fire-ſhip, 'who was taken priſoner, that 'about twelve of the ſhips, 'which had engaged your highneſſes ſquadron, and to which 'he had given chace, were got 'in among the rocks; upon 'which I prepared to go and 'deſtroy or burn them. But as 'I was ready to put my deſign 'in execution, I found that admiral Ruſſel was giving orders 'to the ſame purpoſe. I immediately offered him your 'light frigates and fire-ſhips to 'aſſiſt his ſhips, and immediately gave the neceſſary orders, in 'caſe he ſhould make uſe of 'them. But as yet I know not 'whether thoſe frigates and fire-ſhips were employed or not. 'All that I can aſſure your high 'mightineſſes, is, that the ſame 'day they took a reſolution to 'deſtroy theſe ſhips; they burnt 'ſix of the largeſt, being ſhips of 'three decks; and this day the 'reſt, which remained, the leaſt 'of which carried ſixty pieces of 'cannon, incurred the ſame fate, 'being burnt, with all their 'ammunition and proviſion, together with ſix other ſmall 'veſſels, which they had lightened of their guns, to try whether it were poſſible to ſave 'them, by towing them any 'higher; ſo that this expedition has completed the irreparable ruin of the enemy's fleet. 'I underſtand this day from on 'board of admiral Ruſſel, that

1692. This ſervice being over, the admiral ſailed out of La Hogue bay on the 25th, and ordered Sir John Aſhby, who had returned without doing any execution on the other part of the enemy's fleet, to run with a ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch along the French coaſt, as far as Havre de Grace, and to look out for thoſe five ſhips, which he ſaid he had ſeen ſtanding eaſtward. But even in this he had no better ſucceſs than before (y).

Remark. Burchet. The reſolution, with which the French bore down upon our fleet, was not a little ſurprizing; for they were not above fifty ſhips (z), from one hundred and four to fifty-ſix guns; and it was thought by ſome to have occaſioned at firſt ſome jealouſy amongſt the Engliſh; but, if that was really the caſe, it was ſoon blown over, for every one endeavoured to do what he was able. And as for monſieur Tourville's running this hazard, it is attributed to the poſitive orders, which he had from his maſter to fight the Engliſh fleet; which, had he thought fit, he might have avoided, even after they ſaw each other, for he was ſeveral leagues to the windward. And it is ſaid, that, when he called his flag-officers together, they unanimouſly gave their opinions not to engage; but that he at laſt produced an order under the

'orders are given out to burn 'the tranſport-veſſels, which are 'in the bay of La Hogue, to the 'number of three hundred, if it 'may be done with ſafety. But, 'I fear, it will be very difficult, 'becauſe the water is very ſhal-'low, where thoſe veſſels lie; 'and great reſiſtance may be 'made from the land-ſide. I 'therefore leave the ſucceſs of 'the deſign to providence. On 'the other hand it has been re-'ſolved in a grand council of 'war to reduce our fleet to fifty 'or ſixty great ſhips, ſail away 'to the iſland of Uſhant, and 'endeavour to take all the ene-'my's ſhips, that ſhall come off, 'or deſign to go into Breſt, and 'to ſend the reſt of the men 'of war, with ſome fire-ſhips to 'ſcour the coaſts of France, as 'far as Dunkirk; to ſeek and 'deſtroy, if poſſible, the ſcat-'tered remnants of the French 'fleet, that have ſteered their 'courſe to the eaſt. I am,

'Moſt high and mighty lords,

'Yours, &c.

'O. ALLEMONDE.'

(y) Biſhop Burnet tells us, that Sir John purſued them ſome leagues; but then the pilots pretending danger, he came back; ſo that twenty-ſix of the French ſhips, which if he had purſued by all appearance he had deſtroyed, got into St. Malo's. Burnet II. 93.

(z) Father Daniel and monſieur Fourbin ſay, but forty-four.

French

French king's own hand, which ſhewed them the neceſſity there was for their ſo doing (a). Theſe orders were unwillingly given him upon a preſumption, that our great ſhips and the Dutch could not poſſibly join Sir Ralph Delaval's and rear-admiral Carter's ſquadrons, then cruiſing on their coast, before he might have had an opportunity of coming up with them. And indeed, had not admiral Ruſſel ſailed from the river at the very time he did, contrary to the opinion of the pilots, the winds, which afterwards happened, would have prevented his coming timely to their aſſiſtance; ſo that the enemy might, in all probability, have had equal, if not greater ſucceſs, than we had over them. And here it may be obſerved, that although the confederate fleet was conſiderably ſtronger than the French, yet were the latter beaten by an inferior number; for by reaſon of the calm, and the thickneſs of the weather, it was not poſſible for many of the Dutch ſhips, or of the blue ſquadron, to engage; whereas had they been favoured with clear weather, and a gale of wind, it is very probable, that not ſo much as one of the French ſhips would have eſcaped (b). 1692.

(*) Father Daniel takes no notice of all this; but on the other hand ſays, that ſeveral diſappointments, occaſioned by contrary winds, obliged count de Tourville to come to an engagement. What monſieur de Fourbin ſays of this matter may in ſome meaſure clear it up. 'The 'views of France, ſays he, and the 'project of a deſcent into England, were now no more a ſecret. King James was already 'gone to La Hogue, where he 'was ready to embark at the 'head of twenty thouſand men, 'and waited only the ſucceſs of 'a battle with the Engliſh, which 'monſieur de Tourville had or'ders to give even at a hazard, if 'occaſion required it. It was 'indeed neceſſary to run this 'riſque, in order to make the 'deſcent ſecure, for there was 'nothing could be an impediment 'to it but the Engliſh fleet. It 'is not to be doubted, but if the 'Engliſh had been worſted, 'which probably would have 'happened, if we had hindered 'their fleets from joining, this 'project of a deſcent, which fell 'to the ground, by the blow our 'fleet received, would have cauſed the Engliſh a great deal of 'uneaſineſs and pains. But the 'contrary winds, which laſted 'for three whole weeks, and 'hindered our proceeding, gave 'the enemy time to join their 'fleets; ſo that inſtead of five 'and forty ſhips, which they 'were ſuppoſed to be, the number, after they were joined, 'amounted to ninety-ſix.'

(b) This is Burchet's account, the greateſt part of which is taken from admiral Ruſſel's letter to the earl of Nottingham, dated from Portſmouth, June 2, 1692. See Lettres hiſtoriques. II. 108.

It

1692. It was believed, that if this success had been pursued with vi[illegible], considering the consternation, with which the [illegible]ich were struck, upon such an unusual and surprising [illegible]y, the victory might have been carried much farther than [illegible]. But admiral Russel was provoked by some letters and orders, which the earl of Nottingham sent him from the queen, which he thought were the effects of ignorance; upon which he fell into a crossness of disposition, and found fault with every order, that was sent him, but would offer no advices on his part. And he came soon after to St. Helen's, which was much censured; for though the disabled ships must have been sent in, yet there was no such reason for bringing in the rest, that were not touched. Cross winds kept them long in port; so that a great part of the summer was spent before he went out again, and the French had recovered out of the first disorder that had quite dispirited them.

The victory [illegible] pursu[illegible] it migh[illegible] Boyer.

King James's letter to the French king on this defeat. Burnet. Burchet.

The loss of the French fleet was sensibly felt by king James, who thereupon writ to the king of France, 'That 'he had hitherto, with some constancy and resolution, supported the weight of all his misfortunes, so long as he 'himself was the only sufferer; but he acknowledged, that 'this last disaster overwhelmed him, and that he was altogether comfortless, in relation to what concerned his most 'christian majesty, through the great loss that had befallen 'his fleet. That he knew too well, that it was his own 'unlucky star, which had drawn this misfortune upon his 'forces, always victorious, but when they fought for his 'interests; which plainly let him see, that he no longer 'merited the support of so grear a monarch. He therefore 'intreated his most christian majesty, no longer to concern 'himself for a prince so unfortunate as himself, but permit 'him to retire with his family to some corner of the world, 'where he might cease to obstruct the usual course of his 'most christian majesty's prosperities and conquests, and 'where nothing could more contribute to his consolation, 'than to hear of the quick return of all his wonted triumphs both by sea and land, over both your enemies, (says 'he) and mine, when my interest shall no longer be intermixed with your's.' The king of France endeavoured to alleviate his affliction by a kind answer, wherein he promised never to forsake him in the worst of his extremities.

End of Vol. XIII. and I. of Continuation.

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